

Fraudulently or Falsely completing this form is a Class I felony under Chapter 163 of the N.C. General Statutes

The following people are PROHIBITED from signing the Witnesses' Certification:

For all voters: a candidate, UNLESS the candidate is the voter's near relative;

For voters who are patients or residents of a hospital, clinic, nursing home, or adult care home: (1) an owner, manager, director, or employee of that facility; (2) an individual who holds any federal, State, or local elective office; and (3) an individual who holds office in a State, congressional district, county or precinct political party or organization, or who is a campaign manager or treasurer for any candidate or political party.

STEPHEN ALEXANDER BUIE 315 FOREST DR BLADENBORO, NC 28320
UNA - BLADEN COUNTY
Ballot: G001 STEPHEN ALEXANDER BUIE PCT/VTD:P201/P201 Muni: 20 11/06/2018 - GENERAL Board Approval Date
Second Primary Request or Runoff Request In the event that a Second Primary (or Runoff Election) is called, I request that an absentee application and ballot be issued to me and mailed to me. (Check the box to receive eligible ballots.) Annual Roquest for Illnoss/Disability Due to confinued or expected illness or disability, I request that this application be a request for absentee ballots for any other elections to be held this calendar year in which I am eligible to participate. (Check the box to receive eligible ballots.)
Signature of Voter (it applicable) Address where application and ballots should be mailed
Į.

Voter's Certification (Nominative) I am applying for an absentee ballot • I am a dutered as an affiliate of the political party indicated. All information represented on this application to vote in this election • If I am an Unalifiliated velection, I am voting in the party primary indicated • If the party indicated is (UNA), I am voting the second of the party indicated is (UNA), I am voting the second of the party indicated is (UNA), I am voting the second of the party indicated is (UNA), I am voting the second of the party indicated is (UNA), I am voting the second of the party indicated is (UNA), I am voting the second of the party indicated is (UNA), I am voting the second of the party indicated is (UNA), I am voting the second of the party indicated is (UNA), I am voting the party indicated is the party indicated in the party primary indi	ly qualified voter, registed on this application s correct · I am entitled oter voting in a primary cated on the attached g a nonpartisan ballot.
further certify that I marked the enclosed ballome according to my instructions) in the presence	ot (or it was marked for ce of:
two (2) witnesses who are at least 18 years o disqualified by law to witness the casting of m witnesses must complete the Option 1 of the W	ny absentee ballot (the
OR	
a notary public (line notary must complete Opti	on 2 of the Wilnesses'
X.: Signa	<u>/</u> 9
Name Correction (If applicable)	
landa la compania de	
Voter Assistant Certification (If applicab	(e)
certify that: • The voter requested my assis	lance • I assisted the
I certify that: The voter requested my assis Voter by marking the ballot only according to t and/or liassisted the Voter in completing the Ab	he Voter's Instruction;
and/or hassisted the voter in completing the Abs	sentee Application and
Certificate • I assisted the Voter only in the Voter only in the Voter's near relative or verifiable legal guard	dian or lamproviding
assistance because a near relative or legal qua	rdian Is unavallable in
assist the Voter.	
Name of Assistant Address of Assistant	
X	
Signature of Assistant	Date

	av ;			
Witr	esses' Certification			
	Option 1: Two (Regulad Unless a Note	(2) Witnesses ry Public is the Witness)		
I certify that: • I am at least 18 years old • I am not disqualified from witnessing the ballot as described in the WARNING on the flap of this envelope • The Voter marked the enclosed ballot in my presence, or caused it to be marked in the Voter's presence according to his/her instruction • The Voter signed this Absence Application and Certificate, or caused it to be signed • I respected the setrect of the ballot and the Voter's privacy, unless I assisted the Voter at his/her request [complete Voter Assistant Certification section].				
	Witness #1	Wilness #2		
170	noly The	Debung B. Edwards		
Signalia	Blepping Alone Kn.	1877 Acid Her Bridging Rife		
13/12	policio, 11:6: 2.8320	Policy Clark Company (1900 AC 2017)		
City, SI	30 and Zip (Application) 9 - 27 - 18 Date	Date Date		
-	Option 2: Notary I (Regulred Unlass Two			
I certii	y that: on the day of	personally appeared before me, was positively		
presen	et, and in my presence, the Voter marked the e ca according to his/her instruction. The Vote	nclosed ballot, or caused it to be marked in the Voter's signed this Absentee Application and Certificate, or		
		I am not disquallfied from witnessing the ballot as		
		I respected the <u>secrecy of the ballot and the privacy</u> uest (complete Voter Assistant Certification section).		
NOTE: A	uny uny not strange say for for witnessing and affixing a nota	dal soul to an absentee bottet application or certificate. [G.S.§ 10B-30]		
STATE (DF.			
COUNTY	dr			
	Hotary P	ublic Commission Expiration Dato		

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The following people are PROHIBITED from signing the Witnesses' Certification:

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		п
SHEILA CARROLL BABSO 1676 NC 211 HWY W CLARKTON, NC 28433	N	
REP BLADEN COUNTY	1 . VE.	
Ballot: G001 SHEILA CARROLL BABSO PCT/VTD:P10/P10 11/06/2018 - GENERAL	N Muni:	rockhod y
Second Primary Request or I in the event that a Second Primary i request that an absence applicable and mailed to me. (Check the box	or Runolf Electi on and ballot be i	on) is called, issued to me
Annual Request for Illness/Dis Due to conlinued or expected Illnes this application be a request for ab elections to be held this calendar y participate. (Check the box to receive	s or disability, I sentee ballots f ear in which I a	or any other m eligible to
Signature of Voter (if applicable)		

Address where application and ballots should be mailed

oter's Certification (พืชผมักระห์) am applying for an absentee ballot • I am a du ired as an affiliate of the political party Indica All information represented on this application i over in this election • if I am an Unalilitated v ection, I am voting in the party primary indi bel • if the party indicated is (UNA), I am votir	ly qualified voter, regis- ted on this application s correct • I am entitled oter voting in a primary cated on the attached ng a nonpartisan ballot.
further certify that I marked the enclosed balloe according to my instructions) in the present	ot (or It was marked for ce of:
lwo (2) witnesses who are at least 18 years o disqualified by law to witness the casting of m witnesses must complete the Option 1 of the W	f age and who are not ny absentee ballot (the itnesses' Certilication)
OR	
a notary public (the notary must complete Opti	on 2 of the Wilnesses'
	0 -5 -1 % Date
Signature of Voler (thequires):	Date
Name Correction (If applicable)	
Matte Correction til applicable)	
oter Assistant Certification (If applicab	le)
certify that: . The voter requested my assis	tance • I assisted the
certify that: • The voter requested my assis oter by marking the ballot <u>only</u> according to to ad/or lassisted the Voter in completing the <i>Ab</i>	he Voter's Instruction;
nd/or liassisted the Voter in completing the Abs	sentee Application and
e Voter's near relative or verifiable legal quar	dian, or I am providing
nord lassisted the voter in completing the Abbertificate • I assisted the Voter <u>only</u> in the Vi e Voter's near relative or verifiable legal guar ssistance because a near relative or legal guar ssist the Voter.	rdian is unavailable to
ssist the Voter.	
•	
Name of Assistant Address of Assistant	
X	
Signature of Assistant	Date

- []		(Redding Chiess a Hotal) Labilets (1998)					
	certify that: • I am at least 18 years old • I am not disqualified from witnessing the ballot as described in the WARNING on the flap of this envelope • The Voter marked the enclosed ballot in my presence, or caused it to be marked in the Voter's presence according to his/her instruction • The Voter signed this Absente Application and Certificate, or caused it to be signed • I respected the segrecy of the ballot and the Voter's polyacy, unless I assisted the Voter at his/her request complete Voter Assistant Certification section].						
Ш		Witness #1	Witness #2				
	124	xi Brett	Margen & Earler				
	Svingstur	3 Frew St 3F	HOLEDON AND AND AND AND AND AND AND AND AND AN				
	2	1111000,11 28300	City, State and 2p House 1. 19. 1. 18. 3.2.				
	City, Gla	10.018 Dole	Date Date				
	Option 2: Notary Public as Witness (Required Unless Two Witnesses Provided)						
	I certify	that: on the day of	personally appeared before me, was positively				
	iden lifte presenc	d, and in my presence, the Voler marked the c according to his/her instruction • The Vole	personally appeared before the, was positively enclosed ballot, or caused it to be marked in the Voler's r signed this Absentee Application and Certificate, or 1 am not disqualified from witnessing the ballot as				
	describe	d in the WARNING on the flap of this envelope	o I respected the <u>secrecy of the ballot and the privacy</u> quest [complete Voter Assistant Certification section].				
	NOTE: A m	lary <u>may not chango any too</u> for witnessing and affizing a not	anal soul to an absentee bullet application or contilicate; [G.S. § 100-10]				
$\ $	STATE OF	<u> </u>					
	COUNTY	F	Rubble Commission Suglective Date				
<u> </u>		Hotaty I	Public Commission Expiration Date				
		'					

Option 1: Two (2) Witnesses

Witnesses' Certification

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The following people are PROHIBITED from signing the Witnesses' Certification:

For all voters: a candidate, UNLESS the cardidate is the voter's near relative;

For voters who are patients or residents of a hospital, clinic, nursing home, or adult care home: (1) an owner, manager, director, or employee of that facility; (2) an individual who holds any feders, State, or local elective office; and (3) an individual who holds office in a State, congressional district, county or precinct political party or organization, or who is a campaign manager or treasurer for any candidate or political party.

FLOYD FRANKLIN EVERS 264 LUTHER BRISSON RD BLADENBORO, NC 28320	
Ballot: G001 FLOYD FRANKLIN EVERS PCT/VTD:P202/P202 11/06/2018 - GENERAL	Muni:
Board Approval Date	
Second Primary Request or Rin line event that a Second Primary (of request that an absentee application and mailed to me. (Check the box	or Runoff Election) is calle and ballot be issued to m to receive eligible ballots
Annual Request for Illness/Dis- Due to continued or expected Illness this application be a request for abs- elections to be held this calendar ye participate. (Check the box to receive	or disability, I request the entee ballots for any othe ar in which I am eligible

Signature of Voter (if applicable)

Address where application and ballots should be mailed

,	Voter's Certification (Required) I am applying for an absentee ballot • I am a duly qualified voter, registered as an affiliate of the political party indicated on this application • All information represented on this application is correct • I am entitled to vote in this election • If I am an Unalifiliated voter voting in a primary election, I am voting in the party primary indicated on the attached label • If; the party indicated is (UNA), I am voting a nonpartisan ballot.
'	I further bertify that I marked the enclosed ballot (or It was marked for me according to my instructions) in the presence of:
	two (2) witnesses who are at least 18 years of age and who are not disqualified by law to witness the casting of my absentee ballot (the witnesses must complete the Option 1 of the Witnesses' Certification)
	OR a notary public (the notary must complete Option 2 of the Winesses' Certification)
	Significing or votes the chances Date
	Name Correction (if applicable)
ed, ne s.)	Voter Assistant Certification (If applicable) I certify (hat: • The voter requested my assistance • I assisted the Voter by marking the ballot only according to the Voter's instruction; and/or I assisted the Voter in completing the Assertee Application and
nat ier lo	Voter by marking the ballot only according to the Voter's Instruction; and/or l'assisted the Voter in completing the Absentee Application and Certificate • I assisted the Voter only in the Voter's presence • I am the Voter's near relative or verifiable legal guardian, or I am providing assistance because a near relative or legal guardian is unavailable to assist the Voter.
_	Name of Assistant Address of Assistant
_	<u>X</u>
- 1	Signature of Assistant Date

	Option 1: Two (2) Witnesses (Required Unless a Notary Public is the Witness)						
describe my presented The Vote the secr	I certify that: • I am at least 18 years old • I am not disqualified from witnessing the ballot as described in the WARNING on the flap of this envelope • The Voter marked the enclosed ballot in my presence, or caused it to be marked in the Voter's presence according to his/hor instruction • The Voter signed this Absentee Application and Certificate, or caused it to be signed • I respected the series of the ballot and the Voter's privacy, unless I assisted the Voter at his/her request icomplete Voter Assistant Certification section).						
	V/IIncse#1	Wilnoss #2					
Delsa	Debrah B. I dierada Merchan D. Bloker						
Signature of	hether Brisson Rd	Segration to gath. 3.71 Sunself Book Rec. Strong Address the para. Bladen DAD Nº 23520					
Bla	Lenboro NC 28320	Bladen 1010 Nº 28520					
City, State	and Zip Happyrics. 10-1-18' Date	City. State and Zip Hostanist. 100-01-7108					
	Option 2: Notary i (Regulred Unless Two						
presence caused it described	according to his/her instruction • The Voter to be signed • I am at feast 18 years old in the WARNING on the flap of this enveloped.	personally appeared before me, was positively nelosed ballol, or caused it to be marked in the Voters signed this Absentee Application and Certificate, or 1 am not disqualified from winessing the ballol as 1 respected the segreey of the ballol and the privacy uest (complete Votor Assistant Certification section).					
	NOTE: A notal rung rung change any Leg for winossing and aliming a notation seal to an absorben before application or certificate (G S \$ 100 30)						
STATE OF_							
COUNTY OF							
	Rotary F	ublic Commission Expiration Date					

Witnesses' Certification

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	<u>.</u>	
EMMA LEE SHIPMAN 196 BURDEN RD TAR HEEL, NC 28392	Voter's Certification (ຂອງທ່າວຝ່) I am applying for an absentee ballot • I am a duly qualified voter, regls tered as, an affiliate of the political party Indicated on this applicatio • All information represented on this application is correct • I am entitle to vote in this election • If I am an Unaffiliated voter voting in a primar election, I am voting in the party primary Indicated on the altache label • If the party Indicated is (UNA), I am voting a nonpartisan ballo	n ed rv
Ballot: G001 EMMA LEE SHIPMAN PCT/TD:P15/P15 Muni: 11/06/2018 - GENERAL	I further certify that I marked the enclosed ballot (or It was marked for me according to my Instructions) in the presence of: wo (2) witnesses who are at least 18 years of age and who are not disqualified by law to witness the casting of my absentee ballot (the witnesses must complete the Option 1 of the Witnesses' Certification) OR	or
pard Approval Date Second Primary Request or Runoff Request in the event that a Second Primary (or Runoff Election) is called.	Name Correction (if applicable) Voter Assistant Cartification (if applicable)	
requestinal an absentee application and ballot be issued to me and mailed to me. (Check the box to receive eligible ballots.) annual Request for Illness/Disability Due to conlinued or expected illness or disability, I request that his application be a request for absentee ballots for any other elections to be held this calendar year in which I am eligible to participate. (Check the box to receive eligible ballots.)	I certify that: • The voter requested my assistance • I assisted the Voter by marking the ballot only according to the Voter's Instruction and/or I assisted the Voter in completing the Absentee Application and	e i; d n go
ignature of Voter (if applicable)	Name of Assistant Address of Assistant	
ddress where application and ballots should be mailed	Signature of Assistant Date	
•	NCSBE v2018.02	

nassaci	ses, Certification					
	Option 1: Two (2) Witnesses (Required Unless a Notary Public is the Witness)					
my prese The Vote the secre	I In the WARNING on the flap of this en nce, or caused It to be marked in the V r signed this Absentee Application and	m not disqualified from witnessing the ballot as twelope • The Voter marked the enclosed ballot in oler's presence according to his/her instruction Certificate, or caused it to be signed • I respected by, unless I assisted the Voter at his/her reques				
	Wilness //1	Witness II2				
	200 R. Sono Edoma	Lisa Brits				
Giggaturo (1	WEBB FAVIKRD	Signature (Required) PRECAN ST 3F				
BLE	OENBORO NE 2830	Street Address (Reguland)				
City, State a	nd Zlp (Required) 9-35-78	City, State and Zip (Required)				
		Public as Wliness Wilnesses Provided)				
	at: on the day of	personally appeared before me, was positively				
presence caused it described	ccording to his/her Instruction • The Vole to be signed • I am at least 18 years old in the WARNING on the flap of this envelope	nclosed ballot, or caused it to be marked in the Voter's r signed this Absontee Application and Cortificate, o · I am not disqualified from witnessing the ballot as e · I respected the <u>secrecy of the ballot and the privact</u> quest [complete Voter Assistant Certification section]				
NOTE: A notary <u>and chamo any lon</u> for witnessing and alliving a notarial seal to an absentee ballot application or certificate. (G.S. § 10B-30).						
STATE OF _	L					

Holary Pub ic

Commission Expiration Date

COUNTY OF



State Absentee Ballot Request Form

North Carolina

BLADEN COUNTY BOARD OF ELECTIONS

301 S Cypress St Meiling Address Elizabethtown NC PO Box 512

Elizabethtown

PHONE: 910-862-6951 FAX: 910-862-7820 bladen.boe@icsbe.goV

FRAUDULENTLY OR FALSELY COMPL	BLADEN CO BD. OF LACTIC ETING THIS FORM IS A CLASS	LFELONY UNDER CHAP	TER 163 OF THE NG	GENERAL STATUTES:
I am requesting an absentee ballot for the	Election Type (Primary, Gene	ral, Municipal, Special, etc.)		ER 6; 2018 ection Data
Voter information		SAMUSTANIA VINCENTA		A CONTRACTOR OF THE STATE OF TH
Shimpan F	rst Name	Middle	e Name	Suffix Date of Birth
Home Address (NC Residential Address.) 2842 Cabbaac Rd		Mailing Address (if differe	ent than home address.	
Bladenboro	State Zip Code	Gty		State Zip Code
Have you lived at this address for more than 30 day	s≯ 🗹 Yes 🗌 No	County of Residence	Previous Name (if app	ilicable)
X X X	. ∴ X,X ∵	Voter Registration No. Onlona	Phone (optional) E	email (optional)
Absentee Voting Information	· hr hater had been stated in	N 12 (12 (12) (12)	NOW A PARK	
Absentee Mailing Address (Where should the hallot	be mailed?)	City	S Property of the second	itate Zip Code
same as above	1.0.0	in the last and		and the second
If voter is registered as <i>Unoffillated</i> and requesting Democratic If voter is a patient in a hospital, clinic, nursing hom	Republican	☐Libertar	a n	□ Non-partisan r Ballot. □ Yes □ No
If "Yes," what is the name and address of the h	Control State of the State of t			
If requesting an absentee ballot or Requestor's Name		nur riame, address, contact pouse brother /sist child grandchild son-in-law daughter-in-	er parent stepchild	grandparent stepparent mother-in-law father-in-law
Requestor's Address		Nantg of Corporation (If		
City State of the	State Zip Code	Requestor's Phone	Requestor's Email	in the work.
For Military/Overseas Citizens On	lý (may only be signed)	by the voter, may n	of be signed by	a near relative/guardian)
Select one of the options below to qualify as Member of the Uniformed Services or Merchant	a military or overseas voter: t Marine on active duty and cune		7. 4. 1. 1. 1.	2.1 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4
U.S. citizen residing outside the U.S. temporarily Current Address (Address where you are currently s		Transmit my ballot by: (Military/Overseas Vot		ali
the second secon	e and all the property of the second of the	Fax Number or Email A	ddress.	and the second of the second o

Signature of Voter (voter only)

Signature of Near Relative/Legal Guardian (if applicable)

X EXHIBIT 8-14-18



buy ris

red its

26 1 Jul 1-

State Absentee Ballot Request Form

North Carolina

RECEIVED

TO: BLADEN-COUNTY BOARD OF ELECTIONS

301'S Cypress St Elizabethtown NC 28337

Moiting Address
PO Box 512 Elizabethtown

pladeu poe@uczpe 80A

PHONE: 910-862-6951 FAX: 910-862-7820

FRAUDULENTLY OR FAISELY COMPLETIN					
	G THIS FORM IS A CLAS	STEELONY UNDER CHA	PTER 163 OF THE M	ig general st/	(TÜTÉS
am requesting an absentee ballot for the:		ELECTION eral, Municipal, Special, etc.)		ABER 6, 2018	The same
oter information				Mariana mak	
St Name First Na Onimpon	umes	- C	le Name Ou <i>r Ol</i> Oh	5uffix	Date of Birth
3843 Cabbaac Rd		Mailing Address (If differ		iss.)	
ty s	tate Zip Code	City	1	State	Zip Code
eve you lived at this address for more than 30 days?	Yes □ No	County of Residence	Previous Name (if	applicable)	
ou must provide at least one identification number belo	1	Voter Registration No.	Phone (optional)	Enail (optional)	
bsentee voting information		Breef the age			
Sentee Mailing Address (Where should the ballot be ma SAME AS ADOVE voter is registered as Unofillated and requesting a ballot		City	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	State Zip	Code
voter is a patient in a hospital, clinic, nursing home or re if "Yes," what is the name and address of the hospital	- transfile of	whether you will need ass	Istance in marking y		rpartisan s □ No
If requesting an absentee ballot on beha equestor's Name		pouse brother/sist	er parent	☐ grandparent' ☐ mother-in-lay	
questor's Address	i - a translation	Name of Corporation (If			EXHIBIT
ty	State Zip Code	Requestor's Phone	Requestor's Ema	PENGAD-Bayonne.	
	47		****	· · · · · / 2	
Section 2 Section 2 Section 2		N 1 8 3 4 11	11	Section 1	Section of the Sectio
or Military/Overseas Citizens Only (the sections of the options below to qualify as a milital Member of the Uniformed Services or Merchant Marin U.S. citizen residing outside the U.S. temporarily or Industrent Address (Address where you are currently stations	ary or overseas voter: ie on active duty and curre efinitely	1. S. N. A. A.	residence or an eligi	í a pëar relat	

Mac Dowless

Absentee By Mail Applications 108



Absentee Applications turned from Voter Registration Drive

Name of person turning in applications	Phone Number	Date	Number of applications turned in	Signature
McCrye Dowles		8-22-18	128	MEC Dal
Lola Wester	910-876-0462	8/17/18	184	Lola Woolen
MECDOL	910 835-1121	9-5-18		MªC Dal
Atthin Ou en	910-862-4850	9-12-18	20	athen Owens
M&C Dut	910 885-1121	9-21-18	123	Mª C Dais
MEC DUD	910 985-1121	9-25 18	30	MªC Dal
MEC Das	910 885-1121	10-1-18	RE-ISSUE	Mª Doly
Michal	885-1121	1012-18	86-ISSUE 2	ma Dal
Lula Weath	910 874 04162	10-2-18	17	Lolado
MªC Odo	910 885-1121	10-20	67	MEC Dul
Pamela A. Renton	910-874-0008	10-4-18	13	Dinel a Berton
Woody Laster	910-991-5494	10-4-18	3	Mind Hesta
MECrae Dowless	910.885-1121	16-4-12	200	we cold
M. Cog dell	710-874-7017	10-5-18	00	M.M. Cardel
MªC Dal	910-885-1121	10-8-18	12	

Absentee Applications turned from Voter Registration Drive

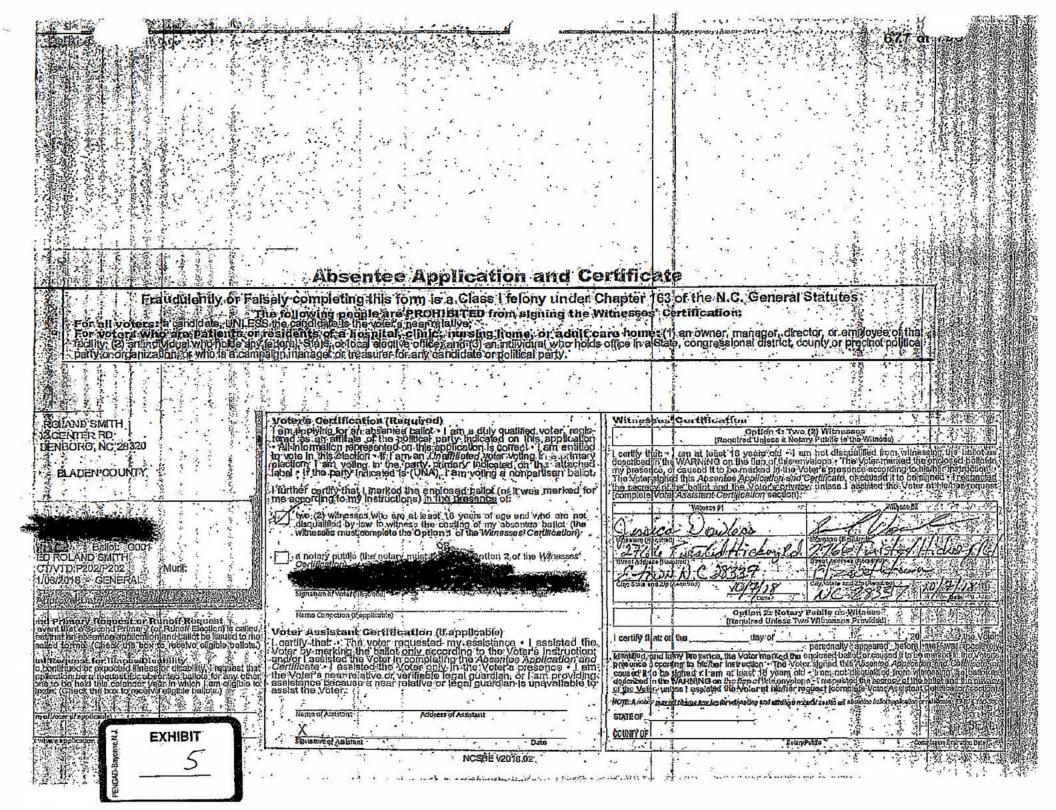
Name of person turning in applications	Phone Number	Date	Number of applications turned in	Signature
MECDOLD	910-885-1121	16-8-18	16	MEC Dut
of Mihail Cardill	910-874-7017	10-8-18	1	2 miller Lil
Doublis Stens	910-588-44-55	10-8-18	4	Sierathy & John
might popular	910-885-1121	10-10-18	6	MEG Dol
My Hosten	991-5494	10-10-18	1	Wulk/II
THANDURS MONROS	874-0322	10-10-18	29	Keniffes -
Above line Power 11	916-549-7133	10-10-18	8	And Russe
MECrave Dowless	910 885-1/21	10-10-18	1	mic Do
Wanda Monrore	0-10-874-0322	10/12/18	13	Mininto 52
Sheila Kindaw	510-874-5027	10115118	38 4 SiC	Sopla Citar
WANDA MONROS	910-874-0322	10/15/18	40	Muson
Steroff to John	911-588-4455	10/15-118	3	100 6 Mic M. Down
Descreet Dowless	910-813-5215	10/15/18	185	Dessier K. Devlan
Angeline Powell	910-549-7133	10/15/18	1. /	Rale Pine CC
ENINIE ROTE BRISSON	910-362-4573	10/11/18	7	Ennaless Buscon

Absentee Applications turned from Voter Registration Drive

Name of more referred to another the		N. I.	Number of applications turned	
Name of person turning in applications	Phone Number	Date	in T	Signature.
Woody Hester	991-5494	10/17/2018	3	Min How
Willimpe Hystic	7/0/645.6544	10/17/2018	1	William ar Hosling
Arthur A. Bullock	876-7905	10/17/18	5 6	Vation Sulled
Lalewooder	9108762862	10/17/18	/3	dolaubots
1 sla Wooten	Clip En Val of Block	19/18	5	Jaler Work
Mike Cestell	910-874-7017	10-18-18	3	State Could
Mike Coglell	910-874-7019	10-18-18	4	& Michal Coeffel
Habson Cane in	812-050A	10-75-18		
Arthur A. Bulerck)	876-7905	10-22-18	15	Usting Sullet
ME CEAC DOUGES	885-1121	10-72-18	6	Nice Do
Habrem Brown	520-2435	10-22-18	1	Hah
Wandi Monros	874-0322	10/22/18	8	ulmicorro ?
WANDA MONROR	874-0322	10/24/18	6	yoursore.
JIM PSENTON	874-0229	10-25-18	4	Ten Bento
10/a Wooten	8762862	10/25/18	2	Nolah sola

Absentee Applications turnet from Voter Registration Drive

Name of person turning in applications	Phone Number	Date	Number of applications turned in	Signature
Matthew J. Dixon	910-879-2385	10/25/18	1	Will-
WANDER MONROW	910-874-0322	10/26/18	7	Wissarrho S
hola Wooten	9108762862	10/27/18	Ci	Labores 1
Mª Crae Dowless	910-885-112)	10/29/18	2	MEC DIS
Mile Escatell	910-874-7017	10/29/18	3	AMb Coedell
EHA P. ANTON	(908)692-5034	10/29/18	/	Etta Lafor
WANDA MONROR	910 874-0322	10/29/18	10	personio -
Arthur Bullock	876-7905	10/30/18	Ĵ	All Buller
Frantis Beneston	710-872-1870	10/30/18	12	Parta Bonto
		10 10 10 11 11 11		
	WA A			
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		i - de la comp eta de la competa de la comp		



ABSENTEE BY MAIL HAND DELIVERED

BALLOT



		ty Mall - Hat Accountability	Delivered Sheat		"MUST FOLLOW NC STA" 163-232 IN REGARDS TO REQUESTIL. AND DELIVERING OF ABSENTEE BY MAIL BALLOTS"
DATE AND TIME DELIVERED	NAME OF VOTER YOU ARE RETURNING BALLOT FOR AND BALLOT APPLICATION #	NAME OF PERSON DELIVERING BALLOT		ATIVE RELATION R (CIRCLE ONE)	BY SIGNING, I ATTEST I AM A NEAR RELATIVE AS OUTLINED IN THE GENERAL STATUTE AND THAT BY DELIVERING THIS BALLOT I UNDERSTAND THAT FAILURE TO COMPLY WITH THE RULES OF G.S. 163-226.3 WILL RESULT IN A CLASS I FELONY.
12:04	Voter	anthony Jennings Johnson prone: 910-241-2135	grandchild, moti daughter-i	brother, sister, andparent, child, ner-in-law, father-in-law, n-law, son-in-law, or stepchild	address:
12: 04	Voten.	William C. Stogner phone: 910-855-1229	1 -	1	address:
12:04	Votren.	Ray Deaver	daughter-l		address:
12-21-181	Voten	Ginger Shear Easer phone 910-549-72	grandchild, mot daughter-	randparent, child,	address
resolved	1 1	James Robert Singletary phone 910874-32			address: C
				f ·	

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		ly Mall - Har Accountability	Delivered Sheat		"MUST FOLLOW NC STA" 169-291 IN REGARDS TO REQUESTIND DELIVERING OF ARSENTEE BY MAIL BALLOTS"
DATE AND TIME DELIVERED	NAME OF VOTER YOU ARE RETURNING BALLOT FOR AND BALLOT APPLICATION #	NAME OF PERSON DELIVERING BALLOT	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	ATIVE RELATION [CIRCLE ONE]	BY SIGNING, I ATTEST I AM A NEAR RELATIVE. AS OUTLINED IN THE GENERAL STATUTE AND. THAT BY DELIVERING THIS BALLOT I. UNDERSTAND THAT FAILURE TO COMPLY WITH THE RULES OF G.S. 163-226,3 WILL RESULT IN A. CLASS I FELONY.
POCOLY I	Ginga Shice Vingine Kay Bear	Son Gason Shear phone: G10-349-8.	daugnter-ir	indparent, child,	Linger & Ecusor address: 401 Edwir Rds: BBOBO NC - 28322
10:12. 12:01:00 12:8-13	vorer	Joseph neorae, 910 5743502 phone:	daughter-ir		address:
7 -23-15	SARAH NORRY	JOSEPA (NORRIS phone: 5) 7 4 35 22	voter's spouse, parent, gr: grandchild, moth daughter-it stepparent,	andparent, child,	JURAPA NOTTE address: 304 VILLAGE ST FIFT 313 BLADEN BORD
POCO 1999	Geny W Sesse	\$73-602-1 phone:	voter's spouse, parent, gr grandchild, moth daughter-in stepparent,	ndparent, child,	address:
RECEVED	allne 3. Forske	\$'72- 6'02<1	voter's spouse parent, grand par mother-in-law, father-i s stepparent,		Jan W Server address: 52 Pannein Rd Elizabethilow 16. 283
	,				ELIZABAHOWN N.C. 283.

.7%.)y Mall - Har Mccountabilicy	Delivered Sheat		"MUST FOLLOW NC STA" 163-231 IN REGARDS TO REQUESTI . ND DELIVERING OF ABSENTEE BY MAIL BALLOTS*
DATE AND TIME DELIVERED	NAME OF VOTER YOU ARE RETURNING BALLOT FOR AND BALLOT APPLICATION #	NAME OF PERSON DELIVERING BALLOT		ATIVE RELATION CIRCLE ONE	BY SIGNING, LATTEST LAM A NEAR RELATIVE AS OUTLINED IN THE GENERAL STATUTE AND THAT BY DELIVERING THIS BAILOT I UNDERSTAND THAT FAILURE TO COMPLY WITH THE RULES OF G.S. 163-226.3 WILL RESULT IN A CLASS FELONY.
19/24/13 Civ 485	Noter	James Feltwell phone 910-Ma	parent, grandchild, moth	l :	address:
TECHY!	V8Ten	Bunjamin Craig Button phone 916-536-275	grandchild, moth daughter-ir	brother, sister, indparent, child, er-In-Iaw, father-in-Iaw, -Iaw, son-in-Iaw, or stepchild.	address;
7000 PVO O	voter	Wowly Difeste	grandchild, moth	brother, sister, ndparent, child, er-in-law, father-in-law, -law, son-in-law, or stepchild.	address:
9/28/20/8	Juaniha Elferte	- Woolly 1 tester gran - Syay phone:	parent, grandchild, moth	andparent, child,	address: 371 Sanzef Paskill Madenboro, No. 287.
17/28/18		Billy Kay Bried phone: 9102562	voters spouse parent, grandpare mother-in-law, father-i sc stepparent,	nt, child, grandchild,	A

, and the second		y Mail - Har ccountability	Delivered Sheat		*MUST FOLLOW NC STA' 163-231 IN REGARDS TO REQUESTI: AND DELIVERING OF ABSENTEE BY IMAIL BALLOTS*
DATE AND TIME DELIVERED	NAME OF VOTER YOU ARE RETURNING BALLOT FOR AND BALLOT APPLICATION #	NAME OF PERSON DELIVERING BALLOT		ATIVE RELATION R (CIRCLE ONE)	BY SIGNING, I ATTEST I AM A NEAR RELATIVE AS OUTLINED IN THE GENERAL STATUTE AND THAT BY DELIVERING THIS BALLOT I UNDERSTAND THAT FAILURE TO COMPLY WITH THE RULES OF G.S. 163-226.3 WILL RESULT IN A CLASSI FELONY.
, received	Evan Ray Both	Billy Ray Butt phone:	grandchild, moth	andparent, child,	address: 145 Ed Sussena Let Clarkten 14284
	Voten	Saudy Sliaw phone:	grandchild, moth	brother, sister, andparent, child, er-in-law, father-in-law, n-law, son-in-law, or stepchild.	address:
	Sandy Slew	Sanly Shaw phil6-859-3819	stopparent	andparent, child,	ander Shows address: Twisted Hickory PLIXABETHOND NOTES
	Brenda Wand	Sady Slaw phone:19-559-381		andparent, child,	Shock Isted Hickory, 252 Thisted Hickory, 2152 thomas K 2135
	Votra	Samuel M. Russ phone:	voter's spouse parent, grandpar mother-in-law, father-	nt, child, grandchild,	address

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, c - * 1	Absentee By Wall - Her Ballot Accountability	1	*MUST FOLLOW NC STAT 169-292. IN REGARDS TO REQUESTIN ID DELIVERING OF ABSENTEE BY MAIL BALLOYS*
<u>DATE AND TIME DELIVERED</u>	NAME OF VOTER YOU ARE NAME OF PERSON RETURNING BALLOT FOR DELIVERING BALLOT AND BALLOT APPLICATION #	NEAR RELATIVE RELATION TO VOTER (CIRCLE ONE)	BY SIGNING, I ATTEST I AM A NEAR RELATIVE AS OUTLINED IN THE GENERAL STATUTE AND THAT BY DELIVERING THIS BALLOT I UNDERSTAND THAT FAILURE TO COMPLY WITH THE RULES OF G.S. 163-226.3 WILL RESULT IN A CLASS I FELONY,
CO FIN	USTER CHARACA VOTER phone:	parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	address!
	Burney Sp. Voter	parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	address:
	Richard M. Long phone:	grandchild, mother-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	address:
received L-18	Mildred E. Merritt Delfon Ard 863-4456 phone:	voter's spouse, parent, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	address: 802 Pine Ridge Cir Bladenstoro, N. (28
recolved 1/c-/-/8	Delton Ard Vorter phone:	parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	A

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		y Mall - Har .ccountablinty	Delivered Shact		*MUST FOLLOW NC STAY 2.63-221 IN REGARDS TO REQUESTIK JD DELIVERING OF ABSENTEE BY MAIL BALLOTS*
DATE AND TIME DELIVERED	NAME OF VOTER YOU ARE RETURNING BALLOT FOR AND BALLOT APPLICATION #	NAME OF PERSON DELIVERING BALLOT		TIVE RELATION (CIRCLE ONE)	BY SIGNING, I ATTEST I AM A NEAR RELATIVE AS OUTLINED IN THE GENERAL STATUTE AND THAT BY DELIVERING THIS BALLOT I UNDERSTAND THAT FAILURE TO COMPLY WITH THE RULES OF G.S. 163-226.3 WILL RESULT IN A CLASS I FELONY.
10-7-18 J		MCCrae Dowless phone: 910-885-1121		•	address: 296 Bladenboro Aire Bladenboro, MC
70-1-18 70-1-18	Monica Wilkes	phone:	- '	ndparent, child,	address: 6 Bladbaboro Aig Bladenboro, NC
: Fecelved	Andrea	/(phone:	grandchild, moth	brother, sister, n e parent, child, er-In-law, father-in-law, -law, son-in-law, or stepchild.	address: //
CONTRACT	Danu Midweler	phone:	grandchild, moth	brother, sister, neparent, child, er-In-law, father-In-law, -law, son-in-law, or stepchild.	address: BBH Paul Br, 59,000 Blades Accordance
recolved	Indy B. Drubss	9/11-8/2-2555 phone:	voter's spouse parent, grandpar _e mother-in-law, father-l sc stepparent,	nt, child, grandchild,	Danit R Jour line
					7-1/ 2-839-0

			and the same of th		
3.65		ly Wall - Har Accountability	Delivered Sheet		*MUST FOLLOWING STAT 169-231 IN REGARDS TO REQUESTIN 1D DELIVERING OF A SENTER BY MAIL BALLOTS*
DATE AND TIME DELIVERED	NAME OF VOTER YOU ARE RETURNING BALLOT FOR AND BALLOT APPLICATION #	NAME OF PERSON DELIVERING BALLOT		ATIVE RELATION (CIRCLE ONE)	BY SIGNING, I ATTEST I AM A NEAR RELATIVE. AS OUTLINED IN THE GENERAL STATUTE AND THAT BY DELIVERING THIS BALLOT I. UNDERSTAND THAT FAILURE TO COMPLY WITH THE RULES OF G.S. 163-226.3 WILL RESULT IN A CLASS I FELONY.
	Mellie Blowles	Detrie/12 Janle 910-862-2555	grandchild, moth	andparent, child,	address: Dazel Bitson Rd
Received		phone:	voter's spouse,	brother, sister, ndparent, child,	Blaben boron 22
10/1/18		phone:	stepparent,	er-in-law, father-in-law, -law, son-in-law, or stepchil .	BlyDFNBAR ATC
10/1//8 I	Stene Bordeany	Vivian M Band	parent, graggers grandchild, moth	ndparent, (child)	address: Vinia Michael 9343 Hwy 131 Blockenton; M.C. 28320
COCONO A	Linda Bordeau	phone: Vinion Masains 4/0,863,4251 phone:	parent, gra grandchild, moth (daughter-ir	1	address: 1/2 / 13 1 13 1 13 1 13 1 13 1 13 1 13
received 1-70/1/18	Vinian me Samuel	Vivian McKail 910-863-4266 phone:	voter's spouse, parent, grandpare mother-in-law, father in	ent, child, grandchild,	address: Vivian M. Banix 19343 Huy 131 Bladenbarg 726 J. 9320

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		ty Wall - Har Accountability	Delivered Sheet		°MUST FOLLOW NC STAT 1,63-231 IN REGARDS TO REQUESTIN, MD DELIVERING OF ABSENTEE BY MAIL BALLOTS°
DATE AND TIME DELIVERED		NAME OF PERSON DELIVERING BALLOT	·	ATIVE RELATION (CIRCLE ONE)	BY SIGNING, I ATTEST I AM A NEAR RELATIVE AS OUTLINED IN THE GENERAL STATUTE AND THAT BY DELIVERING THIS BALLOT! UNDERSTAND THAT FAILURE TO COMPLY WITH THE RULES OF G.S. 163-226.3 WILL RESULT IN A CLASS! FELONY.
COLLAND I		0.863 _ 472 - 51 phone:	parent, gr grandchild, moth daughter-in stepparent,		Vinion Makouisk 9343 Hky 131 Beanborn M. 228322 address:
RECOINS 1	Steni Buleard	phone:	Brandonna, moun		address: Vision Michaels 9343 HWY 136 Bladelow, MC 28320
calved 10/1//8	"Huginan Mikepolisinal	phone:	daughter-ir stepparent,		address: Vinia Inchomic 9343 HVY 131 Brodenberg, N.C 28320
10/1/15	Mawn'n Zee Mckey	Mannin Lee Mc Aug 0610-322-750 phone:	voter spouse, parent, grandchild, moth daughter-ir stepparent,	brother, sister, andparent, child, er-in-law, father-in-law, -law, son-in-law, or stepchild.	address:
reseived	Jony Severine.	Jany Leine 974-5274	voter's spouse, parent, grandpard mother-in-law, father-in so stepparent,	brother, sister, nt, child, grandchild, a law, daughter-in-law, n-in-law, or stepchild,	Jay Sevenie address: 12031 Huzy:2

201~	1	y Mall - Mar scountability	Delivered Sheet	"MUST FOLLOW NC STAT 163-231. IN REGARDS TO REQUESTIK ND DELIVERING OF ARSENTEE BY MAIL BALLOTS"
DATE AND TIME DELIVERED	NAME OF VOTER YOU ARE RETURNING BALLOT FOR AND BALLOT APPLICATION #	NAME OF PERSON DELIVERING BALLOT	NEAR RELATIVE RELATION TO VOTER (CIRCLE ONE)	BY SIGNING, I ATTEST I AM A NEAR RELATIVE. AS OUTLINED IN THE GENERAL STATUTE AND. THAT BY DELIVERING THIS BALLOT I. UNDERSTAND THAT FAILURE TO COMPLY WITH THE RULES OF G.S. 163-226.3 WILL RESULT IN A CLASS I FELONY.
1. 10-1-18]	Stephen Nance Nickson	Stephen Nance Nickson phone: 910-876-538	voter)s spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	address: 10107 NC 131 HWY B-bora, NC
7959FV93	Scott Tin man	Deborah Ann Hutchingson phone: 910-633-0479	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	Alon La Victurian address: 7345 NC 131 HWY B-6010, NC
	Deborah Ann Hutchingson	phone: 510-633-647	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	Actoria O. Huringis address: -7365 NC 131 Hay B-boro
10-1-18	Jung Down	phone:	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	address: 447/0/d AOBO TISBARG. Blowderborow-C-203=
reconned 120-1-18	(130/10/7 10. (0)	TERMY DONE 910-840-0728 phone:	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	Jany & Are

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		ty Mail - Har Accountability	Delivered Sheet	*MUST FOLLOW NC STA* 165-283. IN REGARDS TO REQUESTIL . ND DELIVERING OF AGSENTEE BY MAIL BALLOTS*
DATE AND TIME DELIVERED	NAME OF VOTER YOU ARE RETURNING BALLOT FOR AND BALLOT APPLICATION	NAME OF PERSON DELIVERING BALLOT	NEAR RELATIVE RELATION TO VOTER (CIRCLE ONE)	BY SIGNING, I ATTEST I AM A NEAR RELATIVE AS OUTLINED IN THE GENERAL STATUTE AND THAT BY DELIVERING THIS BAILOT I UNDERSTAND THAT FAILURE TO COMPLY WITH THE RULES OF G.S. 163-22GG WILL RESULT IN A CLASS I FELONY.
1022018	10 Votes	Audrey Afkinson phone:	parent, grandparent, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	andress.
1000 [VO] 10[3] (8 9 W	J. P. M. GUNNESS	Sかんご phone:	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	address:
received	J. P. M. E. C. Universit	J.M. G. K. WILLS S	voter's spouse, brother, slster, parent grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	Address: 300 600AEN (7.
POSOTVE O	K. M. M. Guennall	J.P. M. Granni	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	Jaddress: 306 600 Am (57) 7
10-3-2018	Louise antry White	(12 and 10 mile) phone: 910-876-321	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child grandchild, mother in-law, father in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	Mille White

, s. eve.	•	dy Mall - Har Accountability	Delivered Sheet	*MUST FOLLOW NC STA7 163-232 IN REGARDS TO REQUESTII ND DELIVERING OF ABSENTEE BY MAIL BALLOTS*
DATE AND TIME DELIVERED	NAME OF VOTER YOU ARE RETURNING BALLOT FOR AND BALLOT APPLICATION #	NAME OF PERSON DELIVERING BALLOT	NEAR RELATIVE RELATION TO VOTER (CIRCLE ONE)	BY SIGNING. I ATTEST I AM A NEAR RELATIVE AS OUTLINED IN THE GENERAL STATUTE AND THAT BY DELIVERING THIS BALLOT I UNDERSTAND THAT FAILURE TO COMPLY WITH THE RULES OF G.S. 163-226.3 WILL RESULT IN A CLASS I FELONY.
(10-3-2018)	JANUS 13- Hester	Woody Hester	parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law,	Mn & Herte address: 571-Senset Alex Kado
70001 (10-4-2018)	Curtis Timothy Berita		voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild mother-in-law father-in-law	Bould O. Benjandaddress: 2ACO Lee St. Blockenborg, NC 28320
10-4-2018	Pameia Avant Bentun	Pamela Avant Benton phone: 910-874-0228	parent, grandparent, child,	Jamel a. Berton address: a46 Lee St. Blockenboro, NC 28330
(10 5 2:18)	Dunna J Durkwarth	Ruties Quekworth	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	address: 200 PARSON STREET BUADENBORO NC 25320
7000 P	Rufus RDUCKWOTH I	- Rufus Duckworth	(voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent; grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	Pulus R Ducement IT address: 200 PARSON STREET BLANGUBORD NC 28320

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NAME OF VOTER YOU ARE NAME OF PERSON NEAR RELATIVE RELATION SCANNER BY MANUEL RELATIVE AND SALLOT APPLICATION & DELIVERING BALLOT TO VOTER (CIRCLE ONE) DATE AND TIME DELIVERED AND BALLOT APPLICATION & DELIVERING BALLOT TO VOTER (CIRCLE ONE) DATE AND TIME DELIVERED AND BALLOT APPLICATION & DELIVERING BALLOT TO VOTER (CIRCLE ONE) DATE AND TIME DELIVERED AND BALLOT APPLICATION & DELIVERING BALLOT TO VOTER (CIRCLE ONE) DATE AND TIME DELIVERED AND BALLOT APPLICATION & DELIVERING BALLOT TO VOTER (CIRCLE ONE) DATE AND TIME DELIVERED AND BALLOT APPLICATION & DELIVERING BALLOT TO VOTER (CIRCLE ONE) DATE AND TIME DELIVERED AND BALLOT APPLICATION & DELIVERING BALLOT TO VOTER (CIRCLE ONE) DATE AND TIME DELIVERED AND BALLOT APPLICATION & DELIVERING BALLOT TO VOTER (CIRCLE ONE) DATE AND TIME DELIVERED AND BALLOT TO VOTER (CIRCLE ONE) DATE AND TIME DELIVERING BALLOT TO VOTER (CIRCLE ONE) DATE AND TIME DELIVERING BALLOT TO VOTER (CIRCLE ONE) DATE AND TIME DELIVERING BALLOT TO VOTER (CIRCLE ONE) DATE AND TIME DELIVERING BALLOT TO VOTER (CIRCLE ONE) DATE AND TIME DELIVERING BALLOT TO VOTER (CIRCLE ONE) DATE AND TIME DELIVERING BALLOT TO VOTER (CIRCLE ONE) DATE AND TIME DELIVERING BALLOT TO VOTER (CIRCLE ONE) DATE AND TIME DELIVERING BALLOT TO VOTER (CIRCLE ONE) DATE AND TIME DELIVER TO VOTER (CIRCLE ONE) DATE AND TIME DATE DELIVERY AND TIME	, see a		• •		
NAME OF VOTER YOU ARE NAME OF PERSON NEAR RELATIVE RELATION RETURNING BALLOT FOR DELIVERING BALLOT TO VOTER (CIRCLE ONE) RETURNING BALLOT APPLICATION # TO AND PAULUS T		Ballot A	accountabillary	/ Sheet	
DATE AND TIME DELIVERED RETURNING BALLOT FOR RETURNING BALLOT FOR DELIVERING BALLOT TO VOTER (CIRCLE ONE) THE MAND BALLOT APPLICATION # CASSIENDING.		ALANE OF MOTER VOLUME			AS OUTLINED IN THE GENERAL STATUTE AND
DATE AND TIME DELIVERED AND BALLOT APPLICATION # JOAN DALOT APPLICATI			(·	1 American de la constitución de
JOAN PHYLLIS WILLIAMS WIGHTH WILLIAMS		-	DELIVERING BALLOT	TO VOTER (CIRCLE ONE)	
Williams 9/6-133-0455 9/6-133-0455 9/6-133-0455 Phone: Noter's spouse, brother, child, grandparent, or stepchild. Paranchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild. Paranchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild. Paranchild, mother-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild. Paranchild, mother-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild. Paranchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, father-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild. Paranchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, father-in-law, address: Paranchild, Silver, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, stepparent, or stepchild. Paranchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, father-in-law, address: Paranchild, sughter-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	DATE AND TIME DELIVERED				
## Pro-133-0455 Franchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild. Blown of the parent, grandparent, child, grandparent, or stepchild. Blown of the parent, grandparent, child, grandparent, or stepchild. Blown of the parent, grandparent, child, grandparent, child, grandparent, or stepchild. Blown of the parent, grandparent, child, grandparent, or stepchild. Blown of the parent, grandparent, child, grandparent, or stepchild. Blown of the parent, grandparent, child, grandparent, or stepchild. Blown of the parent, grandparent, child, grandparent, grandparent, child, grandparent, grandparent, grandparent, grandparent, grandparent, grandparent, grandpare	. Meceived	JOA WPHYLLIS Williams		16.1	Doan P. Williams
parent, grandparent, daughter-in-law, daughter-in-law, daughter-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild. Policy Spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild. Dawless Davids Science (and parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild. Dawless Davids Holden Voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent grandparent, or stepchild. Dawless Science (and parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, daughter-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild. Davids Davids Holden Voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, address popular address parent grandparent, or stepchild. PENTON, JR. RENTON, JR. Benton Benton Benton Benton Address: P.C. Box 7 7 8 son-in-law, son-in-la	1/0-5-2018			daughter-in-law, son-in-law,	address: 160352428 Bladen 6000 nc 28320—
phone: Solice Care Color Colo	recoived	Hope WBell	,	parent, grandparent, child grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law,	The state of the s
grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, address: phone: Dewlyss grandchild, mother-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	1. And the second secon			1	
Samuel taul The SSICA KANCE voter's Spouse brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, son-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild. Divil SSICA KANCE voter's Spouse brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild. Divil SSICA KANCE voter's Spouse brother, sister, parent, in-law, address: popular address: popular voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, in-law, stepparent, child, grandchild, grandchild, grandchild, grandchild, grandchild, mother-in-law, daughter-in-law, daughter-in-law, address: P.O. Box 778 mother-in-law, son-in-law, son-in-law, son-in-law, son-in-law, son-in-law, son-in-law, son-in-law, son-in-law, address: P.O. Box 778 mother-in-law, son-in-law, son-in-law, or stepchild.	· recived	Volen	1 / 🦳 .	grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law,	address:
parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild. Description of the content o		·			
phone: C.U.R.: TIS TIMESTHY TIME BENTON Voter's spouse, brother, sister, Soparent grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-In law, father-In-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild. Denton BLI-DENBORG, W.C., Stepparent, or stepchild.	recoived 1000	Samuel Yaul	Tessica Kaner Dowless	parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law,	5. lizabethering de
CURITIS TIMOTHY TIM BENTON Voter's spouse, brother, sister, Denton BENTON, JR. Woter's spouse, brother, sister, Denton Mother-In law, father-In-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild. Stepparent, or stepchild.			nhono	stepparent, or stepchild.	1
voter's spouse, brother, sister, BENTON, JR. PENTON, JR. Woter's spouse, brother, sister, Benton		CUPITIS TIMOTIAY			
mother-in law, father-in-law, daughter-in law, address: P.C. Box 778 son-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	· second				1/ Borton
son-in-law, BLITDENBORE, WC., stepparent, or stepchild.		IDENTON, JR.			Y LAND TO THE STATE OF THE STAT
stepparent, or stepchild, and some 2000 and the stepparent are stepchild.	110-9-18			mother-in law, father-in-law, daughter-in\aw	address: P.O. BOX 776
$\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}$,	phone (10) 574-0229	stepparent, or stepchild.	246 LEE ST. 28320

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, 1-14		y Mail - Har Accountability	Delivered Sheet	"MUST FOLLOW NC STAT 163-232 IN REGARDS TO REQUESTIL, AND DELIVERING OF ABSENTEE BY MAIL BALLOTS"
DATE AND TIME DELIVERED	NAME OF VOTER YOU ARE RETURNING BALLOT FOR AND BALLOT APPLICATION #	NAME OF PERSON DELIVERING BALLOT	NEAR RELATIVE RELATION TO VOTER (CIRCLE ONE)	BY SIGNING, I ATTEST I AM A NGAR RELATIVE. AS OUTLINED IN THE GENERAL STATUTE AND THAT BY DELIVERING THIS BALLOT I UNDERSTAND THAT FAILURETO COMPLY WITH THE RULES OF G.S. 163-226.3 WILL RESULT IN A CLASS I FELONY.
TOCOLVE J	JEKRY DWAYNE EASEN	Glinge A Si E ASON	voter's spouse, brother, sister, CSE parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law,	address: 401 Edundos, AUK
10-9-R		phone: 9/0-519-8056	stepparent, or stepchild.	Her Ea Bladenbaro, N.C. 28350
received	Christopher Delynn EASON	Glingers Frason	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law,	Kingh S. Ecases
10-9-18		phone:り心、549、会文し	daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepnarent, or stepchild.	address: 401 Edwards 9LE. Dladestocko, n.c. 283,00
received	Penn PAKICK AUS	DEAN PARICK PASS	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law,	Low Russ
10-9-15		phone:	daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	address: 8130:11490 St. Bodenbaron.c. 28320
received	Kim m. Spurling	Kim m. Spurling	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law,	Him In Spurling
. 16-9-18		phone:910885-624	daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	address: 164 Freyst. Bladentaro rec 28320
recoived 72-78	Sed Lunch	Ted R.SMITH	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son in law,	Jen h Smilk address: 1/502 Center
		phone:910-874603	stepparent, or stepchild.	Black low 11C

		ly Mall - Mar Accountability	Delivered Sheat	"MUST FOLLOW NC STAT 163-231 IN REGARDS TO REQUESTIN, AND DELIVERING OF ABSENTEE BY MAIL BALLOTS"
DATE AND TIME DELIVERED	NAME OF VOTER YOU ARE RETURNING BALLOT FOR AND BALLOT APPLICATION #	NAME OF PERSON DELIVERING BALLOT	NEAR RELATIVE RELATION TO VOTER (CIRCLE ONE)	BY SIGNING, LATTEST LAM A NEAR RELATIVE AS OUTLINED IN THE GENERAL STATUTE AND, THAT BY DELIVERING THIS BALLOT I, UNDERSTAND THAT FAILURE TO COMPLY WITH THE RULES OF G.S. 163-226.3 WILL RESULT IN A CLASS I FELONY.
10/10/18	HIRAM K. CALLIANA	ク 19M2 phone: 910 七48-2191	voter's) spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	Denik Casch address: 526 Keek, Rd. BladenBord, N.C. 28
received	Donis ward	Same phone: 916-80%, 0235	oter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	address; 104 Peran D+# 2C Bladent TO, NC 283.20
	Born Ward	Dors ward phone: 9/a 809-0225	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law,	address: ward of Pican St #20 Bladen borg Ne 2920
(<u>1000)</u> (100)	URDA SKORMS	RELMONDS NORMS 910-648-2334 phone:	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, R S grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	address: GuyTin RD 13 LADENBORO, N.C. 28320
[10-12-18]	Rosella D. Pait	Rose/la Pait phone:710-863-4581	voter's spouse brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother in-law, father-in-law, son-In-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	Goulla Pait

		y Wall - Hand		°MUST FOLLOW NC STATUTE 163-23:1
make the backers on the second of the second	Ballot A	kacountability	Sheet	IN REGARDS TO REQUESTING AND DELIVERING OF ABSENTEE BY MAIL BALLOTS*
DATE AND TIME DELIVERED	NAME OF VOTER YOU ARE RETURNING BALLOT FOR AND BALLOT APPLICATION #	NAME AND PHONE NUMBER OF PERSON DELIVERING BALLOT	NEAR RELATIVE RELATION TO VOTER (CIRCLE ONE)	BY SIGNING, I ATTEST I AIM A NEAR RELATIVE AS OUTLINED IN THE GENERAL STATUTE AND THAT BY DELIVERING THIS BALLOT I UNDERSTAND THAT FAILURE TO COMPLY WITH THE RULES OF G.S. 163-226.3 WILL RESULT IN A CLASS I FELONY. Address of person returning ballot.
10-12-18	Wade D. Pait	Rosella Parl	voter's zpouse brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law,	address: Rosella. Part
		phone:%0-863-458/	daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	3074 NC 410 HWY Bladentoss, NC 2732
10-15-18	Tyler B. Everns	Ton: Cuans	voter's spouse, brother, sister, 202 parent) grandparent, child, grandcinid, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	address: De Escaro 3886 N. Milchells ForciRd
10-15-18	Rylie M Evans	phone: 410862 5829	voter's spouse, brother, sister, 2. 2. parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in law, daughter-in-law, son-in law, stepparent, or stepchild.	address: Ton. Evens 3566 N Mitchellfood Rd Olanda No. 28423
.0-15-18	Levy C. Pait	phone: 9108625829 Levy C. Part Jayer S. Part phone: 910-862-8757	voter spouse brother, sister, parein, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	address: Sylvice Perit 1370 Center Pd. Blades Care, NE 28320
10-15-18	Sugee Sylvia Part	gayce C. Pait phone: 4/6-362-8757	voter' spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	address: Sykra Pait 1270 Cinter Pd. bladenfors, NC 28320
10-15-18	Zachery Tvery	Many Billichery phone: 910 876 7212	voter's epouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	address: N. My Beth Iver 10850 Center Pol Bladen Lara NC 2830

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×554	l .	y Mail - Ha d ccountabity	1	*MUST FOLLOW NC ST" 'E 163-231 IN REGARDS TO REQUEL AND DELIVERING OF ABSENTEE BY MAIL BALLOTS*
DATE AND TIME DELIVERED	NAME OF VOTER YOU ARE RETURNING BALLOT FOR AND BALLOT APPLICATION #	NAME OF PERSON DELIVERING BALLOT	NEAR RELATIVE RELATION TO VOTER (CIRCLE ONE)	BY SIGNING, LATTEST LAM A NEAR RELATIVE AS OUTLINED IN THE GENERAL STATUTE AND THAT BY DELIVERING THIS BALLOT I. UNDERSTAND THAT FAILURE TO COMPLY WITH THE RULES OF G.S. 269-226.3 WILL RESULT IN A CLASS FELONY.
10/16/18	Charlestiye called	Charles-Wayor calls	grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	Charles Ways Calledon address: 16 244 1-14131 BLAdenboro N.C.
Para Long Selection of the Control o		9-3-6-70-500-9216	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	Alorin Mc Landon Man address: 1171 lenchum Man Rieselwood, Ne Esch
· RECANOSI 10-17-18]		Marin Ma.2 phone 910.500.9216	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	Genin Mcz address: 1171 Anden Rich Regelwiod, NC 2848
10 17-18		Zinla Mints 874-2414 phone:	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	Linda Mints address: 188 Lewis Pocket Bladenporo, NC 28320
PECONO S	Chakayla Li Mclean	1910.520.9216 phone:	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, <u>grandchild,</u> mother-in-law, father-in law, daughter in-law son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	More McL

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	a soinsada A follsa		"MUST FOLLOW NC ST" 7E 363-231 IN REGARDS TO REQUE: AND DELIVERING OF ABSENTEE BY MAIL BALLOTS*	
DATE AND TIME DELIVERED	NAME OF VOTER YOU ARE RETURNING BALLOT FOR AND BALLOT APPLICATION #	NAME OF PERSON DELIVERING BALLOT	NEAR RELATIVE RELATION TO VOTER (CIRCLE ONE)	BY SIGNING, I ATTEST I AM A NEAR RELATIVE. AS OUTLINED IN THE GENERAL STATUTE AND THAT BY DELIVERING THIS BALLOT! UNDERSTAND THAT FAILURE TO COMPLY WITH THE RULES OF G.S. 163-226.3 WILL RESULT IN A CLASS I FELONY.
10/19/18	Rosa Britt Callina	Rosa Britt Calleha phone: 910-862-9588	grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law,	Rosa Britt Callebar address: Kelly Rd. 526 Kelly Rd. Bladinbars, NC 23520
10/20/18 10/20/18	Frances Gooden Adams	that delivered to OS Location. phone:	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	address;
10/22/18		FOBERTWAIN JOK	parent, grandparent, sister, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	address:
16/22/18	Margor Kunay Toke	MARjonie K. Joke a. phone:	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	Marjore K. Jahla address:
10/35/18	Donic Han Buith Lewin	phone:	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	Dicio Ann Lutt Zacia address:

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A colorer		y Mall - Hart Ecountabily		*MUST FOLLOW NC STAT - 1.63-231 IN REGARDS TO REQUEST, .ND DELIVERING OF ABSENTEE BY MAIL BALLOTS*
DATE AND TIME DELIVERED	NAME OF VOTER YOU ARE RETURNING BALLOT FOR AND BALLOT APPLICATION #	NAME OF PERSON DELIVERING BALLOT	NEAR RELATIVE RELATION TO VOTER (CIRCLE ONE)	BY SIGNING, LATTEST LAM A NEAR RELATIVE AS OUTLINED IN THE GENERAL STATUTE AND THAT BY DELIVERING THIS BALLOT I UNDERSTAND THAT FAILURE TO COMPLY WITH THE RULES OF G.S. 263-226.3 WILL RESULT IN A CLASS LEELONY.
10-22-20/8	-	phone: 90 86 2 9001	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-In-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	address: Ja Jantho Caria Sc White Lake no
10/23/18	Jea, ne HE OWERS	Jianette Ducenz phone:	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	134 Old Abbottsburg! Bladen boro RC283 address:
10/23/18	Charles Dwens	Jeanitte Auen	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	address: 134 0 (dAlibotIsbu Bladienboro NC) 2832
recolved	Justin Mattew Nunnery	Denn running	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	POBO 3 DAM NUME address: 7.6.180484 Day Hulne 28392
10-5-19 1 31	William Baston monroe sr	Drun Tunney phone [10] 876-3104	stepparent, or stepchild.	address: Po Bort 34 Jan Mandric 28392

- 170.	1	y Mall - Hand Countablety		*MUST FOLLOW NC ST TE 163-231 IN REGARDS TO REQUL JAND DELIVERING OF ABSENTEE BY MAIL BALLOTS*
DATE AND TIME DELIVERED	NAME OF VOTER YOU ARE RETURNING BALLOT FOR AND BALLOT APPLICATION #	NAME OF PERSON DELIVERING BALLOT	NEAR RELATIVE RELATION TO VOTER (CIRCLE ONE)	BY SIGNING, LATTEST LAM A NEAR RELATIVE AS OUTLINED IN THE GENERAL STATUTE AND THAT BY DELIVERING THIS BALLOT L UNDERSTAND THAT FAILURE TO COMPLY WITH THE RULES OF G. S. 163-226.3 WILL RESULT IN A CLASS LEELO MY.
Contraction property of the second	Jest Lery Prios.	Suffrey Just	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	Alfred Just Hickory Bladgarows NC 283
	Cantlow Priest	July Just	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	address: 10237 Turished Hackory Bladenters N.C. 28
· MECONO		phone:	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-In-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	address:
recond 1		phone:	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	address:
recoined		phone:	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father in law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	address;

;ris		ly Mail - Hart Accountabile y		*MUST FOLLOW NC STAT 1.63-233. IN REGARDS TO REQUEST ND DELIVERING OF ABSENTEE BY MAIL BALLOTS?
DATE AND TIME DELIVERED	NAME OF VOTER YOU ARE RETURNING BALLOT FOR AND BALLOT APPLICATION #	NAME OF PERSON DELIVERING BALLOT	NEAR RELATIVE RELATION TO VOTER (CIRCLE ONE)	BY SIGNING, LATTEST LAW A NEAR RELATIVE AS OUTLINED IN THE GENERAL STATUTE AND THAT BY DELIVERING THIS DALLOT I UNDERSTAND THAT FAILURE TO COMPLY WITH THE RULES OF G.S. 163-226.3 WILL RESULT IN A CLASS I FELONY,
10-23-18 3:15 p	Stiph 2 BUNN	Steph Burn Phone: 5498284	yoter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, alaughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	address: 52 Fogether
10-23-18 3-45 p	Stephen Bum	Style Br	parent, grandparent, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	address: 56 Forth a, white whe
" PECOPY 10-23-18 3545p	Logan NBUNN	5478-Bur	parent: grandparent, sister, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-In-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	address: Faythite worthing
10-33-18 _p	Kathy Bure	Styth Burn phone: 549 82-84	parent, grandparent, child, grandchlld, mother-in-law, father-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	Steph Ben address: 56 Fayeth Whitehas
10-24-18 10-34-18	Cathie Price	Cathir Price 8%.5847 phone:	vater's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	address: 16 Wresham 11. White Lake NC

.55%		y Mali = Hani .ccountabili.y		"MUST FOLLOW NC STAT! 263-231 IN REGARDS TO REQUESTI: 10 DELIVERING OF ABSENTEE BY MAIL BALLOTS"
DATE AND TIME DELIVERED	NAME OF VOTER YOU ARE RETURNING BALLOT FOR AND BALLOT APPLICATION #	NAME OF PERSON DELIVERING BALLOT	NEAR RELATIVE RELATION TO VOTER (CIRCLE ONE)	BY SIGNING, LATTEST LAM A NEAR RELATIVE AS OUTLINED IN THE GENERAL STATUTE AND THAT BY DELIVERING THIS BALLOT I UNDERSTAND THAT FAILURE TO COMPLY WITH THE RULES OF G.S. 163-226-3 WILL RESULT IN A CLASS I FELONY.
10.40 pm	Danny Price	Compile Price 876.5847 phone:	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	Cothie Price address: Mc Hrexham & Mr. Te Cale NC
10/24/18	Mas Bedlow Smith	phone: 862-8364	oter sspouse, brother, slster, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	address: 1-239 Azasen Kni Chh Blade Month 2830
10/24//8	Bris Rosadettle	862 - 4523 phone:	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	address gussin Rd Thadandous NC 132
POCORY A	Elga Abellian Kusser	862-4073	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	address; Masion Rd. Market NC33
1 (ACOINC) 1 10/24/18]	Inde Cale Bridger	869-14573 phone:	voter's spoouse, brother, sister, parent, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	dina R. Buscar address: Buscon Let Blockenboon NC 257

4"	1	ly Mail - Han Accountability		*MUST FOLLOW NC STAT* 163-231 IN REGARDS TO REQUESTI: 1D DELIVERING OF ABSENTEE BY MAIL BALLOTS*
DATE AND TIME DELIVERED	NAME OF VOTER YOU ARE RETURNING BALLOT FOR AND BALLOT APPLICATION #	NAME OF PERSON DELIVERING BALLOT	NEAR RELATIVE RELATION TO VOTER (CIRCLE ONE)	BY SIGNING, I ATTEST I AM A NEAR RELATIVE AS OUTLINED IN THE GENERAL STATUTE AND THAT BY DELIVERING THIS BALLOT I UNDERSTAND THAT FAILURE TO COMPLY WITH THE RULES OF G.S. 163-226.3 WILL RESULT IN A CLASS I FELONY.
10-26-20181	Christine H. Mood	9 Phone 17 0 - 872 4907	voter') spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	Christine H. Marl. address: 8 N.C. Hwy. 24. Eligabothsun DC. 283.
10-26-2018)	Hal W. Moody Sr.	phone:	voter's spouse brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	address: 8058 NC, Loug- 242. N. Elizabethtom, NC 283:
· recons	Edward N Thumbrey	Mikz Coadarll 910-874-7017 phone:	voter's spouse, brother sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	Serve M Coedessi addressi myk Dune El 12 stalletowa N° 2833
ROSONY -	Mornie & Heamphrey	77 10-874-7217 phone:	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	address: Derio ML Corve Elizipholitam N (283)
7670°170 (-) 10-20-2018	VIRCUINIA SNYDER- HAYES	562-5370 B62-5370	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent grandparent, child, grandchild, mother in-law, father in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	address: 125 HARPELION RG. CLARKTON, NC 28433

	Absentae B Ballot A	*MUST FOLLOW NC S* UTE 3.63-233. IN REGARDS TO REQU G AND DELIVERING OF ABSENTEE BY MAIL BALLOTS*		
DATE AND TIME DELIVERED	NAME OF VOTER YOU ARE RETURNING BALLOT FOR AND BALLOT APPLICATION #	NAME OF PERSON DELIVERING BALLOT	NEAR RELATIVE RELATION TO VOTER (CIRCLE ONE)	BY SIGNING, I ATTEST I AM A NEAR RELATIVE AS OUTLINED IN THE GENERAL STATUTE AND THAT BY DELIVERING THIS BALLOT I, UNDERSTAND THAT FAILURE TO COMPLY WITH THE RULES OF G.S. 163-225-3 WILL RESULT IN A CLASS I FELONY.
THE CONTRACTOR OF THE PARTY OF	Carolyn Sciller 3 1	Caretyn Ballewst phone: 914-862-8352	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-In-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild,	(and Roshard) address:
	Donald Ballard	Carelyn Ballard phone: 915-662-6-52	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	address:
· VECOTY !	Helene Pavalecters	,	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	address: 17145 NC 131 14. 121mlinbora, N. 28360
TOGORO J	Nathan Bowen	Darlene Churham phone 9/6-655-83	voter's spouse, brother, sister parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	address: 55 4 & Machan Ka
. Record		phone:	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, ! stepparent, or stepchild.	Legenord de

,415	1	iy Mail - Arnd Accountabulty		*MUST FOLLOW NC * TUTE 1:63-231. IN REGARDS TO REQL 1:05 ABSENTEE BY MAIL BALLOTS*
DATE AND TIME DELIVERED	NAME OF VOTER YOU ARE RETURNING BALLOT FOR AND BALLOT APPLICATION #	NAME OF PERSON DELIVERING BALLOT	NEAR RELATIVE RELATION TO VOTER (CIRCLE ONE)	BY SIGNING, LATTEST I AM A NEAR RELATIVE AS OUTLINED IN THE GENERAL STATUTE AND THAT BY DELIVERING THIS BALLOT I UNDERSTAND THAT FAILURE TO COMPLY WITH THE RULES OF G.S. 163-226.3 WILL RESULT IN A CLASS I FELONY.
10/29/2016]	Wanda Broth	10/876-1341 phone:	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	Manda Brett address: 145 Ed Lesson Ed Clart 40, NC
196017018	graham tyler Britt	Warda Birth G10/876-1341 phone:	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild; mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	Mala Bittle address: 145 2d Sessona Cd Clartton Nei
10/29/2051	Amber BARRANT	Rochmy T. WARWE 9/0-81/0-0377	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	address: Plancoloco, MC
10/24//5	Brian Keith Pait	Biren Kreith Pait phone: 910 872 3040	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	Brian Keith Part address: 10258 Huy 41 WEST Blackenboro, N.C. 2832
7000000 A	Jacquelyn Pait	Jacquelyn Pait phone: 910 8723041	voter' spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	Sacquelyn Pait

**		ly Mail - Han Accountability		*MUST FOLLOW NC STAT' 163-231 IN REGARDS TO REQUESTI. 10 DELIVERING OF ABSENTEE BY MAIL BALLOTS*
DATE AND TIME DELIVERED	NAME OF VOTER YOU ARE RETURNING BALLOT FOR AND BALLOT APPLICATION #	NAME OF PERSON DELIVERING BALLOT	NEAR RELATIVE RELATION TO VOTER (CIRCLE ONE)	BY SIGNING, LATTEST LAM A NEAR RELATIVE. AS OUTLINED IN THE GENERAL STATUTE AND THAT BY DELIVERING THIS BALLOT L UNDERSTAND THAT FAILURE TO COMPLY WITH THE RULES OF G.S. 163-226.3 WILL RESULT IN A CLASS LEELONY.
10/30//8	iulic Goodum	phone: 910-862-262	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	ellit undlind druz
1000 397 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3	Done Goodun	Thumas Goodun phone: 910-862-2662	voter's spouse, (brother,) sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-In-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	address:
CONTRACTOR OF THE PARTY OF THE	LACY FARRELL MCDUFFIC	LACK FAKRELL McDUFFIE McDUFFIE	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-In-law, father-in-law, daughter-In-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	Jacy Tamall Mc Scoller address: 279 LIVE CAY METICODIST CHURCH KITTE CAK, N. C. 253999
Para San San San San San San San San San Sa		phone:	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	address:
record		phone:	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother In-law, father-In-law, daughter-In-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	address:

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and the state of t	1	y Maïl - Hari Coduntabil, cy		*MUST FOLLOW NC STA" 163-231 IN REGARDS TO REQUEST IND DELIVERING OF ABSENTEE BY MAIL BALLOTS*
DATE AND TIME DELIVERED	NAME OF VOTER YOU ARE RETURNING BALLOT FOR AND BALLOT APPLICATION #	NAME OF PERSON DELIVERING BALLOT	NEAR RELATIVE RELATION TO VOTER (CIRCLE ONE)	BY SIGNING, I ATTEST I AM A NEAR RELATIVE AS OUTLINED IN THE GENERAL STATUTE AND THAT BY DELIVERING THIS BALLOT I UNDERSTAND THAT FAILURE TO COMPLY WITH THE RULES OF G.S. 163-226.3 WILL RESULT IN A CLASS I FELONY.
PERMIT	Boby Gler Townsond	SAME 910-814-2354	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	Bolly Towns and address:
P203-18	Wendy Sprick Rike	SAME 9/0:8/14/23.58	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	Wondy A. Padlite
10-31-18	Larry L'Brockmoore	phone: (910) 655-9744	parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	Mary Bowen Mits address: Ritgelwood, N.C. 28456 494 Dickson Ld.
1000 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1	Billy Dove	JANET DOVE Phone: 8823	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	address: BladEN BOREO, N. C.
[71-1-16]	BELLYE DOVE	JANEY DOVE 239-776-8829		Stant Vi Vorce

p. 3-3,		y Wall - He ' Lecountability		*MUST FOLIOW NC 5T# 168-231 IN REGARDS TO REQUEST, AND DELIVERING OF ABSENTEE BY MAIL BALLOTS*
DATE AND TIME DELIVERED	NAME OF VOTER YOU ARE RETURNING BALLOT FOR AND BALLOT APPLICATION #	NAME OF PERSON DELIVERING BALLOT	NEAR RELATIVE RELATION TO VOTER (CIRCLE ONE)	BY SIGNING, LATTEST LAM A NEAR RELATIVE AS OUTLINED IN THE GENERAL STATUTE AND THAT BY DELIVERING THIS BALLOT I UNDERSTAND THAT FAILURE TO COMPLY WITH THE RULES OF G.S. 163-226.3 WILL RESULT IN A CLASS I FELONY.
) TERMINALES	Tettic Graham	Timy Graham phone: 910-515-8476	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, shild; grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	address: Plo Box 703 Ricgeleand, Mc 28456
	Shirley G. Lennand	phone: 910-876-4605	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, 372 daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	address: All The 2453 Composs Rooks S. W. Mil Le Land, NC 2845/
	Sharon Hensters	549-1385	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, chlid, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	address: 37 Storms R. Bladenhaoro N.C. 2832C.
709718	Michael Eugenes	16KESA MENONIA	parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	address 6546 Bennier FORD NO Chillen 28633
11/2/18	JASONS BIRENET.	1802858 12 SALA	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, son-in-law,	Lecera Ne anala

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		ly Mall - Ha Accountability	Delivered Sheet	*MUST FOLLOWING STA 163-231. IN REGARDS TO REQUEST: AND DELIVERING OF ABSENTEE BY MAIL BALLOTS*
DATE AND TIME DELIVERED	NAME OF VOTER YOU ARE RETURNING BALLOT FOR AND BALLOT APPLICATION #	NAME OF PERSON DELIVERING BALLOT	NEAR RELATIVE RELATION TO VOTER (CIRCLE ONE)	BY SIGNING, I ATTEST I AM A NEAR RELATIVE. AS OUTLINED IN THE GENERAL STATUTE AND THAT BY DELIVERING THIS BALLOT I. UNDERSTAND THAT FAILURE TO COMPLY WITH THE RULES OF G.S. 163-226.3 WILL RESULT IN A CLASS I FELONY.
	Tedesa Paiest NeDurader	1286588 MS MA	voter's abouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father in-law, daughter-in-law, son-ln-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	address: SANE AS ALOUE
And the state of t	Franklin Curin Berden	K.	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	James B. Marin address 312 Dene Redge Cir. Blader boro NG
received	carley Etonyn, Davis	Samanthae Benton Davis O110, 549-3107 Iphone:	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	Samanta, B. Dun address: 313 Dune Realgh Bladen by D. D. C.
171-278	Sangentha Bauis	Samantha Benton Davis 910-549-3107	voter spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	Samenthe B. Daws address: 312 Pine Rieder. Blacken biro NC 2632
TARANC A	Amber Ward. Benton	Sancuither Bern Davis 910-549-3107 phone:	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	Sancarthe B. Den- address: 312 Penofelle Bladenber NC 38320

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		iy Mall - Ha Accountability	Delivered Sheat	*MUST FOLLOW NC ST/ 163-231 IN REGARDS TO REQUEST: AND DELIVERING OF ABSENTEE BY MAIL BALLOTS*
DATE AND TIME DELIVERED	NAME OF VOTER YOU ARE RETURNING BALLOT FOR AND BALLOT APPLICATION #	NAME OF PERSON DELIVERING BALLOT	NEAR RELATIVE RELATION TO VOTER (CIRCLE ONE)	BY SIGNING, I ATTEST I AM A NEAR RELATIVE AS OUTLINED IN THE GENERAL STATUTE AND. THAT BY DELIVERING THIS BALLOT I. UNDERSTAND THAT FAILURE TO COMPLY WITH THE RULES OF G.S. 163-226.3 WILL RESULT IN A CLASS I FELONY.
1/2/2018	2017 59391110.17	Frederic L D'Neil Minn phone: 910 777 3387	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild; mother-In-law, father-In-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	address: 1289 East Hroger Riegelwood NC 28456
142/203	Floretta Mudd Grahapi	End of FO Well Min	voter's spouse, brother, si ster, parent, grandparent, child grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	address: 1289 Eas Heard onll
12 CC 18 5 1	Dorothys. Watkin		S voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-In-law, father-in-law, daughter-In-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	address: NC this 53F Externy NC 28:357
11/2/2518	Robert Lee Smith	4712ry Sin/der 910-374-01874 phone:	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	address: 127 Johnson Rd. Elizabethkon N.C. 2833
U[2]18	Jennie Lung	910-876-7348	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-lay	Gennie Lag

N _b ,		y Mall - Ha Accountability	1	"MUST FOLLOW NC ST/ 163-231. IN REGARDS TO REQUEST: AND DELIVERING OF ABSENTEE BY MAIL BALLOTS"
DATE AND TIME DELIVERED	NAME OF VOTER YOU ARE RETURNING BALLOT FOR AND BALLOT APPLICATION #	NAME OF PERSON DELIVERING BALLOT	NEAR RELATIVE RELATION TO VOTER (CIRCLE ONE)	BY SIGNING, I ATTEST I AM A NEAR RELATIVE AS OUTLINED IN THE GENERAL STATUTE AND THAT BY DELIVERING THIS DALLOT I UNDERSTAND THAT FAILURE TO COMPLY WITH THE RULES OF G.S. 163-226.3 WILL RESULT IN A CLASS I FELONY.
11/5/18	Coliria W. Griffin	GINA P. WAREL phone: 910-234-0118	voter's spouse, brother, sister, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	address: 198 NCHLUS/1 Kelly NC 25445
	Heryley Christine Milcaakowski	Thomas MILCZ of Konstr	grandchild, mother-In-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law,	address: 3007 our BUH &d.
	Corey L. Richardson	Co-ey L, Wichardson	parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	address: h: 2 McEwen Rd Clarkton NC 2843)
	Rosalindlessane	910867-7639 phone:	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, <u>cKild'</u>) grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	Sharo Season address: 277 MURCA (3)
11-05-18	Tyler JEZZEII	BeTTy Sve Marc	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent of child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	Bitty Sui Mate. address: 2143 MiTERI, HATT Ell-5, W.C.: 28:+44

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Ballot Accountability Sheet In Regards to Request, And Of Absentee by Mall Ball NAME OF VOTER YOU ARE RETURNING BALLOT FOR AND BALLOT FOR AND BALLOT APPLICATION # DATE AND TIME DELIVERED AND BALLOT APPLICATION # Woter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild. Phone: Yeb Stoo Pt In Regards to Request, And OF Absente by Mall Ball By SIGNING, LATTEST LAM A NEAL AS OUTLINED IN THE GENERAL STATE OF THE POLIVERING THIS BALLOT TO VOTER (CIRCLE ONE) Woter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	1 W & 1° € €	Deliwered	sy Mali - Ha	Absentee E	
NAME OF VOTER YOU ARE RETURNING BALLOT FOR AND BALLOT APPLICATION # DATE AND TIME DELIVERED AND BALLOT APPLICATION # DELIVERING BALLOT NAME OF PERSON DELIVERING BALLOT DELIVERING BALLOT TO VOTER (CIRCLE ONE) NEAR RELATIVE RELATION THAT BY DELIVERING THIS BALLOT TO CONTINUE OF S. 163-226.3 WILL CLASS. I FELONY. ON THE UNDERSTAND THAT FAILURE TO CONTINUE OF SPOUSE, Brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild. Phone: Web \$100 Store The Relative Relation The General STATE THAT BY DELIVERING THIS BALLOT THAT BY DELIVERING THE BY DELIVERING THIS BALLOT THAT BY DELIVERING THIS BALLOT THAT BY DELIVERING THE B	IN RECARD TO BEOLIEUT. AND DELIVERING		• •	1	
phone: Yeb 5700 stepparent, or stepchild. White Cox NC	TO VOTER (CIRCLE ONE) UNDERSTAND THAT FAILURE TO COMPLY WITH			RETURNING BALLOT FOR	DATE AND TIME DELIVERED
voter's spouse, brother, sister,	parent, grandparent, child, dchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, address: [7] AVENCIE TO C	parent, gran grandchild, mothe daughter-in-l	phone: (3)065100		and the state of t
	parent, grandparent, child, dchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law,	parent, gran grandchild, mother daughter-in-l	alphinoc & melni	alphanes in nelvis	
Bethany M. Lesane Althea D. Weaver woter's spouse, brother, sister, and parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, address: 2491 NC Hwi	parent, grandparent, child, Ichild, mother-In-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-In-law,	parent, gran grandchild, mother daughter-in-l	Althea D. Weaver	Bethany M. Lesane	
	parent, grandparent, child diction of the definition of the definition of the desired definition of the definition of th	parent, grar grandchlld, mothe, daughter-in-		Billy A. Butler (77.6.18
William Carroll Dionne Gilletan (voter's spouse) brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, son-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	voter's spouse brother, sister, rent, grandparent, child, grandchild, in-law, father-in-law, son-in-law,	parent, grandparen mother-in-law, father-in- son	919-427-	William Carroll - Gilleland	1360h 600

Anne	A heartan P	iy Walf - Aa-'	Dat the coast	
	I	Accountability	1	"MUST FOLLOW NC STA" 163-231 IN REGARDS TO REQUEST AND DELIVERING OF ABSENTEE BY MAIL BALLOTS*
DATE AND TIME DELIVERED	NAME OF VOTER YOU ARE _RETURNING BALLOT FOR AND BALLOT APPLICATION #	NAME OF PERSON DELIVERING BALLOT	NEAR RELATIVE RELATION TO VOTER (CIRCLE ONE)	BY SIGNING, I ATTEST I AM A NEAR RELATIVE AS OUTLINED IN THE GENERAL STATUTE AND THAT BY DELIVERING THIS BALLOT I UNDERSTAND THAT FAILURE TO COMPLY WITH THE RULES OF G. S. 163-226.3 WILL RESULT IN A CLASS I FELONY.
SECORVO 7	Donald Ballara	Complyn Ballard. 910-862-8352	parent, grandparent, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	Confra Ballows address: 366 Shorthills Or Tarthell ne 28392
PROPERTY -	Vigginia Tatur	Nugerie Tata 910-562 3530 phone:	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	Miginio Tata address: 149 May 410 Apt. 8-8 Blade No 70 es. (2892)
7975/18 1	Rodney Little	910-633-1521 phone:	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-In-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	address: 4316 Tis; 5122 Elizabethy Disc De 233
The second secon	Connie Marie Educists	Connie M. Edwards phone: 809-8027	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	Committee Milled
	Robert Anthony Landreth	Coinie M. Edwards one 909-8027	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent) grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	BladenboroNC 18510

,04	1	ly Wall - Ha Lecountability	Deliwered Sheet	*MUST FOLLOW NC STA 163-231 IN REGARDS TO REQUESTI. AND DELIVERING OF ABSENTEE BY MAIL BALLOTS*
DATE AND TIME DELIVERED	NAME OF VOTER YOU ARE RETURNING BALLOT FOR AND BALLOT APPLICATION #	NAME OF PERSON_ DELIVERING BALLOT	NEAR RELATIVE RELATION TO VOTER (CIRCLE ONE)	BY SIGNING, I ATTEST I AM A NEAR RELATIVE AS OUTLINED IN THE GENERAL STATUTE AND THAT BY DELIVERING THIS BALLOT I UNDERSTAND THAT FAILURE TO COMPLY WITH THE RULES OF G.S. 163-226.3 WILL RESULT IN A CLASS I FELONY.
I SECONDA	Chevie Movie Mertin	Conniem, Echaerda (40) phone: 804-9027	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	Lonno Morce Philippedo address: Village St. By 20
recolved.	Larreli Murchis	Colencia Much'son phone: 6/10 276-4137	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	Aprila Mugusi address: P. U. BEX 2732 Clizalastothining
11-5-18	Roy L. Parker	Et-1-A ANTON (908) 692-5034.	voter's spouse, brother, sister, of parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	address: 279 Old 87 Read ELizabethown, N.C.
775578	Vida A. Cox	Aller CX 91064/1302 phone:	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepc hild.	address: 11/25, Pinge Red Clarkton NC 28433
1000 P	Sham C. Tidd	Shar Todd phone: 9/0 876-0129	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	

		y Mall - An ccountability	Deliwered Sheet	°MUST FOLLOW NC ST/ 163-222 IN REGARDS TO REQUESTI AND DELIVERING OF ABSENTRE BY MAIL BALLOTS°
DATE AND TIME DELIVERED	NAME OF VOTER YOU ARE RETURNING BALLOT FOR AND BALLOT APPLICATION #	NAME OF PERSON DELIVERING BALLOT	NEAR RELATIVE RELATION TO VOTER (CIRCLE ONE)	BY SIGNING, I ATTEST I AM A NEAR RELATIVE AS OUTLINED IN THE GENERAL STATUTE AND THAT BY DELIVERING THIS BALLOT I UNDERSTAND THAT FAILURE TO COMPLY WITH THE RULES OF G.S. 163-226.3 WILL RESULT IN A CLASS I FELONY.
	Chandolyn Todd	Shar 73dd	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	address: 856/d Also, p. shin Shi
11/5/18 A	Rugina Todd	Share Toold phone: 876-0124	oter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	address: 850 ld Albitish. Blude buro; M.C. 25?
	Jeanett & C. Luis		grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law,	Romand Sticas address: 17948 Hay 87 Tan Heel N.C. 28392
10000000000000000000000000000000000000	ROBERT W. MEGGS	CHRIS MEGGS phone: 910-874-5658	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	address: 2245 THERD AVE 21-12+CETHTOWN, NC. 28337
11/5/18	KerShaun D Wike	Pamela D. Long Iphone: 916-617-9969	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, son-In-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	Pack To The address: 65 King Toils CH Riere (wood NC 2915)

1 / 1/2		sy Mall - Ha Necountability	Delivered Sheet	"MUST FOLLOW NC STA 263-232 IN REGARDS TO REQUEST: AND DELIVERING OF ABSENTEE BY MAIL BALLOTS"
DATE AND TIME DELIVERED	NAME OF VOTER YOU ARE RETURNING BALLOT FOR AND BALLOT APPLICATION #	NAME OF PERSON DELIVERING BALLOT	NEAR RELATIVE RELATION TO VOTER (CIRCLE ONE)	BY SIGNING, I ATTEST I AM A NEAR RELATIVE AS OUTLINED IN THE GENERAL STATUTE AND THAT BY DELIVERING THIS BALLOT I. UNDERSTAND THAT FAILURE TO COMPLY WITH THE RULES OF G.S. 163-226.3 WILL RESULT IN A CLASS I FELONY.
11-6-18 9-32Ar	Demetrice Circuncil	Teresa Carine, (voter's spouse; brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	address: 1107 Richer Loon St Elizabeth to a MC 23337
70097 11-6-18	Zelda Mª Fachem	Louella P. Thompson phone: 910-876-7249	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law stepparent, or stepchild.	Joulla P. Kompsen- address: 292 Booker T. Washing. Clarkton, NC 28433
11-6-18	Anna (Sixanna) Dovane	PAF . D. VANE phone: 910-876-2116	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, fizzendparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	TENERS. Wolford Band Line Elizabethoun NC 2833
77-6-18	C. yn Mitt Dulape	11 1 dans (Sept)		Morror Feoral address: DINI Mercon Mill Rd
TARAS T	Charles Ingran	Hilda Ingram 301-1241-3430 phone:	voter's couse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter in law son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	Haday Ingram address: 34 Kilder On Flerich

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		y Mail - Ha .ccountability		*MUST FOLLOW NC ST/ 163-231 IN REGARDS TO REQUEST: AND DELIVERING OF ABSENTEE BY MASI. BALLOTS*
DATE AND TIME DELIVERED	NAME OF VOTER YOU ARE RETURNING BALLOT FOR AND BALLOT APPLICATION #	NAME OF PERSON DELIVERING BALLOT	NEAR RELATIVE RELATION TO VOTER (CIRCLE ONE)	BY SIGNING, I ATTEST I AM A NEAR RELATIVE AS OUTLINED IN THE GENERAL STATUTE AND THAT BY DELIVERING THIS BALLOT I UNDERSTAND THAT FAILURE TO COMPLY WITH THE RULES OF G.S. 163-226.3 WILL RESULT IN A CLASS I FELONY.
	Mary J. GAM T-	Hildia Ingilann phone: 301-641-3430	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	Alla Dingran address: HARRETT SUCAST 34Kildee, et DR
11/6/18	KYLE L. STAPILOFF			address: 34014A4FIET DST. ELIZABETHTEUN NC 283:
TEGRIZA Î	Kerry H. STAPKLOST	1	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	address: 340 HAW IED ST. E THE TUTTO ANEXERS WWW.
	CAROLD, STARKIOLF	KYLE L. STAPHLOFT-	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, fatner-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	address: 3 Eo HAGETELD ST. EUZADETHTOWN NC 2833
11/6 2018]	Hobert Council Jr	phone: 910-874-2056 Clara Couric.1 phone: 910-349-0885	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child) grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	clara Council

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1201ya 1	Sair Francis Count	Clava Council	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, CC grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law,	Clara Council
The state of the s		phone:910.349_0085	daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	address: River RD White Oak N.C. 25349
TETT GILLS	Autra Cole	5March Samuels 910 876 0801 phone:	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	Sharing Sands address: 707 South Hill St. Elizabethbun, N.C. a8:
76/18	Germide Davis Ckomartie	May Dhairan phone: (245-403)		address: 135/ Cibson Dainy Ld Elizabeth nc 38337
11/6/18	Sadie Telvin	PATHERINE HOTTE.	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	address: US Hichway 70
100170 d	Dorothy B. Peleuson	Patricia Jessup phone:862-3986	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	address: 309 W. Sill St. Elizabathtown, M.

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1/~ 6 ~ / 8		phone: CNO SUG-8DIA	grandchild mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	address: 5662 Liston Rd Clarkton Na 28433
	Fletcher Young	Calpana	voter's spouse, brother, sister,	Cap Sit-
11-6-18		phone: (210) 549 - 801 2	grandchild) mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	address: Sublea Listorn RCO CIGNETON NC 25433
PECORYO J	Lee Annhering	Lee Ann Herring	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild,	address: Pa Box 192 901 Ball PKRd
	ſ	phone: (910) 8741900 (SAIL NORDIS		Bladenborg, N.C. 2836
11/6/15	NOLRIS		voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	address; 9/
		phone: 1/11 - 8 1/15 - 1 / 1/1-		Elizabeth trunc NC 38537
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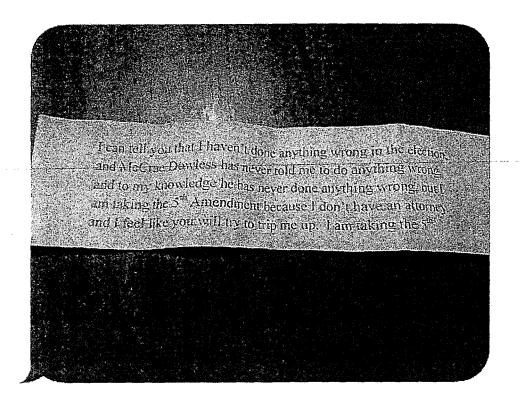
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J. C. T. C.		phone:	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	address:
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recoired		phone:	voter's spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.	address:

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TO TO, ON ELLO

Text Message Yesterday 9:44 PM



Today 1:12 AM

Ok - thank you for the information.



M-1

Affidavit of Emma L Shipman

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA COUNTY OF BLADEN

The Undersigned, Emma L. Shipman, being duly sworn deposes and says:

- 1. I am over the age of 18 and a resident of the state of North Carolina. I have personal knowledge of the facts herein, and, if called as a witness, can testify completely thereto.
- 2. I suffer no legal disabilities and have personal knowledge of the facts set forth below.
- 3. A young lady whom I positively identified by a choice of 4 pictures, came to my house the Sunday after Hurricane Florence and told me that she was assigned to this district to collect absentee ballots. I filled out the ballot while she waited outside and gave it to her when she came back. She took the ballot and put it in an envelope and never sealed it or asked me to sign it. Then she left. Because of the way she presented herself, I thought she was legitimate.

I declare that to the best of my knowledge and belief, the information herein is true, correct, and complete.

Executed this 29 day of October 20	18
Emma & Shiftman	
Emma. L. Shipman	
I Michael Cardell	
Witness	
State of NC	
County of Bladen	
Subscribed and sworn before me, I	
and for the County and State above, do hereby dec	lare The Affiant,
Emma L. Shipman	did appear personally before me and furnish
to me adequate identification of proving their ident	ity and stated that (he/she) did sign this
document of their own free will on this _29 day	
Seal	CeThen new Burk
OFFICIAL SEAL	Notary Public
Notary Public, North Carolina &	7
Cisually of Biptiers	My Commission expires: 3-/2-2022
Cathy Nawkirk	
· Parker (Marian) And The Parker of Communication (Communication Communication Comm	
	EVHIRIT

SUPPLEMENTAL AFFIDAVIT OF EMMA SHIPMAN

North Carolina

County of Bladen

Emma Shipman, appearing before the undersigned notary and being duly sworn, says that;

- I; Emma Shipman, do declare the following under penalty of perjury:
 - I am over the use of 18 and a resident of the state of North Carolina. I have personal knowledge of the facts here, and if called as a witness, can testify completely thereto.
 - 2. I suffer no legal disabilities and have personal knowledge of the facts set forth herein.
 - 3. I reside at 196 Burden Road, Tar Heel, North Carolina. I am a registered North Carolina voter at this address and was eligible to vote in the November 6, 2018 general election.
 - 4. This affidavit is supplemental to my affidavit dated October 29, 2018 submitted to the State Board of Elections on November 29, 2018, attached hereto.
 - As I previously stated, a young woman came to my residence to collect my absentee ballot. I gave this young woman my absentee ballot and absentee ballot envelope to deliver to the proper county election officials.
 - 6. I did not seal the absence ballot in the absence ballot envelope.
 - 7. After I gave my absentee ballot and absentee ballot envelope to this young woman, a third party checked to see whether my ballot had been received by the proper county election officials. I was told that my ballot had not been received by the proper county election officials.
 - I then prepared and signed a complaint which was filed with the Bladen County Board of Elections regarding the status of my absence ballot.
 - Days later, that same young woman who had collected my absentee ballot brought my
 absentee ballot and absentee ballot envelope back to me.
 - 10. I voted at a "one-stop" early, in-person voting location.

[Signature Page to Follow]

EXHIBIT 9

W-2

Exhibit 7.1.2.2

I declare that to the best of my knowledge and belief, the information herein is true, correct, and complete.

Name: Emma Shipman

Signature sames Sheftons

Date: 13,27 1/8

Sworn to (or affirmed) and subscribed before me this the 20

day of Decomban 2018.

Notary Pub

Sandra Whitee Notary's printed or typed name

My commission expires March 12, 2023

Affidavit of Datesha Montgomery

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA COUNTY OF BLADEN

The Undersigned, Datesha Montgomery, being duly sworn deposes and says:

- 1. I am over the age of 18 and a resident of the state of North Carolina. I have personal knowledge of the facts herein, and, if called as a witness, can testify completely thereto.
- 2. I suffer no legal disabilities and have personal knowledge of the facts set forth below.
- 3. On Wednesday evening about two weeks from todays date which is October 12, 2018, a young whit lady came by and asked for my absentee ballot. She stated that she was collecting peoples ballots in the area. She had just come from another ladies house. I filled out two names on the ballot, Hakeem Brown for Sheriff and Vince Rozier for board of education. She stated the others were not important. I gave her the ballot and she said she would finish it herself. I signed the ballot and she left. It was not sealed up at any time.

I declare that to the best of my knowledge and belief, the information herein is true, correct, and complete.

Executed this 29 day of October	20 <i>/</i> 8
Dotesta Mytoners	
Date)ha Montgomery	
SMital Cocdell	
Witness	
State of NC	
Siste of A	
County of Blacker -	
	1 1 1 1.
Subscribed and sworn before me, I	GATHY NEWKINK A Notary Public In
and for the County and State above, do hereby	declare/the Affiant,
Datach Albarta	3.7
Dates na mover gomery	did appear personally before me and furnish
to me adequate identification of proving their in	dentity and stated that She (he/she) did sign this
document of their own free will on this 29	day of 11/17/66- 20/8.
and the contradiction of the transfer of the t	Pott to his
OFFICIAL SEAL &	Carry Tew Kink
Martin Punks, North Caroline	Notary Public
County of Standard	2 1- 2-
Cothy/Newkirk	My Commission expires: 3-12-2032



State Absence Ballot Request Form

AUG 17 2018

TIME REC'D BY.

TO BLADEN COUNTY BOARD OF ELECTIONS

Physical Address

301 S Cypress St Elizabethtown NC

Muding Address PO Box 512

28337

Elizabethtown

PHONE: 910-862-6951 bladen.boe@ncsbe.gov FAX: 910-862-7820

	FRAUDULENTLY OR FALSELY COMPLETIN	G THIS FORM IS A CLASS I FELONY	UNDER CHAPTER 163 OF	THE NC GENERAL STATUTES
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Exhibit 7.1.2.2

AFFIDAVIT OF LONNIE I, BULLARD

North Carolina

County of Bladen

Lonnie I. Bullard, appearing before the undersigned notary and being duly swom, says that;

- I. Lonnie I. Bullard, do declare the following under penalty of perjury:
 - 1. I am over the age of 18 and a resident of the state of North Carolina. I have personal knowledge of the facts here, and if called as a witness, can testify completely thereto.
 - 2. I suffer no legal disabilities and have personal knowledge of the facts set forth herein.
 - I reside at 3109 Grimsley Farm Road, Bladenboro, North Carolina. I am a registered North Carolina voter at this address and was eligible to vote in the November 6, 2018 general election.
 - Prior to the 2018 general election, Lisa Britt came to my residence to ask whether I
 would like to submit an absentee ballot request form.
 - 5. I know Lisa Britt personally.
 - Since I normally vote in-person, I declined to submit an absentee ballot request form for the 2018 general election.
 - I have been told that my name, residence, and signature are listed on an absentee ballot request form for the 2018 general election.
 - 8. I have reviewed this request form, which includes my name, residence, and purported signature, attached as Exhibit A.
 - While the address listed on this request form is my residence, I did not fill out or sign this
 request form.

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[Signature Page to Follow]

EXHIBIT

Exhibit 7.1.2.2

I declare that to the best of my knowledge and belief, the information herein is true, correct, and complete.

Name: Lonnie 1. Bullard.

Signature: Lonne Bulland

Sworn to (or affirmed) and subscribed before the this the 20 day of De Covier , 20 18

NOTAPL PRINTERS OF AUBLIC AND AUB

Sandra Whitey
Notary's printed or typed name

My commission expires March 12, 2023



State Absentee Ballot Request Form

xhibit 631,2.2 TO BLADEN COUNTY BO 20,00 196

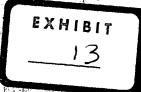
Mazel Pates 2013 Cypress St Elizabeth town NC 28337

PO Box \$12 Elizabeth town



PHONE: 910 862-6951 bladen.boe@ncsba.gov FAX: 910-862-7810

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Bladenboro	NC.	2832A	City			,	State	Zip Code
Have you lived at this address for Inc	rii than 30 days? 🔲 Yes 🔲 N	No:	County of Residen	uce	Previous Neme	(fapplica	ble)	
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Fraudulently or Falsely completing this form is a Class I felony under Chapter 163 of the N.C. General Statutes

The following people are PROHIBITED from signing the Witnesses' Certification:

For all voters: a candidate, UNLESS the candidate is the voter's near relative;

For voters who are pattents or residents of a hospital, clinic, nursing home, or adult care home: (1) an owner, manager, filtrector, or employee of that facility; (2) an individual who holds any fed arai, State, or local elective office; and (3) ap individual who holds office in a State, congressional district, county or precinct political party, or organization, or who is a campaign manager or treasurer for any candidate or political party.

DÉLEORAH SMITH DAVIS 1563 TAR HEEL RD TAP HEEL NO 28392

ABLADEN COUNTY



(TD):P60/P60 2008 AGENERAL

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Voter's Certification (Required)

tam applying for an absence ballot I am a duly qualified voter, registered, as an affiliate of the political party indicated on this application. All information represented on this application is correct I am a full to to yote in this election I if I am an Unaffiliated voter voting in a primary election, I am voting in the party primary indicated on the attached lage! If the party indicated is I the party indicated in the party primary indicated on the attached lage!

I further certify that I marked the emplosed ballot (or it was marked for me according to my instructions) in the presence of:

two (2) witnesses who are at least 18 years of age and who are not disqualified by law to witness the casting of my absentee ballot (the witnesses must complete the Option 1 of the Witnesses' Certification)

a notary public (the notally must complete Option 2 of the Winesses'



Name Correction (If applicable)

Volter Assistant Certification (If applicable)
| partity that: The voter requested my assistance | I assisted the Voter by marking the ballet only according to the Voter's instruction; and/or I assisted the Voter in completing the Absentes Application and Certificate | lassisted the Voter only in the Voter's presence | I am the Voter's near relative or verifiable legal guardian, or I am providing assistance because a near relative.or legal guardian is unavailable to assist the Voter. assist the Voter.

Witnesses' Certification

Option 1: Two (2) Witnesses (Required Unless & Notary Bubile is the Witness)

I certify that • I am at least 18 years old • I am not disqualified from witnessing the ballot described in the WARNING on the flap of this envelope • The Voter marked the enclosed ballot my presence, or caused it to be marked in the Voter's presence according to his/her instruction. The Voter signed this Absence Application and Certificate; or caused it to be signed • I respect the secrety of the ballot and the Voter's privacy, unless, I assisted the Voter at his/her requirements.

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NOTE: A holory may not charge any log for librossing and affecting a neglatel seal to en absences belief application or continues. [3.8.5] 100:3



Fraudulently or Falsely completing this form is a Class I felony under Chapter 163 of the N.C. General Statutes

The following people are PROHIBITED from signing the Witnesses' Certification:

For all voters: a candidate, UNLESS the candidate is the voter's near relative;

For yoters who are patients or residents of a hospital, clinic; nursing home, or adult care home: (1) an owner, manager, director, or employee of that a county of precinct political party (2) an individual who holds any federal, State, or local elective office; and (3) an individual who holds office in a State, congressional district, county or precinct political party; or organization; or who is a campaign manager, or treasurer for any candidate or solitical party.

Witnesses' Cortification Voter's Certification (Required) is of a replying for an absence ballot. I am a duly qualified voter; registered as an applying for an absence ballot. I am a duly qualified voter; registered as an affiliate of the political party indicated on this application. All information represented on this application is correct. I am entitled to be in this election. If it am an Uneffiliated voter voting in a primary election, I am voting in the party primary indicated on the attached label. If the party indicated is (UNA), I am voting a nonpartisan ballot. Option 1: Two (2) Wilmasses (Regulred Unions a Nobel Public la the Wilmass) RIHEEL RD TARIHEEL, NC 28392 l certify that 1 am at least 18. years old 1. am not disquallited from witnessing the ballot described in the WARNING on the flap of this envelope. The Voter marked the enclosed ballot my presence, or caused it to be marked in the Voter's presence according to his/her/instruction. The Voter significant this Absentes Application and Cartificate, or caused it to be signed 1 assessing the segrecy of the ballot and the Voter brivacty unless assigned the Voter at his/her regist [complete Voter Assistant Certification section]. REP. BLADEN COUNTY I further certify that I marked the enclosed ballot (or it was marked for me according to my instructions) in the presence of: two (2) wilnesses who are at least 18 years of age and who are not disqualified by law to wilness the dasting of my absentee ballot (the wilnesses must complete the Option 1 of the Witnesses' Optification) RICKY LEE DAVIS a notary public (the notary must complete Option 2 of the Winesses) PCINTO P80/P80 រា្នាវ/08/2018 🕯 GENERAL Option 2: Notary Public as Witness Becond Primary Request or Runoff Request Illi die gydnithate Second Primaty (or Runoff Election) is called illi eguest frat anjacken jeb application and ballot be issued to me and mail aground (Oleck the box to receive aligible ballots.) (Regulred Unless Two Witnesses Provided) Voter Assistant Certification (if applicable)

I certify that: • The voter requested my assistance • I assisted the Voter by marking the ballot only according to the voter's instruction; and dr. I assisted the Voter in completing the Absantee Application and Certificate • I assisted the Voter only in the Voter's presence • I am the Voter's persence • I am the Voter's persence • I am assistance pecause a near relative or legal guardian is unavailable to assist the Voter. I certify that: on the personally appeared before the, was positive identified, and in the presence according to like in at least 18 years old 1 and in the presence according to like in the least 18 years old 1 and not be signed 1 am at least 18 years old 1 am not disquilled from with sushing the ballot is described in the WARNING on the flap of this envelope 1 respected the secretary of the ballot and the privation of the Voter, and a said the voter at his first request (complete Voter Assistant Certification additions). |AnnuningGreek for Innersibleability | Page 10 MOTE: A notiny may ped charge playing for witnessing and plating a noticial soul to an alternity and plate application or confeccion [16] & \$100.5 ame of Assistant Address of Assistant COUNTY OF Signature of Assistan NCSBE V20 8.02

Fraudulently or Fillsely completing this form is a Class I felony under Chapter 163 of the N.C. the following people are PROHIBITED from signing the Witnesses' Certification:

For voters who are natients of residents of a hospital, blinic, nuising home, or adult care home: (1) an owner, manager, director facility: (2) an individual who holds any federal. State, or loyal elective office and (3) an individual who holds office in a State, congressional dismicts com-

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RONNIE DAVIS

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Voter's Certification (Reguired):

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Voter Assistant Cortification (if applicable)

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For voters who are patients or residents of a hospital clinic, nursing home, or adult care home: (1) an owner, manager, director, or employee of that facility; (2) an individual who holds any federal. State, or local elective office; and (3) an individual who holds office in a State, congressional district, county or precinct political hady or organization, or who is a campaigh manager or treasurer for any candidate or political party.

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Ballot: G001 VECMADAVIS POWVTD:P16/P16 11/08/2018 GENERAL	Manl:	a notary public (the obtary must complete Option 2 of the Winesses' Certification) X
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(Required Unless a Notary Public is the Witness)		
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Option 2: Notary Public (Required Union Two Wilne	sees Provided)	
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NOTE: A notary may not theme any int for witnessing and afficing a notated soul	lo an absente o battol apptication or continceto. 16:5.5 109-3	
STATE OF	SEA(
COUNTY OF		
Holary Public	Commission Exhibiton Data	

Option d: Two (2) Wimesses

Witnesses' Certification

NCSBE v2018.02

Fraudulently of Falsely completing this form is a Class Lifelony under Chapter 163 of the N.C. General Statutes

The following people are FROHIBITED from signing the Witnesses' Certification:
For all voters a candidate, UNLESS the condidate is the voter's near relative;
For voters who are patients of residents of a hospital, clinic, nursing home, or adult care home: (1) an owner, manager, director, or employee of that facility (2) an individual who holds office in a State, congressional district, county or precinct political party or organization, or who is a campaign manager or free surer for any candidate or political party.

Witnesses! Certification

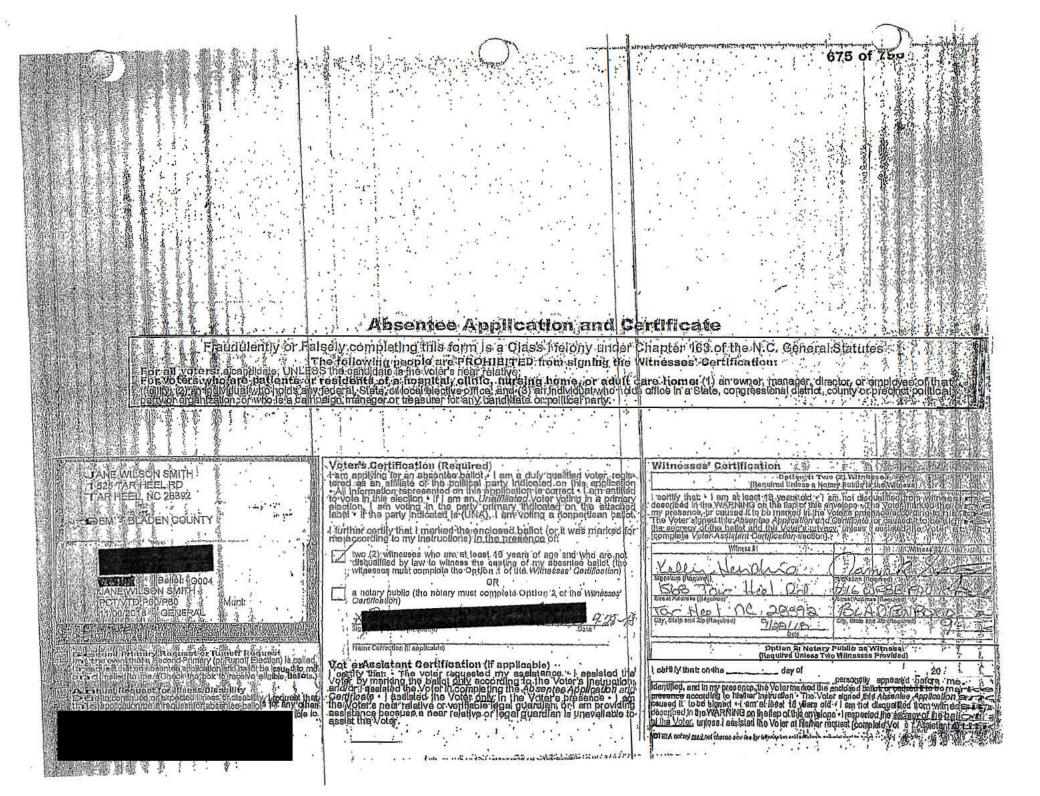
HISYKES NORRIS	Voter's Ca. Hication (Required)
LAGEST#3BREW	l am applying for an absentee Ballot • I am a duly qualified voter, registered as an affiliate of the political party indicated on this application. • All Information représented on this application is correct • I am entitle
ENBOR ONE 28320	tered as an affiliate of the pollical party indicated on this application
	to vote in this election . If I amount it is application is correct • I am entitle
	election. I am voling in the party primary indicated on the attache
BLADEN COUNTY A 1 1 1 1	to vote in this election • If I am an <i>Unaffillated</i> voter voting in a primal election. I am voting in the party primary indicated on the attache abel • If the garty inflicated is (UNA), I am voting a nonpartisan ballo
ENGÜR GNC 2820C	l further certify that I marked the enclosed ballot (or it was marked for me according to my instructions) in the presence of
	And decelerating to this instruction by mixing with water and on
SECTION SECTIO	two (2) witnesses who are at least 18 years of age and who are not
翻 義 主义 章 新棚	disqualified by left to witness the gasting of my absentes ballot (the yillnessed must complete the Option 1 of the Witnesses' Certification)
	Authorized Lugar collubias fue obtain 1 of the Avenesses Certification)
Para Para Para Para Para Para Para Para	OR .
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6/2018 TOTAL SERVICE NET ALL SERVICE S	$G/\partial g/\partial x$
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Primary Request or Runoff Request	
ent triat a Second Entria v (or Runoff Election) is called, that an absence application and ballot be lesued to me	Voter Assistant Gertification (If applicable)
ed to me. (Check the box to receive eligible ballots.)	I carilfy that: • The voter requested my assistance • I assisted the
Request for Illness/Disability	oter by thatking the ballot only according to the voter's instituction and/or Laggisted the Voter's removable the Absentee Application at
onlinged of expected liness of this ability. I request that	Certificate • lassisted the Voter only in the Voter's presence • I a
callon be acrequest for absentee ballots for any other	Voter by marking the ballot only according to the Voter's instruction and/or I assisted the Voterin completing the Absentee Application at Cartilicate - I assisted the Voter only in the Voter's presence - I assisted the Voter only in the Voter's presence - I as it is voter's near relative or verifiable legal quardian, or I am providing assistance because a near relative or legal quardian is unavailable.
ito beiheld this calendar year in which I am eligible to	i assistance pecause a near reletive or legal guardian is unavaliable :

- 1				
١.	described in i my presence The Voler sid	i) I am at least 18 years old I am not disquallified from witnessing the ballot as the WARNING on the flap of this envelope. The Voter marked the englosed ballot in a lor gaused it to be marked in the Voter's presence according to his/her instruction of the Khis Absentee Application and Certificate. The caused it to be agreed in the Voter's proceded at the Noter at his/her request		
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	Smol Audrics (6600 n c. 28320	BUOOL Address (Rodullad)	
	City, Blow and 2	p (Required) D/ 27-18	City, Signo and Zip (Required) Pasition Date	
i		Option 2: Notary Rubilo as Wifness' (Regulted Unibes Tryo Wibhasses Provided)		
١.		l	1	

Option 1: Two (2) Wilnesses (Required Uniques a Notary Public in the Wilness)

personally appeared before me, was positively identified, and in my presence, the Votermarked the onclosed ballot, or caused it to be marked in the Voters presence according to his/ner institution. The Votersigned this Absentee Application and Cartificate, or outsed it to be algority in the pallot as described in the pallot of the Application of the Voter and the Voter and the Voter at his/ner request from place of the Voter Assistant Cartification). hal therae any log for windship and efficing a notatin soul to an absortion ballot appacetlyn or continueto. 10.8. 5 100-30). STATE OF SEAL COUNTY OF Hotery Puttle . Commission Expliation Dalo'

NCSBE v2018.02



Fraudulently or Falsely completing this form is a Class Telony under Chapter 163 of the N.C. General Statutes

The following people are PROHIBITED from signing the Vitnesses' Certification:

For all voters: a candidate. UNLESS the candidate is the voters near relative;

For voters who are patients or residents of a hospital, clinic, nursing home, or adult care homes (1) an owner, manager, eliculor, or employee of that recility (2) an individual who holds any federal State, or local elective office; and (3) an individual who holds office, in a State, congressional district, county or precinct political, party or organization, or who is a campaign manager or treasurer for any candidate or political party.

E WARD EEL RD

Ballou 10004 DiP60/P60 #

Second Rimary Request or Runoff Reduest in the called in t

Annual Rodicest for times in school floor plants. The control of t

Voter's Certification (Required)

I am applying for an absance belief . I am a duly qualified voter regletered as an affiliate of the political party indicated on this application. All information represented on this application is correct. I am at the discrete in this election. If it is a party indicated on the attacked leading. I am voting in a primary indicated on the attacked laber. I the party indicated on the attacked laber. If the party indicated a nonpartisen ballet.

l-further carlify that I marked the enclosed ballot (or if was marked for me according to my Instructions) in the presence of;

- two (2) witnesses who are at least 16 years of age and who are not disqualified by law to witness the casting of my absence ballot (the witnesses must complete the Option 1 of the Witnesses Gordination)
- a notary public (the notary must complete Option 2 of the Winesses'

9/28/19 i Sign

Name Correction (If applicable)

Vote i Assistant Certification (if applicable)
I certify inat: The voter requested my assistance. I assisted the Voter by marking the ballot only according to the Voters instruction; and/or lassisted the Voter in completific the Absentee Application and Certificate; hassisted the Voter in the Voters presence. I am the Voters near relative or verifiable legal guardian, or I am providing assistance because a near relative or legal guardian is linavaliable to passist the Voter.

Witnesses! Certification

Option, 12 Two (2) Witnesson (... ' 'Required Union a Notary Public in the Witness);

Cettlý that: I am at least 18 years did. "Lam not diaguallitet from vithes described in the WARNING on the flap of this envelope. The Voter interfed the my presence according to the voter's presence according to the vithe voter. lot and Mo Voter a privacy, unless I adalated the Voter at

Option 2: Notary Public da Withdes' I certify that on the

identified, and in my presence, the Voter marked the enclosed ballok or causer presence according to higher instruction. The Voter eigned this Absented? presence according to manner instruction of the voter augment and characters are considered from whiteself to be signed I have a least 10 years old • 1:am not disqualliged from whiteself to described in the des

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	Absentee Application and Ce	rtificate
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For all victors a candid	The following people are PROHIBITED from signing the W	tnesses' Certification:
For voters who are pa	tients or residents of a hospital, clinic, nursing home, or adult ca b holds any federal, State, or local elective office; and (3), an individual who holds o	re home: (1) an owner, manager director, or employee of that
party or organization, or wi	io je ja caulbaldu manager or treasmer for any candidate or bolltical bark!" The property of the property of t	Three in a otale, congressional defret, confits of paging and a
THE STATE OF THE PARTY OF THE P	Voter's Certification (Required)	Withesses Certification
GIENNVVILKINS	Lam'applying for an ebsentes beliot. I am a duly dualified voter registered as an affiliate of the political party indicated on this application. All information represented on this application is cornect by the political party indicated voter voting in a plimary to one in this election. I am entitle a primary indicated on the attached and the party primary indicated on the attached label. If the party indicated is (LiNA), I amvoting a nonpartisan ballot.	(Required Unless of Notary Public (Billio Williass) 301
SON BLIEL NO. 28392	All information represented on this application is cornect • it is middled the cornect • it is a corn	I certify that: I am at least 18 years old it am not all equalified from symessic
	label I the partindicated is (LINA). Lamveling a nonpartisan ballot.	, the a et.com, of the Mallo, and the Yoter's birdork, higher leaging in the Xoneiser. The Acter albueythis yes open was the Abelian and Carligate birds acceptation of the Mallocation and Carligate birds acceptation of the Mallocation and Carligate birds are acceptated the Mallocation and Carligate birds are acceptated the Mallocation and Carligate birds are acceptated to the Mallocation and Carligate birds are acceptant and the Mallocation and Carligate birds are acceptant as a companion of the Mallocation and Carligate birds are acceptant as a companion of the Carling and Carling and Carling and Carling and Carling are acceptant as a companion of the Carling and Carling and Carling and Carling are acceptant as a companion of the Carling and Car
AND THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPER	'furtipe: certify that I' marked the enclosed ballot (or it was marked for least me according to my instructions) in the presence of:	the secret of the Vallet and the Voter's privacy Unless Vassisted the Voter at [complete Voter Assistant Certification section]:
		Wilness #1
	:iwo (2) Witnesses Who are at least 18 years of age and who are not disqualified by law to witness. the casting of my absentee ballot the witnesses must complete the Option 1 of the Witnesses Certification.	Velly Herolico prise Britis
Ballott G004	OR anothery public (the notary must complete Option 2 of the Winessey	1568 106 Hee Par 303 Perancett
FEAMES GLENN WILKINS TOTO P60/P60 Mühi: 60	Corlification)	They had NC 28392 Blad regural
H / 1/06/2018 - GENERAL	Tignyateoryotur(noquiladi "I" or Sa Dato	City, State and Da (Reciprod) (C) (C) (C) (C) (C) (C) (C) (
MES GLENN WILKING TWTD:P60/P60 Mühl: 60 1/06/2018 - GENERAL	Nomo Correction (Hoppiter bio)	Option ZIMBERTY Printe he Without (Regulard Unider Two Without or Provided)
Frimary Request or Runoff Seq. 19 in the sequest or Runoff Seq. 19 in the second Primary Or Pulpolifies in the second Primary Indiana. (Check the box to tacely of the second Primary Indiana Primary	illon) is chied Voter Assistant Cortification (if applicable)	Logillation on the day of
and meanled to the Check the box to tracelyou	desided virile control of the voter in the ballot and vasalitance. I assisted the voter by marking the ballot and vasalitance. I assisted the voter by marking the ballot and vasalitance. I had use that the voter by marking the ballot and vasalitance. I satisfied the voter of the voter by marking the ballot and value that the voter of the vot	Hamman and in my massages, the Volontia Hart the onclosed Bellot or caused it to be mented.
Arthu	the voter's presente (Lam) the voter's pear reletive or vertinable legal guardian, of Lam provising (Lam)	reaused II to be somed than at least 10 years old the am not diagraphic from Wilnessin
AFTILE IJEd to ms. (Check the box to tacelye in the second of the second	am eligible to assistance because a near relative or lagal guardian is unavailable to os.)	of the Apric injess i essisted the Abret Higher tednost Coulder April 1920 the Dailott
	Pages of Attitude	presence ecording to the next instruction. The votor signed this Absolute Application and caused it to be signed when at least 10 years old when the respection of the warring the signed when the warring the signed when the signed the warring to the voter that the voter when the signed the voter when the signed the voter that the voter
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	and the control of th	

Richard Carally Zallots unrealed Landon 23 Sign 150 - \$500. w 1500 - \$1000. w Michelly West Requests Forms 150 = 450000 250 # 1000, W BIDOU PERLE PART A ROSTA

EXHIBIT

DEMONSTRATIVE - ABSENTEE BY MAIL VOTE TOTALS

2018 Primary Election - Absentee by Mail Vote Totals

County	Hanis	Pittenger	Goins	
Anson	0	0	0	
Bladen	437	17	2	- (- L ₁) - L ₁)
Cumberland	15	6	1	
Mecklenburg	100	96	3.	
Richmond	1	2	0	
Robeson	11	6	2	
Scotland	3	9	0	
Union	43	50	7	

2016 Primary Election - Absentee by Mail Vote Totals

County	Harris	Pittenger	Johnson
Anson	2	2.	13
Bladen	4	1	221
Cumberland	11	4	16
Mecklenburg	97	.294	81
Richmond	2	4	5
Robeson	17	6	15
Scotland	8	4	6
Union	54	96	71

Source: https://www.ncsbe.gov/Election-Results



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6.2	4	ny	740	ď
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EXHIBIT

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Absentee Application and Certificate

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Fraudulently or Falsely completing this form is a Class I felony under Chapter 163 of the N.C. General Sta	utes
The following people are PROHIBITED from signing the Winesses' Certification:	
For all voters: a candidate, UNITESS the candidate is the voters near relative; For woters who are patients or residents of a hospital, clinic, nursing home, or adult care home; (1) an owner, manager, director,	or employee of that
atacility (2) an individual who holds any federal. State, or local elective office; and (3) an individual who holds office in a State, congressional district couply	or precind pollical
party or organization, or who is a campaign manager or treasurer for any candidate or political party.	

KIMBERLYSUE ROBINSON Voteds Certification (Required) Witnesses Certification I am epplying for an absentice ballot I am a buly qualified voter, tegit for as an allihate of the political party indicated on this application. All information represented on this application is correct. I am entitled to vote in this ejection. If I am an Unerfillated voter voting in a primary ejection, I am youting in the party primary indicated on the allached tabel. If the party indicated is (UNA), I am voting a nonpartisan ballo. Popular in Two (2) Williams of IRequired Unless a Holory Public to the Williams BLADENBORO, NC 20320 certify that 41 am at least 16 years old • I am not disqualified from witnessing the be described in the WARMING on the flap of this emelope • The Voter maked the enclosed to my presence, or caused it to be marked in the Voter's presence according to blatter instruction of the Voter signed this Absence Application and Coulffeate, or coused to be signed • 103 the segreecy of the ballet and the Voter's proper, unless a separate to Voter at his/her in immattee Voter Assistant Cordination section. I further confly, that I marked the enclosed belief (or it was marked for me electronic) to my instructions) in the presence of: לע כפטוטווע two (2) witnesses who are at least 10 years of age and who are not disqualified by law to witness the costing of my absented ballof (the villnesses must complete the Option 1 of the (Minosses) Conflication) KIMBERLY SUE ROBINSON a notary public (the notary must complete Option 2 of the Watesses Munl: 20 POTATO:P202/P202 11/06/2018 GENERAL Name Correction Ul appikable) Option 21 Notary Public as Witness Second Primary Request or Rujioff Request in the dyniking a Second Primary for Runoff Election) is called, I council that an ebsence application and ballot be assent to me and malegie me. (Check the box to receive eligible ballets.) (Required Unioss Two Wilnesses Provided) Voter Assistant Certification (If applicable) Voter Assistant Certification (Itaphicable)

i certify flat: 'The volor requested my assistance ' i esisted the voter by merking the bellot only according to the Voter's instruction and for resolved the Voter's noter in completing the Absence Application and Certificate ' i assisted the Voter only in the Voter's presence ' I am the Voter's near relative or verticable regel guardian, or i am providing assistance because a near relative or legal guardian is tinevellable to assist the Voter. certify that on the persentilly, appeared, before nice, the Volor marked the enclosed ballot, or equected to be included in the virtual persented to be included in the proposed of the proposed to be included in the state of the best of the proposed of the pr Arritadi Roquest for Illiness/Disability

Disclosentimed or expected thres or disability, Frequest that this application has a request to a septime ballote for any other adjuditions to be feel, this calendar year in which I am oligible to participale. (Clinck the box to receive eligible ballots.)

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Address of Asitstant

Name of Assistant

"1"



Absentee Application and Certificate

1 1

Fraudulently or Falsely completing this form is a Class I felony under Chapter 163 of the N.C. General Statutes

The following people are PROMIBITED from signing the Witnesses' Certification:

For all voters: a candidate, UNLESS the candidate is the voter's near relative;

For voters who are patients or residents of a hospital, clinic, nursing home, or adult care home: (1) an owner, manager, director, or employee of that facility: (2) an individual who holds any federal, State, or local elective office; and (3) an individual who holds office in a State, congressional district, county or precinct political party or organization, or who is a campaign manager or treasurer for any candidate or political party.

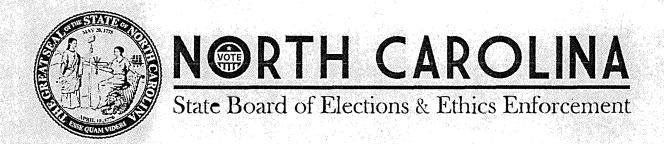
PRECIOUS NICOLE HALL	Voter's Certification (Required)	Witnesses' Certification
372 BROWNS CREEK CHURCH RD ELIZABETHTOWN, NC 28337	I am applying for an absentee ballot - I am a duly qualified voter, regis- tered as an affiliate of the political party indicated on this application - All information represented on this application is correct - I am entitled	Option 1: Two (2) Witnesses (Required Unless a Notary Public is the Witness)
ELIZABETHTOWN, NO 2007	to vole in this election of I am an Unaffiliated voler voling in a primary election, I am voling in the party primary Indicated on the attached	I certify that: - I am at least 18 years old - I am not disqualified from witnessing the ballo described in the WARNING on the lap of this envelope - The Voter marked the enclosed ballo
DEM - BLADEN COUNTY	label · if the party indicated is (UNA), I am voting a nonpartisan ballot.	I certify that: -1 am at least 18 years old -1 am not disqualified from witnessing the ballo described in the WARNING on the tap of this envelope. The Voter marked the enclosed ball my presence, or caused it to be marked in the Voter's greence according to his/her instruction. The Voter signed this Absantae Application and Cartificate, or caused it to be signed -1 maps.
	I further certify that I marked the enclosed ballot (or it was marked for me according to my instructions) in the presence of:	the some visit he hallowed the Voter's mives, unless I assisted the Voter at his mer requirement of the Voter Assistant (Regimental Compiler Compiler Compiler Compiler Compiler Compiler Compiler Compiler Compiler (Regimental Compiler
	two (2) willnesses who are at least 18 years of age and who are not	Wenesa a2
ON LOC - BLANCE COV.	disquelified by law to witness the casting of my absence ballot (the witnesses must complete the Option 1 of the Witnesses Certification)	Signature (Required)
PRECIOUS NICOLE HALL. PCT/VTD:P501/P501 Munit	a notary public (the notary in the Complete Option 2 of the Witnesses'	3-12-Brown (spoketile), 1813 Van 87
11/06/2018 - GENERAL	Idelia	Street Address (Required), Street Address (Recutage & December & D
Board Approval Date	Signature or varsi (Heganica)	City, State and 2p (Required) 10-3-18 City, State angles (Required) 10-3-18 Date:
	Name Correction (if applicable)	CIZOLET NOW Option 2/ Notaty Public as Witness (Required Unless Two Witnesses Provided)
Second Primary Request or Runoff Request. In the event that a Second Primary (or Runoff Election) is called, I request that an absence application and ballot be issued to me	Voter Assistant Certification (if applicable)	Certify that on the day of, 20, the Vt
and moled to me. (Check the box to receive eligible ballots.)	Voter by marking the ballot only according to the Voter's instruction; and/or I assisted the Voter in completing the Absentee Application and	personally appeared before me, was positified; and in my presence, the Voter marked the enclosed ballot, or caused it to be marked in the Vot
Due to continued or expected filness or disability, I request that	Certificate • I assisted the Voter only in the Voter's presence • I am I	presence according to his/her instruction. The Voter signed this Absented Application and Contilicate caused it to be signed. I am at least 18 years old 1 am not disqualified from witnessing the bato
this application be a request for absentee bishots for any other elections to be held this calendar year in which I am elligible to participate. (Check the box to receive eligible ballots.)	the Voter's near relative or verifiable legal guardian, or I am providing assistance because a near relative or legal guardian is unavailable to assist the Voter.	described in the WARNING on the flap of this envelope • I respected the <u>secrecy of the ballot and the privor the Voltor</u> unless l'assisted the Voltor at his her request [complete Voltor Assistant Certification sections.]
		NOTE: A lidery new relicions new into larinhesising and alkining a new law to an obscurice trates application or certificate: ICS. 5 108
Signature of Voter (If applicable)	Name of Assistant Address of Assistant Y	STATE OF
Address where application and ballots should be mailed	Signature of Assistant Date	COUNTY OF Relay Public Commission Explasion Outs

Case No.

In re. Investigation of election irregularities affecting Congressional District 9

Exhibit 4.1.1

Description: Election results tape tabulated between 13:44 and 13:46 on November 3, 2018 at Bladen County's sole one-stop early voting location.



EXHIBIT

 13:44:37 11/03/2018 User Event: Close Polls	
 *** Status Report *** 13:44:38 11/03/2018 Protected Count: 15575 Machine 1D: 0000DS0110340083	
Bladen County, NC Bladen County, NC General 0018 ONE STOP LIBRARY 0018 Election Date: November 06, 2018 ONE STOP LIBRARY	
 Ballot Types: all 6355 Total: 6355	
*** Voting Results Report *** 13:44:41 11/03/2018 Machine 1D: 0000DS0110340083	
Bladen County, NC Bladen County, NC General 0018 ONE STOP LIBRARY 0018 Election Date: November 06, 2018 Total Number Votins: 6355	
Precinct Voting Report	
ONE STOP LIBRARY	
Total Ballots 6355 Ballots for Code 00001-01-01 1846 Ballots for Code 00002-01-01 1460 Ballots for Code 00003-01-01 617 Ballots for Code 00004-01-01 2047 Ballots for Code 00005-01-01 385	
1181_US HOUSE DIST 07 CONGRESSIONAL DIST	
CST-David H. Fallin 14 DEH-Kyle Horton 657 REP-David Rouzer 2 Over Votes 27 Under Votes	
Total Votes	d de la companya de l
1183_US HOUSE DIST 09 CONGRESSIONAL DIST	Territoria
REP-Hark Harris 1906 DEM-Dan McCready 53 LIB-Jeff Scott 2 Over Votes 78 Under Votes	de species de la constantina del constantina de la constantina del constantina de la constantina de la constantina de la constantina del constantina d
Under votes 4510	

	Total Votes	4510
	1131_NC STATE SENATE DIST OB NC SE	NATE D
	LIB-Anthony H. Hascolo REP-Bill Rabon DEH-David W. Sink, Jr. Over Votes Under Votes	58 3174 2984 3 136
	Total Votes	6355
	1025_NC HOUSE DIST 022 NC HOUSE DI	STRICT
	REP-William Brisson DEM-Hartin (Tony) Denning Over Votes Under Votes	3290 2945 1 119
	Total Votes	
	1201_DISTRICT ATTORNEY DIST 15 15T	H PROS
	REP-Jon David	3784
	Over Votes Under Votes	0 2571
	Total Votes	6355
	0002_BORRD OF COMMISSIONERS DIST I	COWHI
	DEM-Arthur A. Bullock Over Votes Under Votes	1516 0 561
	Total Votes	2077
	0003_BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS DIST 2	CONGT
	REP-Charles Ray Peterson	1173
	DEH-Dawson Singletary Over Votes	645
;	Under Votes	28
	Total Votes	1846
	0004 BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS DIST 3	COHKI
-	DEM-Russell Priest REP-Wayne Edge Over Votes	1240 1156 0
	Under Votes	36
	Total Votes	2432
	0008_BOARD OF EDUCATION AT-LARGE	
	DEH-Vince Rozier DEH-Cory L. Sinaletary DEH-Tim Benton REP-Dennis Edwards Over Votes Under Unter	1240 1741 826 2392 18 130
	Under Votes	6355

Age "	
0006_BOARD OF EDUCATION AT-LARGE	
DEM-Vince Rozier DEM-Cory L. Singletary DEM-Tim Benton REP-Dennis Edwards Over Votes Under Votes	1248 1741 826 2392 18 130
Total Votes	6355
0009_BOARD OF EDUCATION DIST 1 SC	HOOL #1
DEM-Gary Rhoda Over Votes Under Votes	1 488 0 589
Yotal Votes	2077
0010_BOARD OF EDUCATION DIST 2 SCH	100L ♯2
DEM-Roser Carroll Over Votes	1278
Under Votes	568
Total Votes	1846
0011_BOARD OF EDUCATION DIST 3 SCH	100L #3
DEM-Alan T. West Over Votes Under Votes	1655 0 777
Total Votes	2432
0005_CLERK OF SUPERIOR COURT	
DEM-Niki 8. Dennis Ovær Votes	4931
Under Votes	1424
Total Votes	6355
0001_CORONER	
DEK-Kenneth T. Clark Over Votes Under Votes	4586 0 1769
Total Votes	6355
0008_REGISTER OF DEEDS	
DEN-Beveriy T. Parks	3658
Der Votes Under Votes	2545 0 152
Total Votes	8355
0012_SHERIFF	

_	
Under Votes	152
Total Votes	6355
0012_SHERIFF	
REP-Jim Hovicker DEM-Hakeem Brown Over Votes Under Votes	3216 2919 1 219
Total Votes	6355
1376_SUPREHE CT ASSC JUSTICE SEAT	
REP-Barbara Jackson REP-Christopher (Chris) Anglin DEH-Anita Earls Over Votes Under Votes	2436 726 3006 2 185
Total Votes	6355
1226_COURT OF APPEALS JUDGE SEAT	1
REP-Andrew T. Heath DEM-John S. Arrowood	3079 3047
Over Votes Under Votes	0 229
Total Votes	6355
1227_COURT OF APPEALS JUDGE SEAT 2	2
REP-Jefferson G. Griffin DEM-Tobias (Toby) Hampson REP-Sandra Alice Ray Over Votes Under Votes	2469 2980 660 21 225
Total Votes	6355
1228_COURT OF APPEALS JUDGE SEAT 3	
REP-Chuck Kitchen LIB-Hichael Honaco, Sr.	2990 97
DEM-Allegra Katherine Collins	3037 0
Over Votes Under Votes	231
Total Votes	6355
1285_DISTRICT COURT DIST 13 SEAT 1	HTEI
REP-N. Fred Gore Over Votes	3698 0
Under Votes	2657
Total Votes	6355
1265_DISTRICT COURT DIST 13 SEAT 2	HIEL
REP-Hilliam F. Fairley	3466 0

_	1	
	Total Votes	6355
	1265_DISTRICT COURT DIST 13 SEAT	2 13TH
	REP-Milliam F. Fairley Over Votes	3466 0
	Under Votes	2889
	Total Votes	6355
(8000)	0007_SOIL AND WATER DIST SUPERVIS Number to Vote For: 2	SOR
	Tim Gause	2052
	Charles Wendell Gillespie Earl Storms	2673
	Hrite In	3256 76
	Over Votes Under Votes	4 4649
	Total Votes	12710
	1420_PROTECT RIGHT TO HUNT AND FI	SH
	For	3693
	Assinst Over Votes	2399
	Under Votes	270
	Total Votes	6355
	iotal votes	0355
	1421_STRENGTHENING VICTIHS RIGHTS	
	For Against	3750 2376
	Over Votes Under Votes	6 223
	Total Votes	6355
	1424_MAXIMUM INCOME TAX RATE OF 7.	
And designation.	For	3510 2577
	Assinst Over Votes	12
	Under Votes	256
-	Total Votes	6355
	1425_REQUIRE PHOTO ID TO VOTE	
-	For	3509
	Against Committee	2672 3
	Over Votes Under Votes	171
	Total Votes	6355
	1423_JUDICIAL HERIT COMMISSION	
		2456
	For	2456 3536
	Aga i nat	

For	2456
Agginst Over Votes	3536
Under Votes	.5 358
Total Votes	6355
1422_BIPARTISAN ETHICS AND ELE	ECTIONS
For	2694
Assinst Over Votes	3277 5
Under Votes	379
Total Votes	6355
OB13_BLADEN COUNTY SALES AND U	SE TRX
For	1970
Reainst	4132
Over Votes Under Votes	2 251

Total Votes	6355
WE, THE UNDERSIGNEC. DO HEREBY THAT THE ABOVE RESULTS ARE A THACCURATE ACCOUNT OF THE ELECTION OVERBER 6, 2018. AND THAT ALL COUNTERS WERE ZERO (J) WHEN THE OPEKED AND THAT THE ELECTION WE HACCORDANCE WITH THE LAWS OF STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA.	E POLLS IS HELD THE
	manue p
Mittels	Edward
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13:46:16 11/03/2018 Machine ID: 0000DS0110340083

0018 ONE STOP LIBRARY 0018 Election Date: November 06, 2018

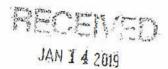
13:46:17 11/03/2018 Polls Closed

13:46:49 11/03/2018 User Event: Shutdown Button Selected

13:46:52 11/03/2018 POWER OFF

One Stop Workers 2018 November Election as of 7/30/2018

Library-1st Shift 6:30 am to 1:00 pm



Michele Maultsby-CJ	Black	Dem	Computer BOARD OF ELECTIONS
Mitchell Edwards-Judge	White	Unaff	Ballots
Agnes Willis-Judge	Black	Dem	Greeter
Sakeeta Washington	Black	Dem	Computer
Lottie Ruffin	Black	Dem	Computer
Kristie Lennon	White	Unaff	Computer
Tojie King	White	Dem	Ballots
Margaret Lennon	White	Dem	Computer

2nd Shift 1:00 pm to 7:00 pm

Angela Pait CJ	White	Rep	Computer
Audrey Hehl-Judge	White	Rep	Computer
Candice Long Judge-	-White-	-Dem-	-Computer(d: & not work)
Marjorie Graham	Black	Dem	Greeter
Tim Page	White	Rep	Ballots
Barbara McKoy	Black	Dem	Ballots
Helen Nance	White	Rep	Computer
Mildred Simmons	White	Dem	Computer

 \Box select top(10) print_dt FROM SEIMS_STATE_20181106.dbo.ABS_CORR ac with(nolock) INNER JOIN SEIMS_STATE_20181106.dbo.LK_VH_ELECTION lkv with(nolock) ON ac.county_id = lkv.county_id and ac.election_id = lkv.id lkv.election_dt = '11/06/2018' AND WHERE ac.request type_lbl = 'OS' and ac.county_id = 9 -- Bladen county order by print_dt desc

00 % -

Results 🖺 Messages print_dt 1 2018-11-03 13:26:00.000 2 2018-11-03 13:26:00.000 3 2018-11-03 13:25:00.000 4 2018-11-03 13:24:00.000 5 2018-11-03 13:24:00.000 6 2018-11-03 13:23:00.000 7 2018-11-03 13:23:00.000 8 2018-11-03 13:23:00:000 9 2018-11-03 13:21:00.000 10 2018-11-03 13:20:00.000

The undersigned, being first duly sworn, upon personal knowledge and belief, does say and depose as follows:

- I am over the age of eighteen (18) years old, I am of sound mind and body, and I suffer no legal disabilities. If called as a witness, I can testify completely to the matters set forth herein.
- 1 am a resident of Bladen County, North Carolina, and I am a registered voter of said county and state.
- My contact information is as follows:

Address:

261 White Plains Church Road

Clarkton, NC 28433

Telephone:

910-316 8404

Email: agnoswill 7 287 By valor. com

4. I allege and state as follows: On Saturday, 11/3/18, the last day
of early voting, the "tape" showing electron results at the one-stop
pellong site was run after the polls closed, and was vened by
officials at the one-stop site who were not Tudge. It is my
understanding that this was improper.

Also, after the election, as part of my duties as an assistant, I feel
ballots into the vote tabulation machines. The Absentee mail-im
ballots were datinative due to the folding crosses and wear and tear
present on the ballots, as well as coding written on the ballots. I noticed
a very large number of ballots from the Bethel present.



1

Further affiant saith naught.

This the 29th day of November, 2018.

Agnes Willis
Printed Name

Matthew J. Dixon
Witness to Signature

Printed Name



STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA

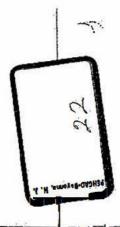
COUNTY OF BLADEN

i, a Notary Public, do hereby certify that Agnes Willis personally appeared before me this day and acknowledged the due execution of the foregoing instrument for the purposes therein described.

Witness my hand and notarial seal this the 29th day of November, 2018.

NOTARY PUBLIC

My Commission expires: 03-12-2023



Absentee Application and Certificate

Fraudulently or Falsely completing this form is a Class I felony under Chapter 163 of the N.C. General Statutes

The following people are PRONIBITED from signing the Witnesses' Certification:

For all voters: a candidate. UNLESS the candidate is the voter's near relative;

For voters who are nations or residents of a hospital, clinic, nursing home, or adult care home: (1) an owner, manager, director, or employed of that facility; (2) an individual who holds any federal, State, or local elective office; and (3) an individual who holds office in a State, congressional district, county or precinct political party or organization, or who is a campaign manager or treasurer for any candidate or political party.

LOCATE ANTONER DIGER	Voter's Certification (Required)	Witnesses Certification	
JOSEPH ANTONER BARR 236 WHITE PLAINS CHURCH RD	I am applying for an absentee ballot I am a duly quelified voter, regis- tered as an attillate of the political party indicated on this application.	Option 1: Two (Regulated Unioss a Notal	
CLARKTON, NC 28433 DEM - BLADEN COUNTY	I am applying for an absence ballot 1 am a duly quelified voter registered as an allitate of the political party indicated on this application. • All information represented on this application is correct 1 am entitled to vote in this election 1 if 1 am an Unallitated voter voting in a primary election. I am voting in the party primary indicated on the allached tablet 1 the party indicated is (UNA). I am voting a nonpartisan ballot. I further certify that I marked the enclosed ballot (or it was marked for me according to my instructions) in the presence of:	f certify that; I am at loast 10 years old I an described in the WARNING on the lip of this army presence, or cursed it to emerked in the No The Voter signed this Absence Application and the secrety of the hallot and the Voter's Divacy [complete Voter Assistant Certification section].	n not disqualified from with easing the ballot as volope. The Volore marked the onclosed ballot in the presence according to his her instruction. Services, or caused it to be signed of caspostes, unless I assisted the Volor at his her request.
	(E) Ium (0) ultrasees who and at least (0 years of the end of the least of	Villess #1	Yfan acs #2"
	Iwo (2) witnesses who are at least (0 years of age and who are not disqualified by law to witness the casting of my absorage ballot (the witnesses must complete the Option 1 of the Witnesses Certification)	Mensono 5	Agner Willer
Ballot: G002 JOSEPH ANTONER BARR PCT/VTO:P75/P75 Muni: 11/05/2018 GENERAL Board Approvel Date	DR. Continue that the notary must complete Option 2 of the Winessos' X Signature Voter	Grando I NC 28/34	alwinite Plans Ch. Rd
So cond Primary Request or Runoff Request in the event that a Second Primary for Runoff Election) is called the count that an absented application and belief the issued to make the country of the count	Nume Correction (I applicable) Ofter Assistant Certification (If applicable)	Option 2: Notary P	Williams Wilners
and mailed to me. (Check the box to receive eligible ballots	l certify that: The voter requested my assistance I assisted the Voter by marking the ballot only according to the Voter's instruction;	I cornity that: on the day of	20, the Voter
Annual Request for Hinese/blopbility Due to continued or expected illness or disability (request this application be a request for absence before for any otholections to be held this calendar year in which I am digitale participate. (Check the box to receive eighte ballots.)	Voter by marking the ballot golv according to the Voter's instruction; and/or I assisted the Voter in completing the Absentee Application and Cortilicate • I assisted the Voter only in the Voter's presence • I am the Voter's near relative or verifiable legal guardian, or I am providing assistance because a near relative or legal guardian is unavailable to assist the Voter.	intentified, and in my prosence, the Voler marked the er- presence according to his/her instruction. The Voter- caused it to be signed. I am at heast 18 years old- described in the WARRING on the flap of this anvelope, of the Voler, unless I assisted the Voler at his/her required. (DTE Apply appropriately applied to exceeding the state) and although a poster.	signed this Absorptor Application and Certificate, or I am not disquatified from vilnessing the ballot as I trosported the <u>secrety of the ballot as of word</u> uest (complete Votor Assistant Continention sector).
Signature of votertil applicable)	Name of Assistant Address of Assistant	STATEOF	1
	X	COUNTY OF	
Aufthors where application and balluts-should be maded	Separature of Assistant Date	count of	boc Commission Esperien Oste

NCS8E v2018.02

*** !nitia! State Report ***
06:32:14 10/17/2018

Target Operating System Version. 1.6.0.0 DS200 Firmware Version: 1.6.0.0 Power Management Firmware Version: 1.2.4.0 Scanner Firmware Version: 2.22.0.0 Modem Status: Not Detected Protected Count: 9220 Machine ID: 0000DS0110340083 Bladen County, NC Bladen County, NC General 0018 ONE STOP LIBRARY 0018 Election Date: November 06, 2018 Maximum Number of Types: 1 Number of Precincts: 1 Number of Ballot Face Styles: 5 Rudit Los Entries: 66/21002

System Configuration: Election Results Printing: Enabled Election Results Transferred: NO Diverter Installed: YES Unreadable Marks Setting: Reject Report Type: SUMMARY Ability to Reopen Polls: YES Report Format: Precinct By Precinct Report By Rotation: NO

Election Configuration:
Ballots by Style: YES
Overvoted Ballots: Query
Blank Ballots: Accept
Cross-over Ballots: Guery
Single Over-Vote: NO
Divert Blanks to Writein Bin: NO
Divert Overvoted Writein: NO
Response Type: OVAL
Use Separate Non Party Type: NO
Support Type: Election Day
Language: E
Save Ballot Images: A
Suppress Race Title: N

Ballot Information:
Inches: 14
Rows: 36
Columns: 3
Ballot Sides Defined: 2

.

*** Status Report *** 06:33:09 10/17/2018 Protected Count: 9220 Machine ID: 0000DS0110349883 Bladen County, NC Bladen County, NC General 0018 ONE STOP LIBRARY 0018 Election Date: November 06, 2018 ONE STOP LIBRARY Ballot Types: all Total: 0 *** Zero Totals Report *** 06:33:12 10/17/2018 Machine ID: 0G00DS0110340083 Bladen County, NC Bladen County, NC General 0018 ONE STOP LIBRARY 0018 Election Date: November 06, 2018 Total Number Voting: 0 Precinct Voting Report ONE STOP LIBRARY Total Ballots Ballots for Code 00001-01-01 Ballots for Code 00002-01-01 0 0 Ballots for Code 00003-01-01 0 Ballots for Code 00004-01-01 0 Ballots for Code 00005-01-01 0 1181_US HOUSE DIST 07 CONGRESSIONAL DIST CST-David W. Fallin DEM-Kyle Horton 0 REP-David Rouzer 0 Over Votes Under Votes Total Votes 1183_US HOUSE DIST 09 CONGRESSIONAL DIST REP-Mark Harris DEM-Dan McCready LIB-Jeff Scott Over Votes Under Votes Tabal Uston Total Votes 1131_NC STATE SENATE DIST 08 NC SENATE D LIB-Anthony H. Mascolo REP-Bill Rabon DEM-David W. Sink, Jr. Over Votes Under Votes Total Votes 0

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1025_NC HOUSE DIST 022 NC HOUSE D	ISTRICT
REP-William Brisson DEM-Martin (Tens) Denning Over Votes	0
Under Votes	0
Total Votes	0
1201_DISTRICT ATTORNEY DIST 15 15	TH PRUS
REP-Jon David	0
Over Votes Under Votes	0
iotal Votes	0
G002_BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS DIST	COMMI
DEM-Arthur A. Bullock	0
Over Votes Under Votes	0
Total Votes	0
0003_BUARD OF COMMISSIONERS DIST	
REP-Charles Ray Peterson DEM-Dawson Singletary	0
Over Votes Under Votes	0
	CONTRACTOR A
Total Votes	0
0004_BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS DIST :	3 COMMI
DEM-Russell Priest	0
REP-Wayne Edse Over Votes	0
Under Votes	0
Total Votes	0
0006_BOARD OF EDUCATION AT-LARGE	
DEM-Vince Rozier	0
DEM-Cory L. Singletary DEM-Tim Benton	0
REP-Dennis Edwards	0
Over Votes Under Votes	0
Total Votes	0
0009_BOARD OF EDUCATION DIST 1 SCH	100L #1
DEM-Gary Rheda	0
Over Votes Under Votes	0
	·····à
Total Votes	
Total Votes	
Total Votes	00L #2
Total Votes 1010_BOARD OF EDUCATION DIST 2 SCH DEM-Roser Carroll	00L #2
Total Votes 0010_BUARD OF EDUCATION DIST 2 SCH DEM-Roser Carroll Duer Votes Under Votes	00L #2
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Total Votes 1010_BUARD OF EDUCATION DIST 2 SCH 10EM-Roser Carroll 10ver Votes 10der Votes 10tal Votes 10tal Votes	00L #2 0 0 0 0

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0005_CLERK OF SUPERIOR COURT	
DEM-Niki S. Dennis Over Votes Under Votes	0
Total Votes	θ
0001 CORONER	
	120
DEM-Kenneth T. Clark Over Votes Under Votes	0
Total Votes	0
0008_REGISTER OF DEEDS	
DEM-Beverly T. Parks REP-Jason Britt Over Votes Under Votes	0 0
Total Votes	0
0012_SHER1FF	
REP-Jim McVicker DEH-Hakeem Brown Over Votes Under Votes	0 0 0
Total Votes	0
1376_SUPREME CT ASSC JUSTICE SEAT I	
REP-Barbara Jackson REP-Christopher (Chris) Analin DEM-Anita Earls Over Votes Under Votes	0 0 0 0
Total Votes	
1226_COURT OF APPEALS JUDGE SEAT 1	
REP-Andren T. Heath DEM-John S. Arrowood Over Votes Under Votes	0 0 0
Total Votes	0
1227_COURT OF APPEALS JUDGE SEAT 2	
REP-Jefferson G. Griffin	0
DEM-Tobias (Toby) Hampson REP-Sandra Alice Ray	0
Over Votes Under Votes	0
Total Votes	ò
1228_COURT OF APPEALS JUDGE SEAT 3	
	0
REP-Chuck Kitchen LIB-Michael Monaco, Sr. DEM-Allegra Katherine Collins Over Votes	0
Under Votes 	0
70163	U
1265_DISTRICT COURT DIST 13 SEAT 1 13	H

1265_DISTRICT COURT DIST 13 SEAT 1 13	TH
REP-W. Fred Gore Over Votes Under Votes	0
Jotal Votes	0
1265_DISTRICT COURT DIST 13 SEAT 2 13	ΥH
REP-William F. Fairley Over Votes Under Votes	0
otal Votes	0
0007_SOIL AND WATER DIST SUPERVISOR Rumber to Vote For: 2	
im Gause harles Mendell Gillespie arl Storms Wite In Ner Votes Inder Votes	00000
otal Votes	0
420_PROTECT RIGHT TO HUNT AND FISH	
or Bainst ver Votes nder Votes	0 0 0
otal Votes	0
421_STRENGTHENING VICTIMS RIGHTS	
or gainst wer Votes nder Votes	0 0 0
otal Votes	0
424_MAXIMUM INCOME TAX RATE OF 7.0%	
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125_REQUIRE PHOTO ID TO VOTE	
or gainst ver Votes vder Votes	0 0 0
tal Votes	Ö
123_JUDICIAL MERIT COMMISSION	
or Bainst Ber Votes Bder Votes	0 0 0
tal Votes	Ô

1422_BIPARTISAN ETHICS AND ELECTIONS

For Against Over Votes Under Votes	0000
Total Votes	ò
0013_BLADEN COUNTY SALES AND USE 18X	
For Against Over Votes Under Votes	0 0 0 0
Total Votes	ò

ME, THE UNDERSIGNED, DO HEREBY CERTIFY THAT THE ABOVE REPORT IS TRUE AND GCOURATE. AND THAT ALL COUNTERS MERE ZERO (0) WHEN THE POLLS OPENED IN ACCORDANCE MITH THE LAWS OF THE STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA.

agnis wul is

06:34:45 10/17/2018 Hachine ID: 0000DS0110340683

0018 ONE STOP LIBRARY 0018 Election Date: November 06, 2018 06:34:47 10/1//2018 Polls Opened From:

Andy Yates [andy@reddomegroup.com]

Sent:

9/5/2018 5:30:50 PM

To:

Mark Harris [mark.everette.harris@gmail.com]

Subject:

FYI - Invoices

Attachments: Red Dome Group Invoice # Harris020 - 9_4_2018.pdf; Untitled attachment 94538.html; Red Dome Group Invoice #

Harris021 - 9_4_2018.pdf; Untitled attachment 94541.html

Mark,

Attached is my invoice for August and my invoice for rack cards and yard signs.

On the monthly invoice:

Consulting Fee is me (Red Dome)

Grassroots and Fundraising is:

\$3,000 for Kelly

\$2,500 for Conrad

\$2,000 for Jake

\$1750 for Logan

\$4500 for Campaign Management is Jake

Grassroots Bladen, Cumberland and Robeson is McCrae

Grassroots Door to Door is Conrad's folks

Please let me know if you have any questions. Thanks!



INVOICE

Red Dome Group

Phone: (704) 727-8092 andy@reddomegroup.com www.reddomegroup.com Invoice #: Harris020
Invoice Date: 9/4/2018

Mark Harris for Congress Attention: Kelly Tain

kellyfain@gmail.com

Item Description	Oly	Price	Amount
Consulting Fee	1.00	\$4,000.00	\$4,000.00
Contract Labor Grassroots & Fundraising	1.00	\$9,250.00	\$9,250.00
Contract Labor Campaign Management	1.00	\$4,500.00	\$4,500.00
Grassroots Bladen, Robeson Cumberland; August	1.00	\$5,027.00	\$5,027.00
Grassroots Contract Door to Door 8/16 to 8/30	1.00	\$1,735.00	\$1,735.00

Subtotal: \$24,512.00

Total Due: \$24,512.00

Due Date: 9/4/2018



Comments

To Pay Online Via Credit Card Please Click On "Pay Invoice Now" Above

To Pay By Check Please Make All Checks Payable to Red Dome Group

Please Mail Payment To: Red Dome Group PO Box 1232 Cornelius, NC 28031

If you have any questions concerning this invoice please contact Andy Yates (704) 467-0795 andy@reddomegroup.com

Thank you for your continued business!

From: Andy Yates [andy@reddomegroup.com]

Sent: 5/22/2018 6:53:09 AM

To: Mark E. Harris [mark.everette.harris@gmail.com]; Jason Williams [rjasonwilliams01@gmail.com]

Subject: How Do We Win?

I spoke to Andrew late yesterday and he noted that the question you are going to be asked over and over again today and tomorrow is How Do We Win? I drafted the short talking points below that I believe answer this question.

Total Number of Registered Voters: 465,504 (Does not include inactive voters)

Projected Turnout: 45% Raw Turnout: 209,476

Votes needed to get 52%: 108,928

How Do We Win?

*Continue building Mark's positive name ID in the district, show Mark's depth of knowledge and understanding on the key issues, and showi Mark as the candidate most inline with the views of the district across the board

- *Define Dan McCready for the voters by destroying his image as a moderate and painting him as your typical liberal politician whose views don't match the voters of the 9th District.
- *Scare voters about the prospect of Nancy Pelosi returning as Speaker of the House, taking Congress on a a sharp left-turn, undoing tax reform, attempting to dismantle everything Trump has accomplished, and blocking anything President Trump seeks to do.
- *Target Socially Conservative / Evangelical Voters in Eastern End of the 8th District through microtargeted mail and digital as well as grassroots. (These are also areas, especially Bladen, Robeson, and Cumberland, where Trump enjoys high approval among unaffiliated voters and white Democrats)

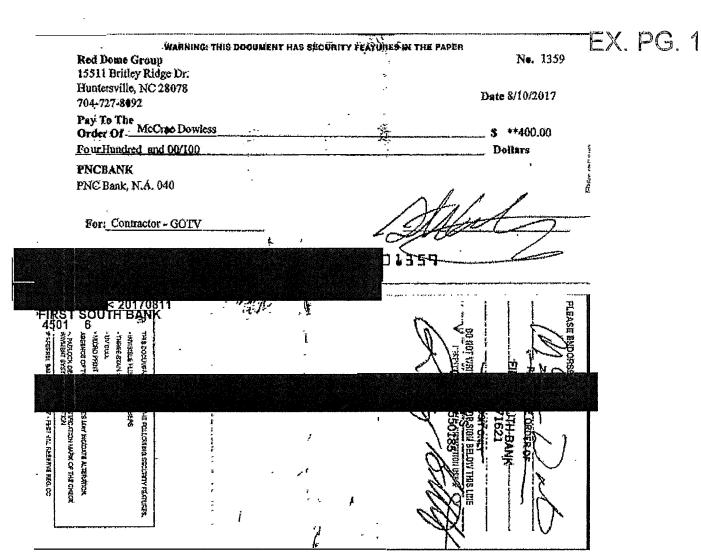
2012 Marriage Amendment Yes% in Eastern Portion of the District.

Robeson: 86% (largest yes% in the state)

Bladen: 83% Richmond: 77% Scotland: 73% Cumberland: 70% Anson: 70%

- *Expand Turnout in Union County through volunteer and paid grassroots efforts as well as micro targeted mail and digital. Very similar to the very successful program we ran in the primary but with an expanded audience.
- *Expand Turnout in Bladen County through paid grassroots efforts including strong absentee by mail program very similar to the very successful program we ran in the primary but with an expanded audience. (We will also be expanding this program more into Robeson and Cumberland Counties and working in partnership with local candidates such as State Rep. Brenden Jones and Sheriff Jim McVicker).
- *Target Trump Voters who came out in 2016 but don't normally vote in midterms with grassroots GOTV efforts as well as microtargeted mail and digital aimed at pushing turnout
- *Outreach to the business community in South Charlotte

	Che	ck Log	
Ex. Pg.	Date	Check No.	Amount
1.1	10:Aug-17	1359	\$400:00
2 3	18-Aug-17	1360	\$500.00
ა 4	25:Aug-17 05-Sep-17	1362 1365	\$1,012.00 \$1,200.00
5	05-Sep-17	1366	\$720.00
6	14-Sep-17	1373	\$1,000.00
7	21-Sep-17	1375	\$600.00
8	05-Oct-17	1381	\$1,200.00
9	26-Oct-17	1386	\$600.00
10 11	20-Nov-17 14-Dec-17	1398 1412	\$1,200.00 \$1,450.00
12	20-Dec-17	1414	\$1,650.00
13	02-Jan-18	1417	\$1,500.00
14	14-Jan-18	1418	\$250.00
15	28-Jan-18	1420	\$250.00
16	04-Feb-18	1421	\$250.00
17	11-Feb-18	1422	\$250,00
18 19	15-Jan-18 16-Jan-18	1442 1444	\$1,200.00 \$1,200.00
20	16-Jan-18	1445	\$1,000.00
21	14:Jan:18	1457	\$2,000.00
22	05-Mar-18	1490	\$3,000.00
23	08- Mar :18	1491	\$6,500.00
24	02-Apr-18	1524	\$5,000.00
25	09-Apr-18	1525	\$2,500,00
26	16-Apr-18	1526	\$2,500.00
27 28	23-Apr-18 17-Apr-18	1527 1528	\$2,500.00 \$2,500.00
29	26-Apr-18	1573	\$1,000.00
30	20-May-18	1625	\$2,500.00
31	05-Jun-18	1636	\$937.50
32:	08-Jun-18	1637	\$1,250.00
33	08-Jun-18	1635	\$1,625.00
34 35	08-Jun-18	1638	\$2,800.00 \$125.00
36	05-Jun-18 12-Jun-18	1639 1645	\$1,500.00
37	21-Jun-18	1647	\$1,450.00
38	21-Jun-18	1648	\$1,625.00
39	21-Jun-18	1649	\$2,500,00
40	03-Jul-18	1653	\$4,875.00
41	03-Jul-18	1654	\$347.07
42	31-Jul-18	1662	\$3,050.00
43 44	31-Jul-18 31-Jul-18	1666 1663	\$3,500.00 \$2,500.00
45	15•Aug-18	1675	\$3,500.00
46	15-Aug-18	1676	\$815.00
47	20-Aug-18	1677	\$1,500.00
48	27-Aug-18	1687	\$1,425.00
49	27-Aug-18	1688	\$4,500.00
50	11-Sep-18	1708	\$4,100.00
51 52	11-Sep-18 24-Sep-18	1709 1720	\$1,900.00 \$5,000.00
52 53	01-Oct-18	1721	\$4,000.00
54	12-Oct-18	1752	\$11,500.00
55	19-Oct-18	1753	\$5,400.00
56	24-Oct-18	1754	\$11,000.00
57	07-Nov-18	1779	\$2,209,00
		TOTAL	\$132,365.57



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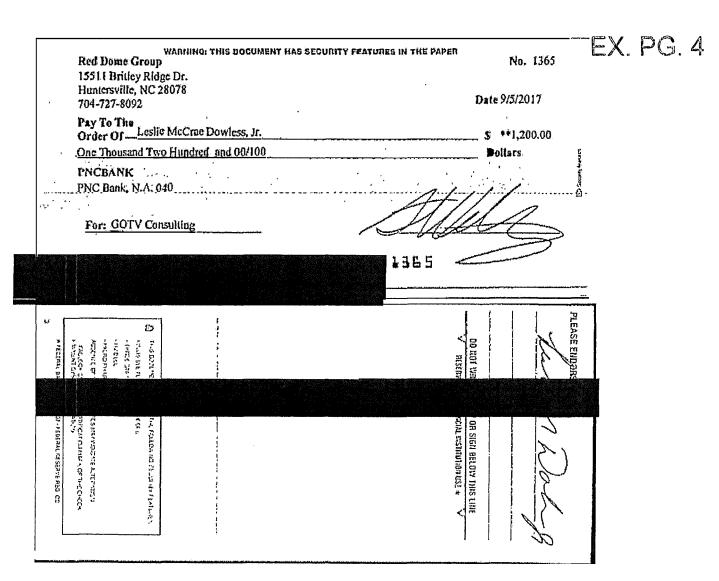
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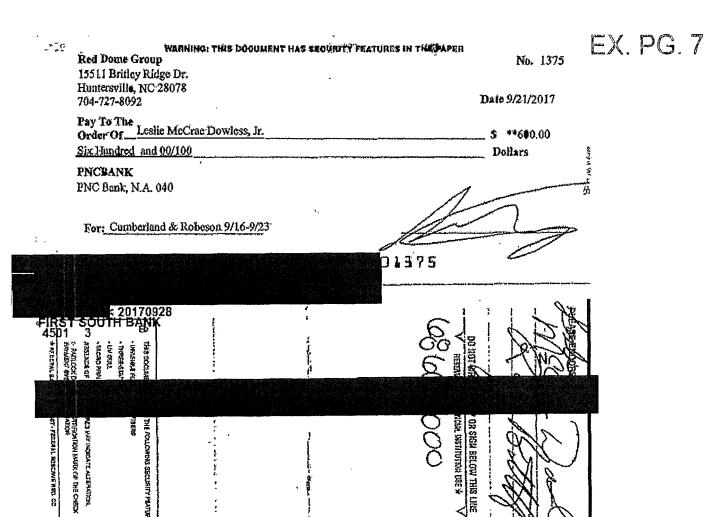
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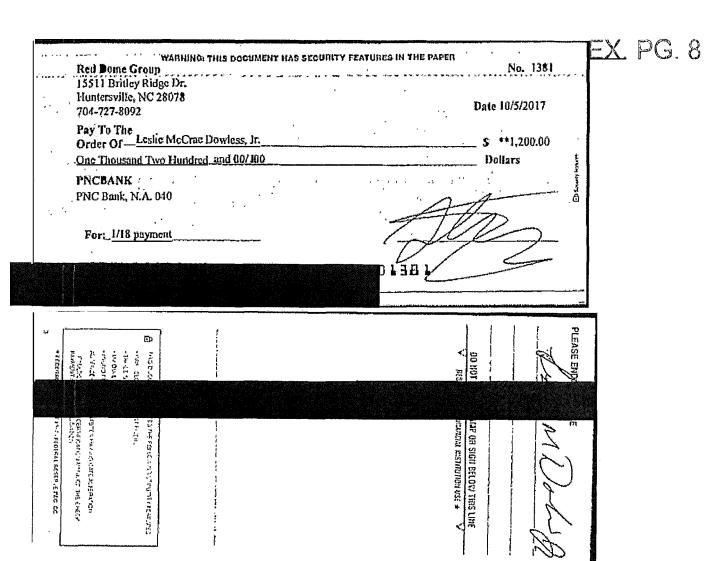
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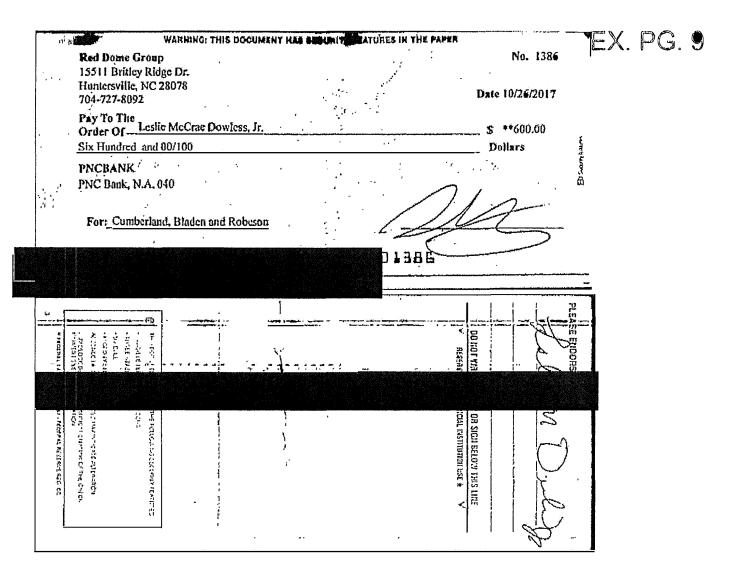
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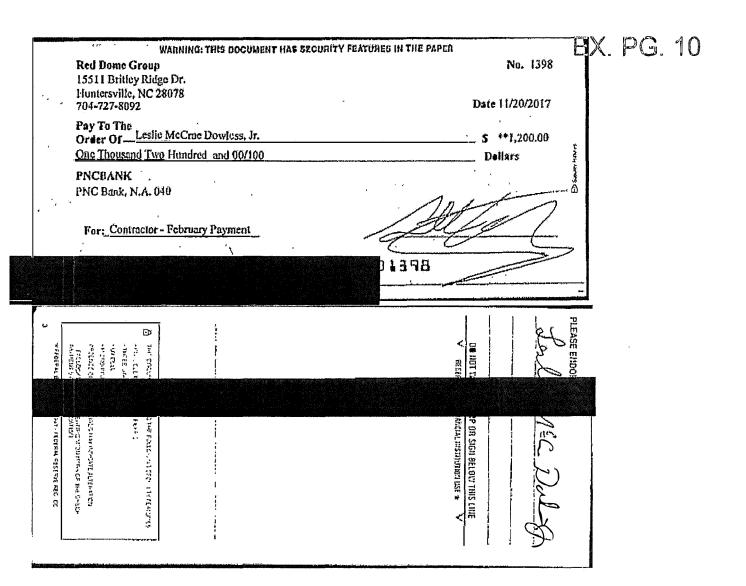
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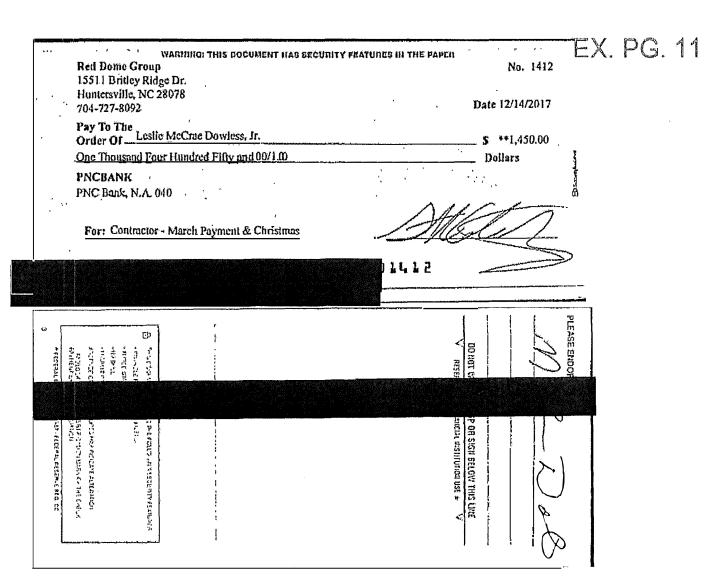
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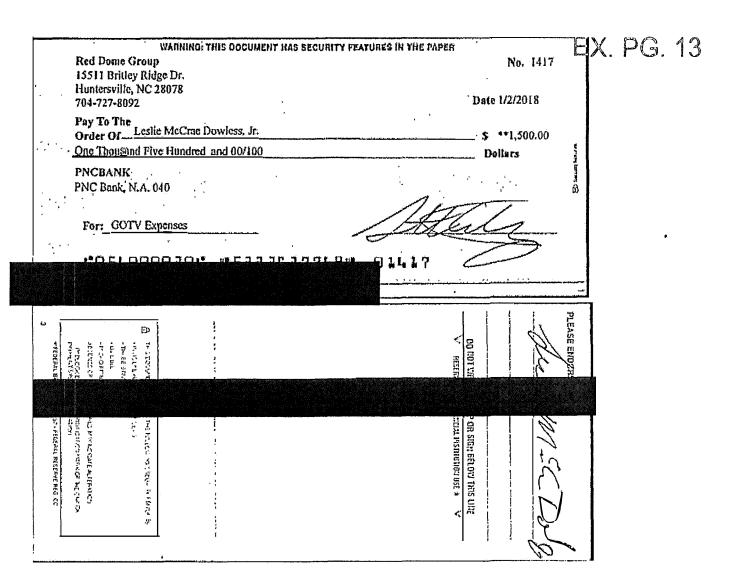
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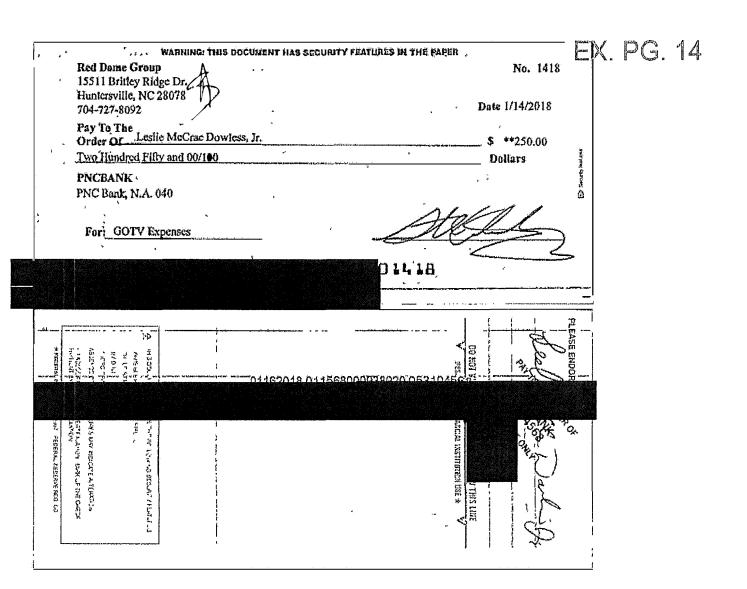
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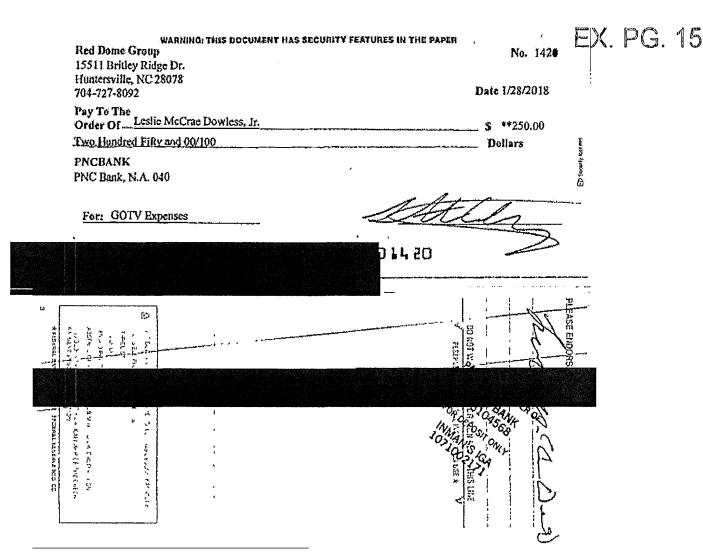


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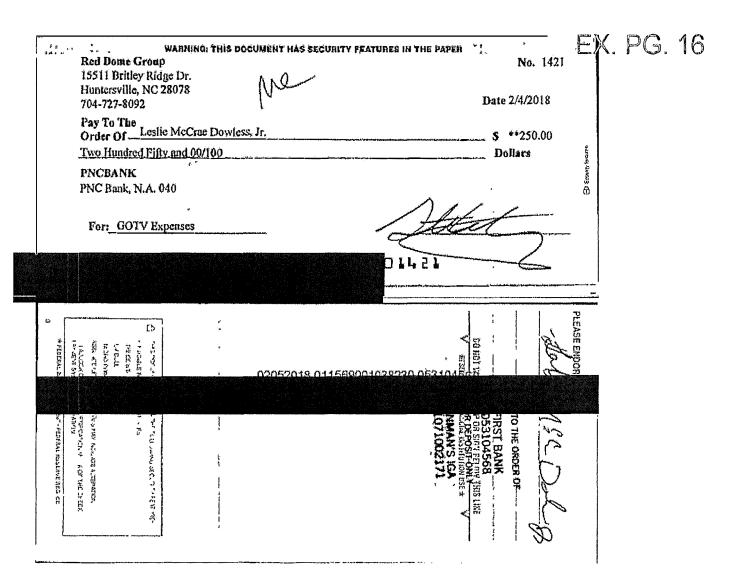
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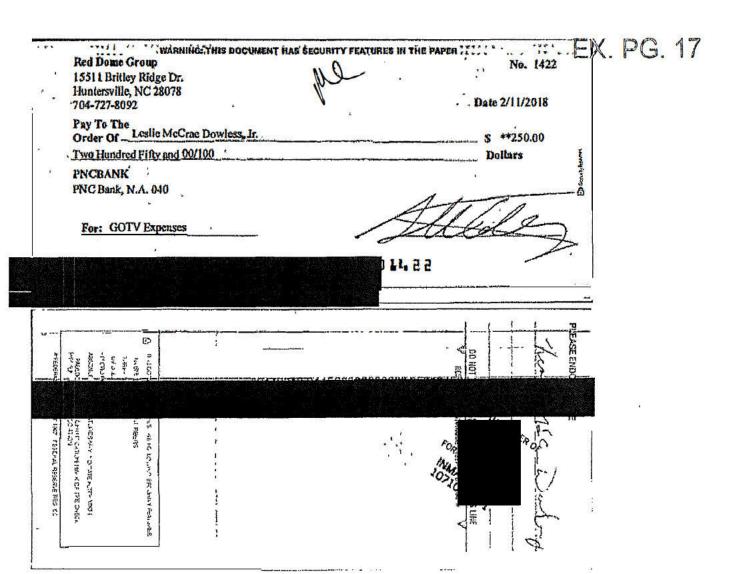
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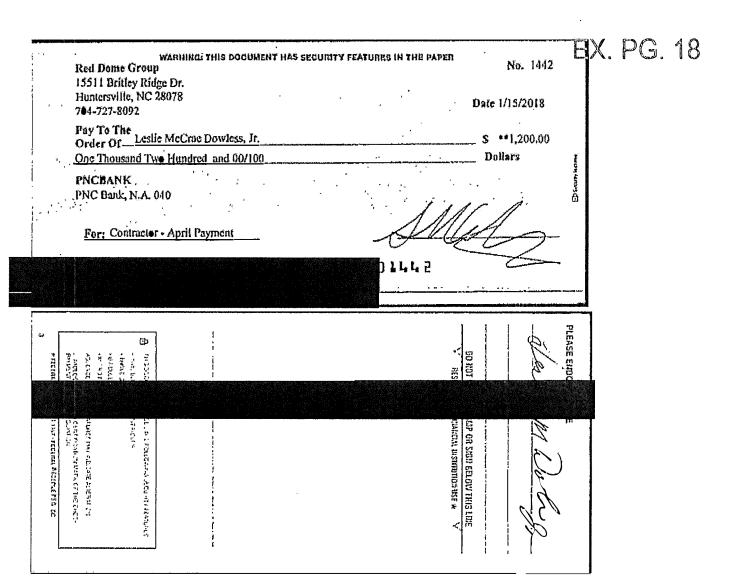
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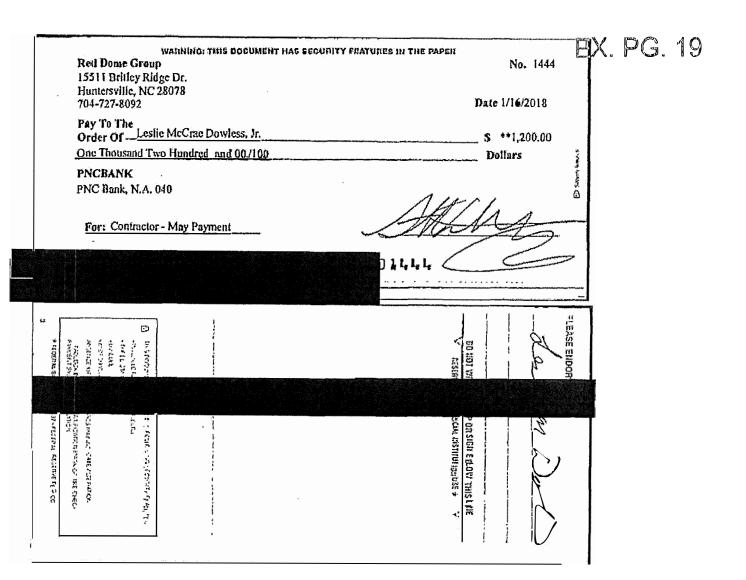
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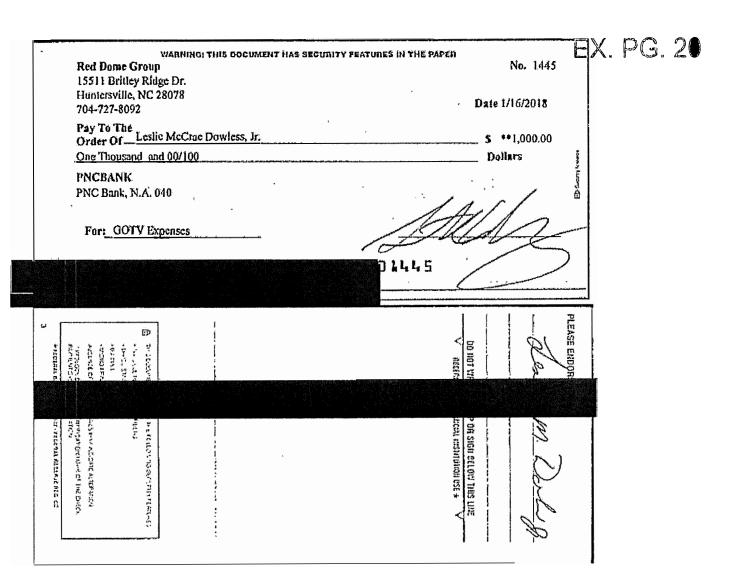
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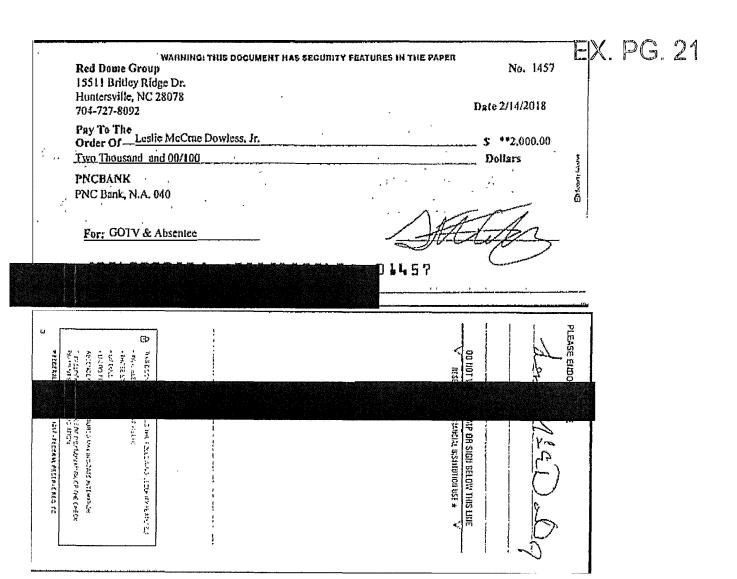
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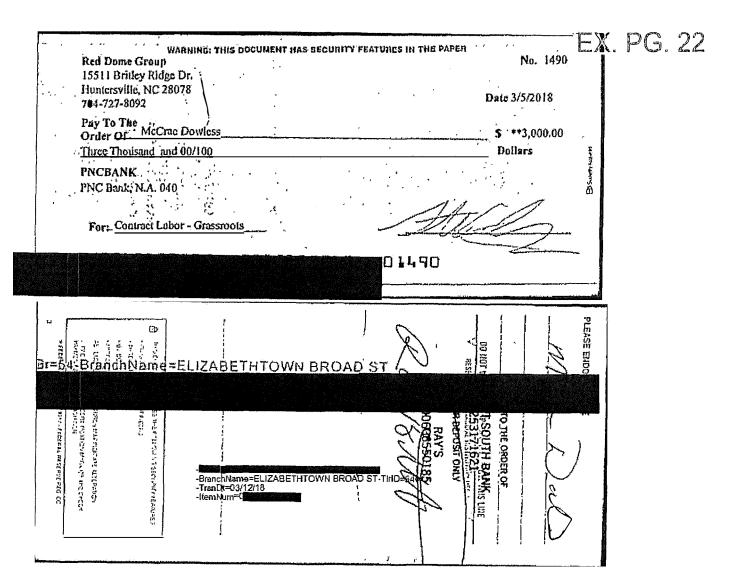
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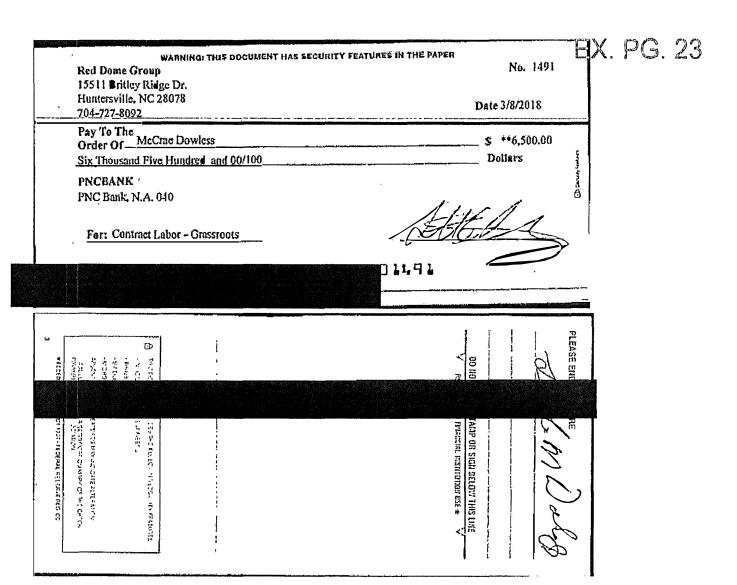
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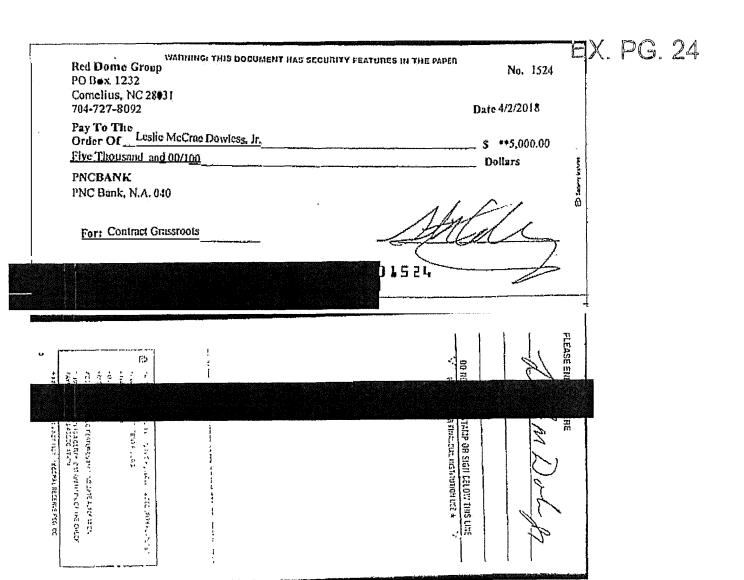
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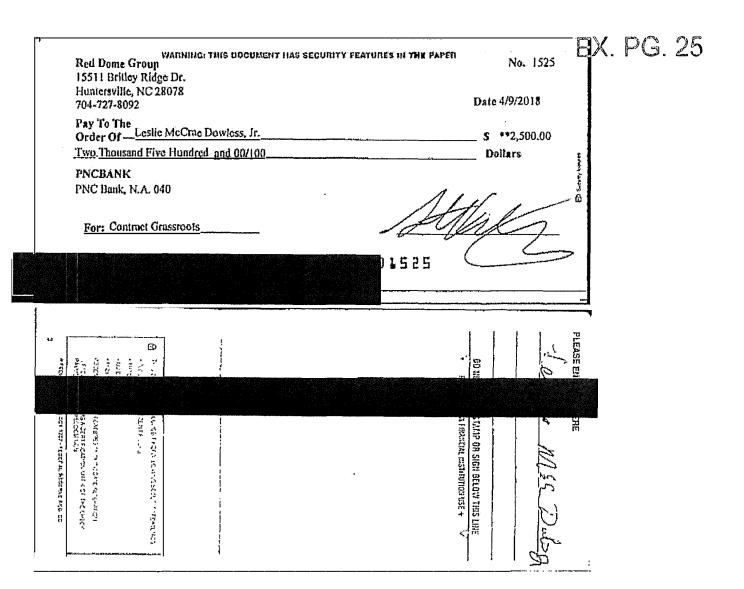
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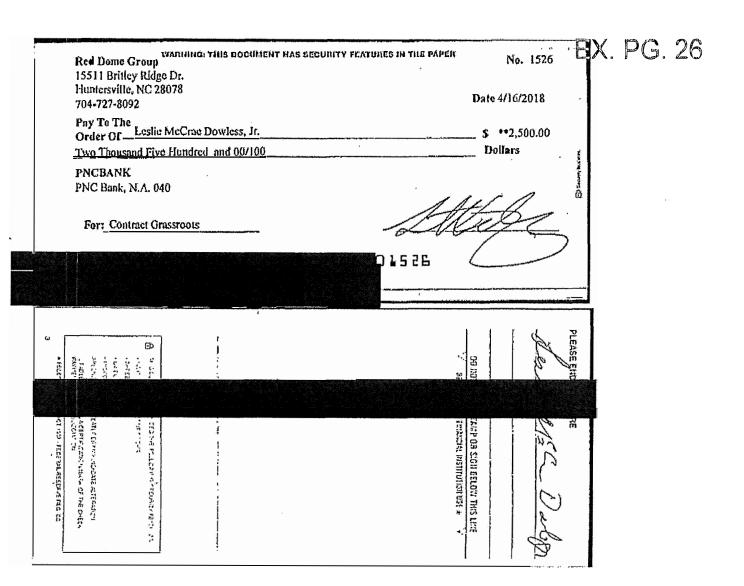
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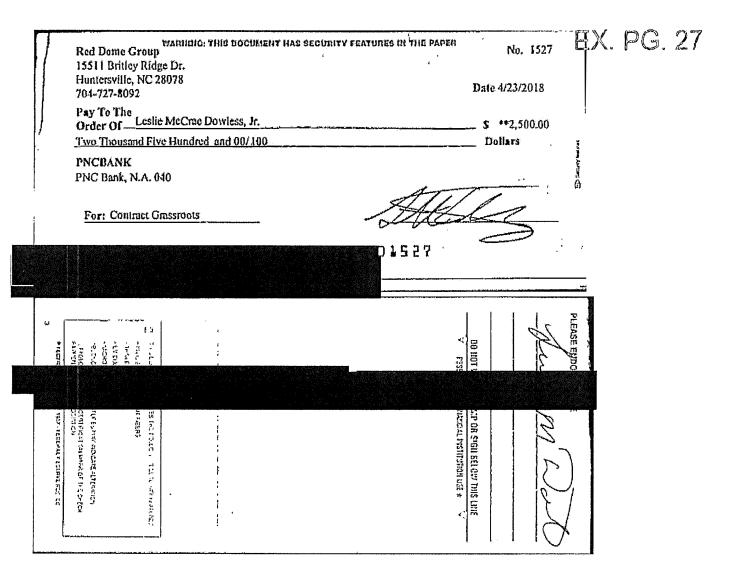
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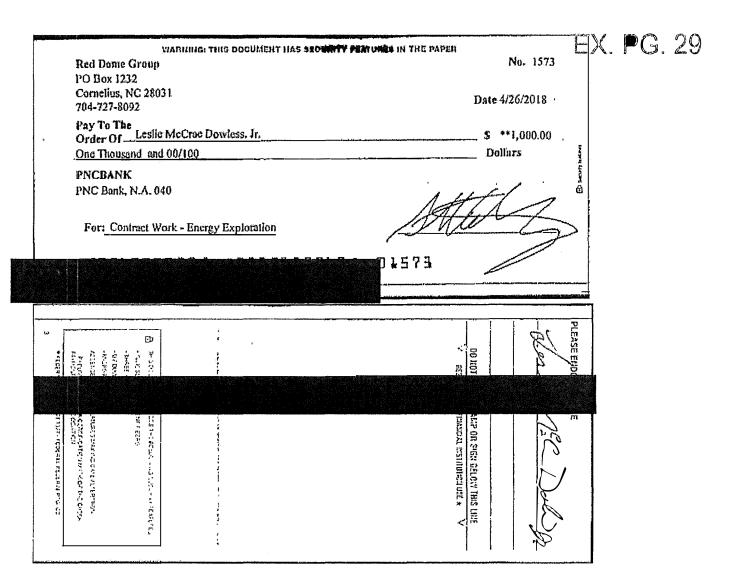
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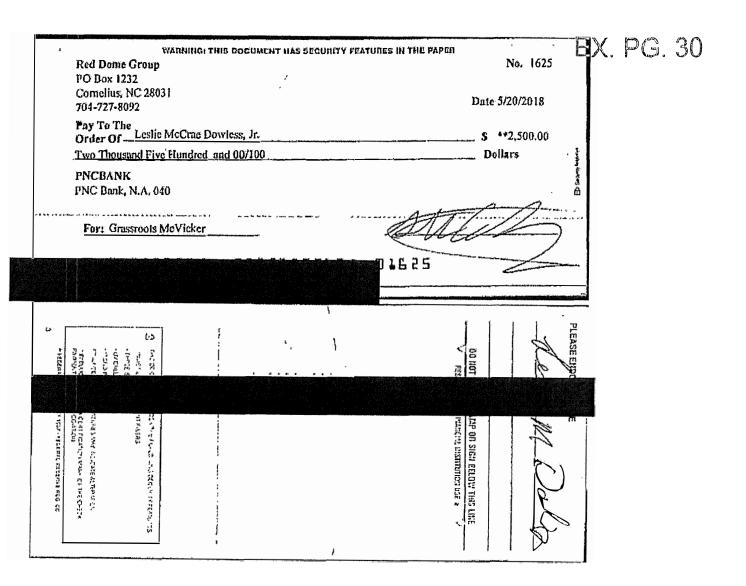
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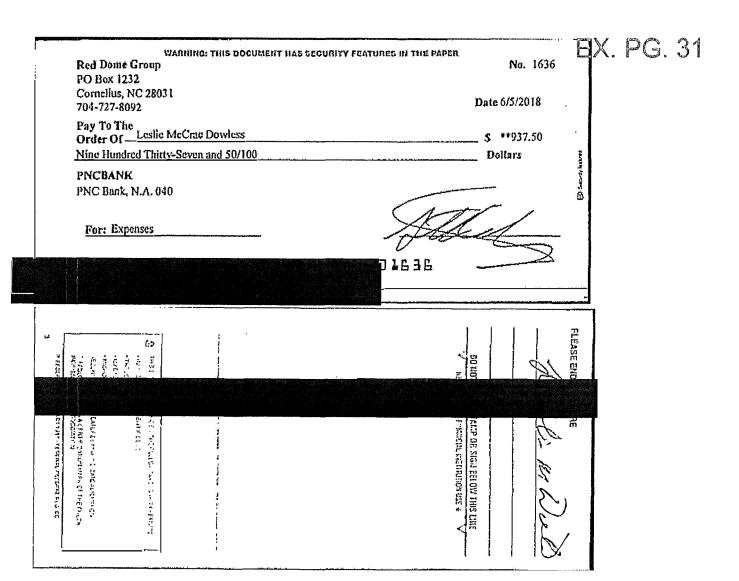
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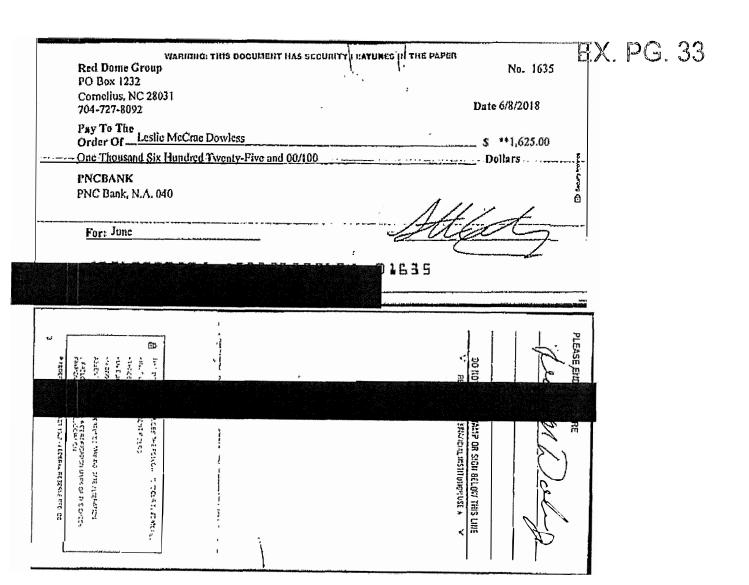
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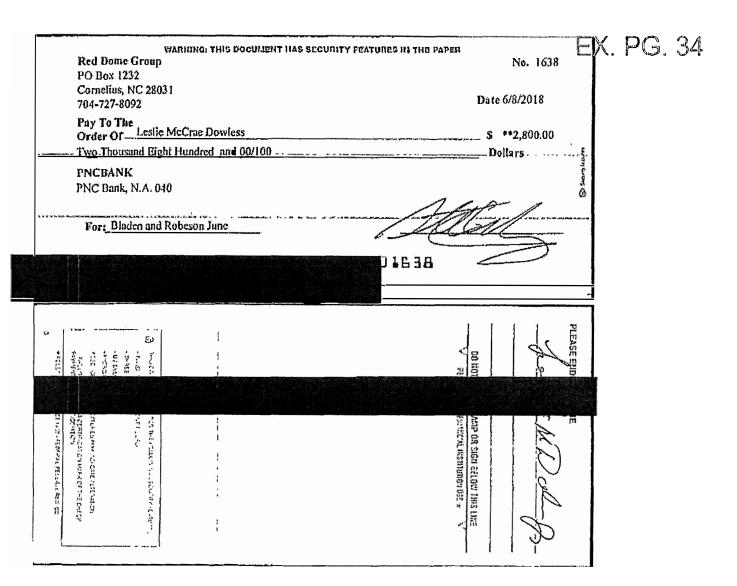
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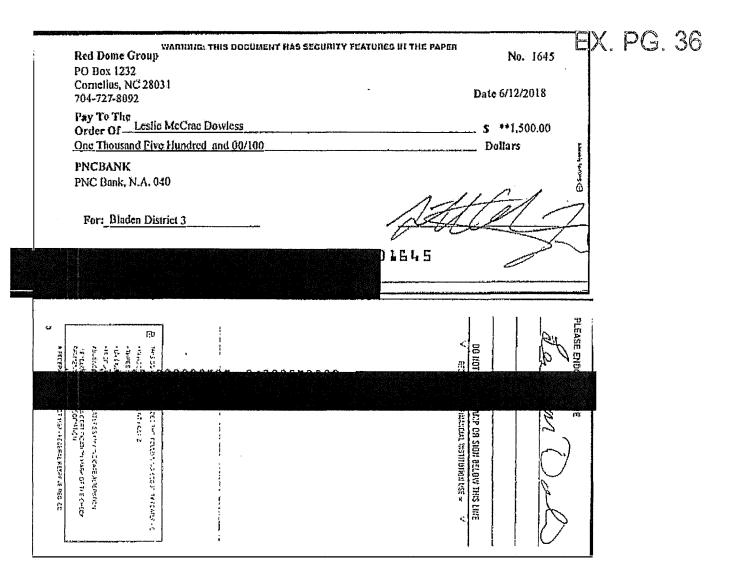
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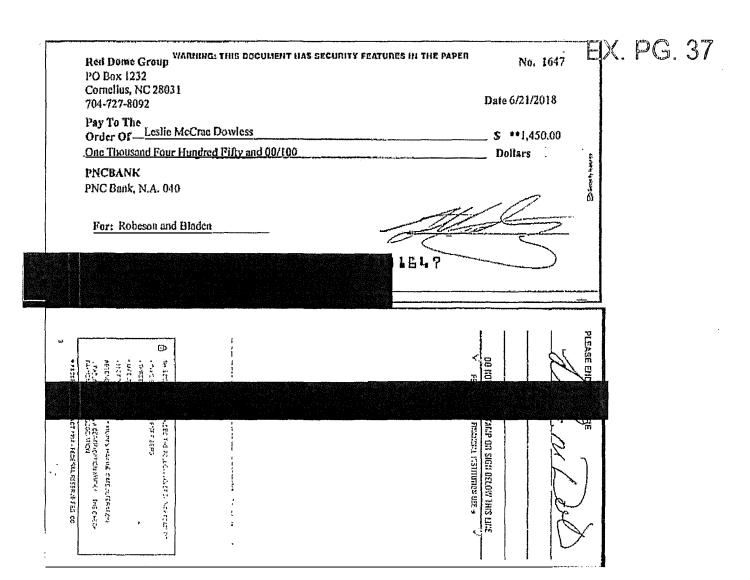
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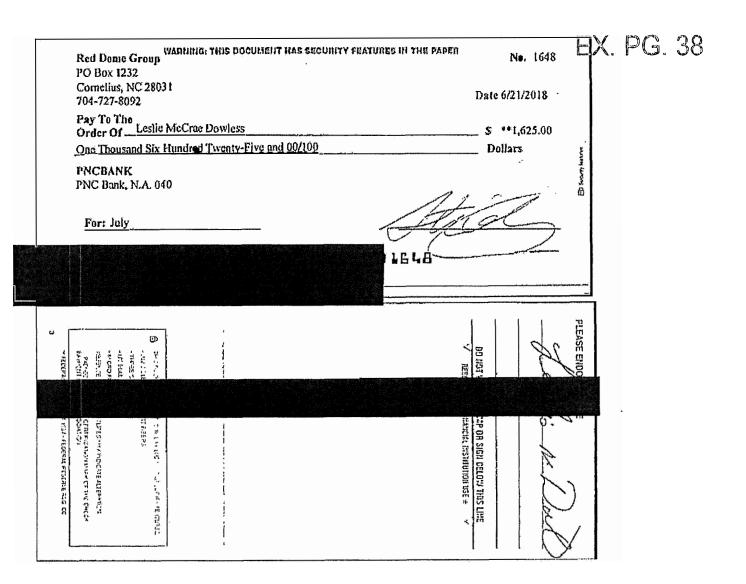
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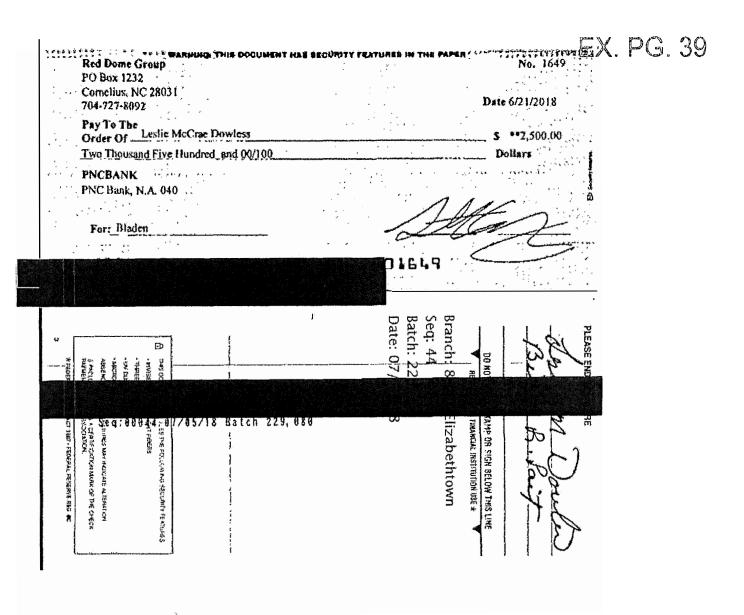
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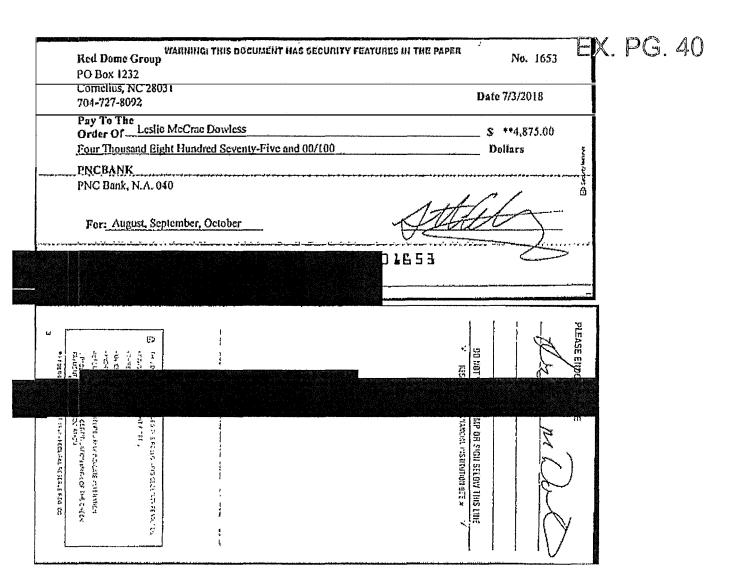
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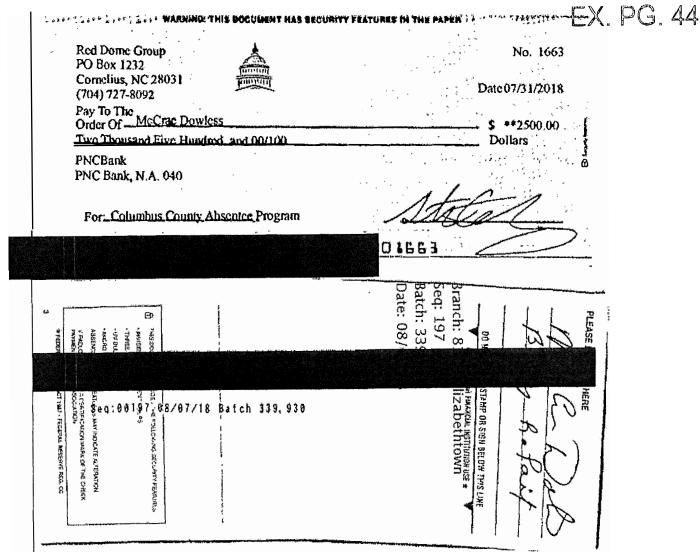
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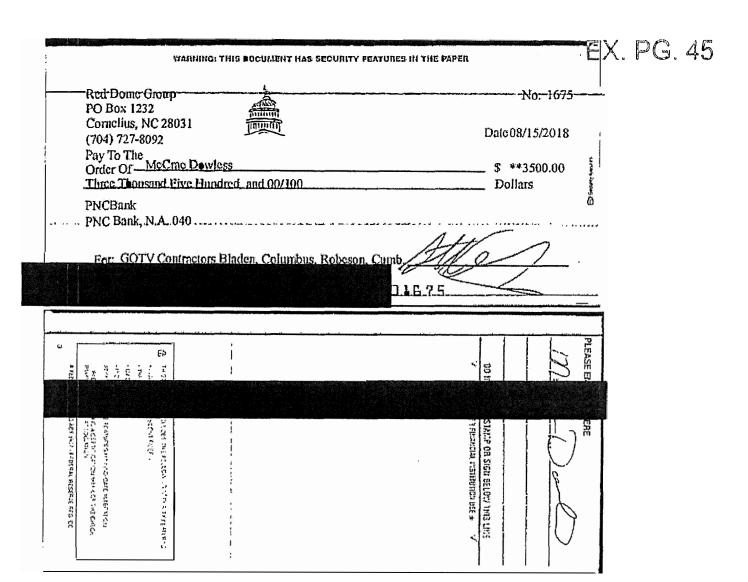
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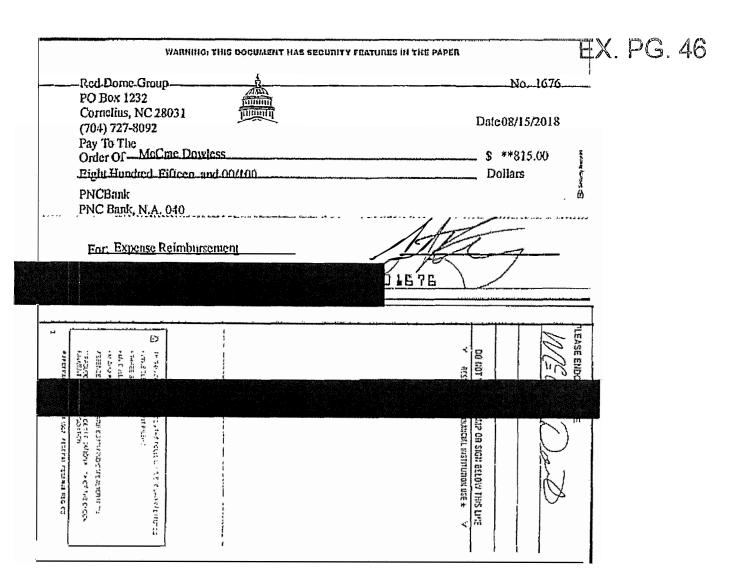
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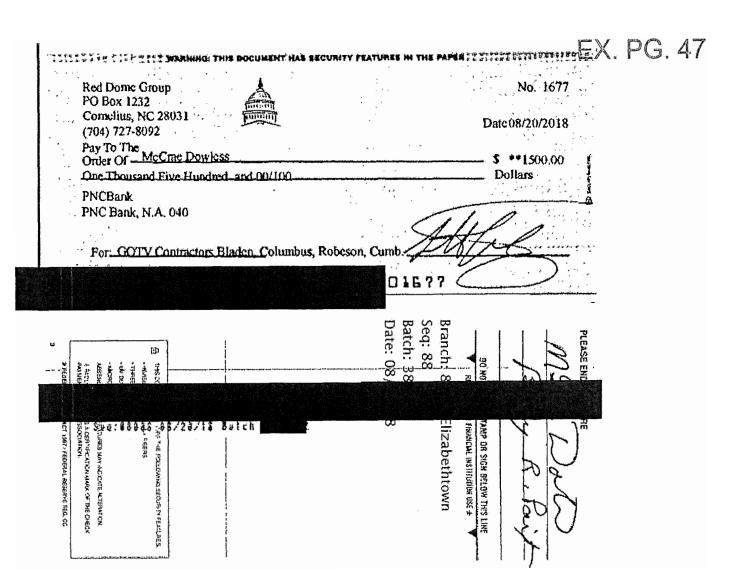
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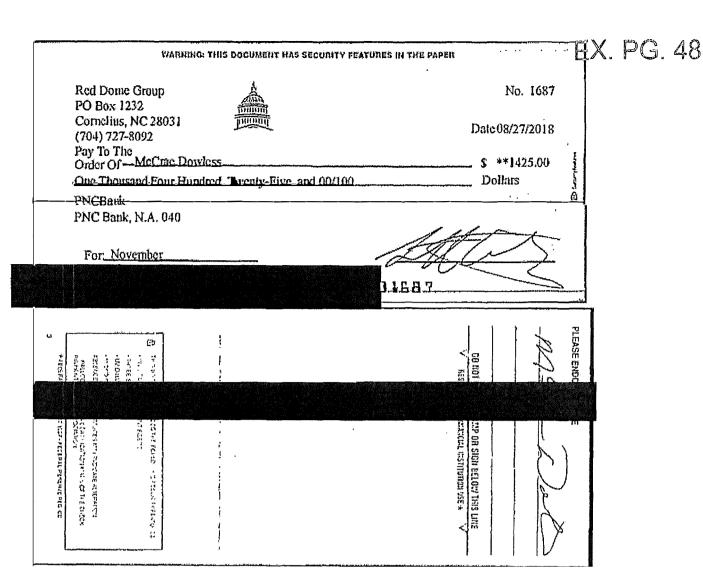
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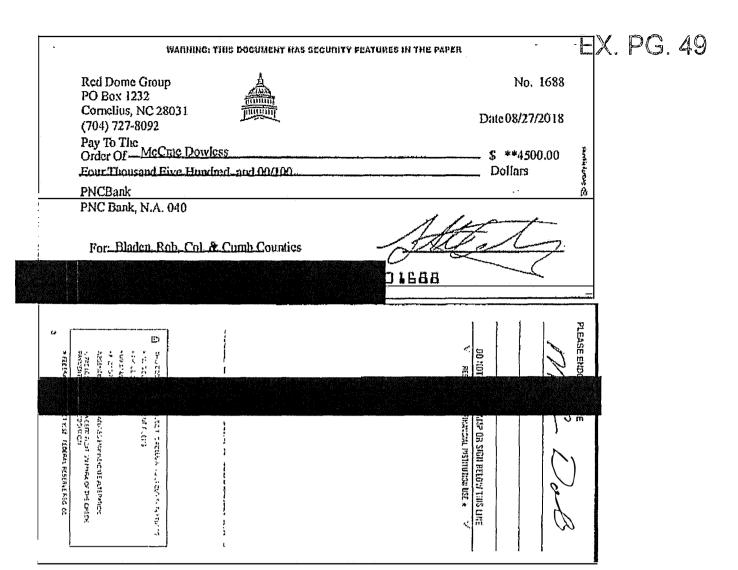
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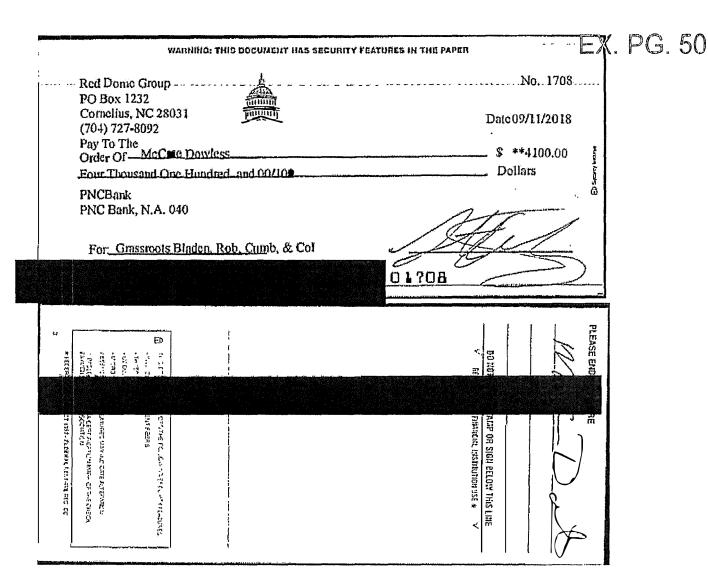
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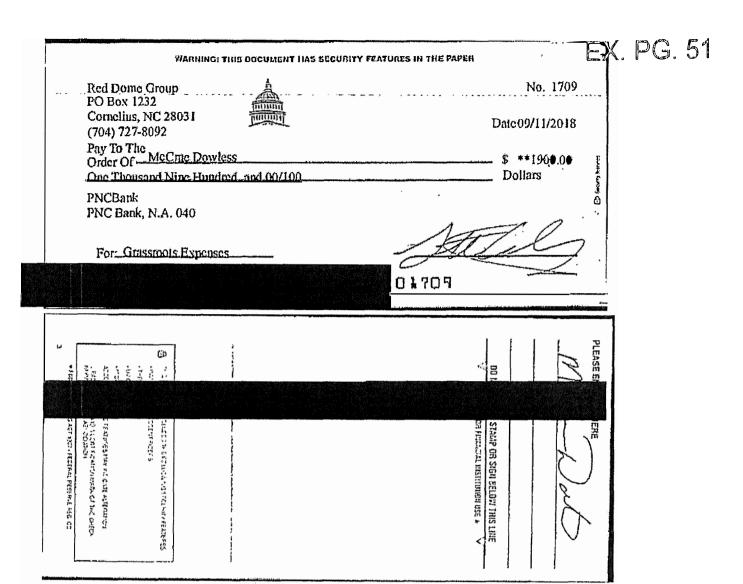
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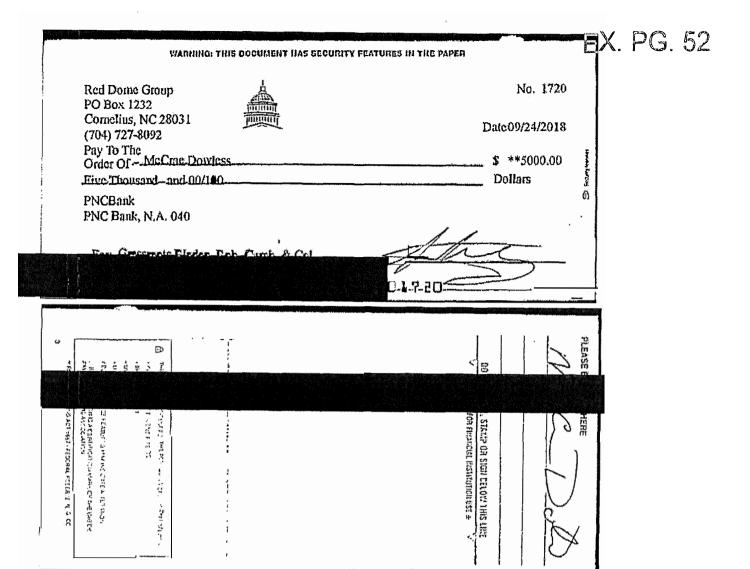
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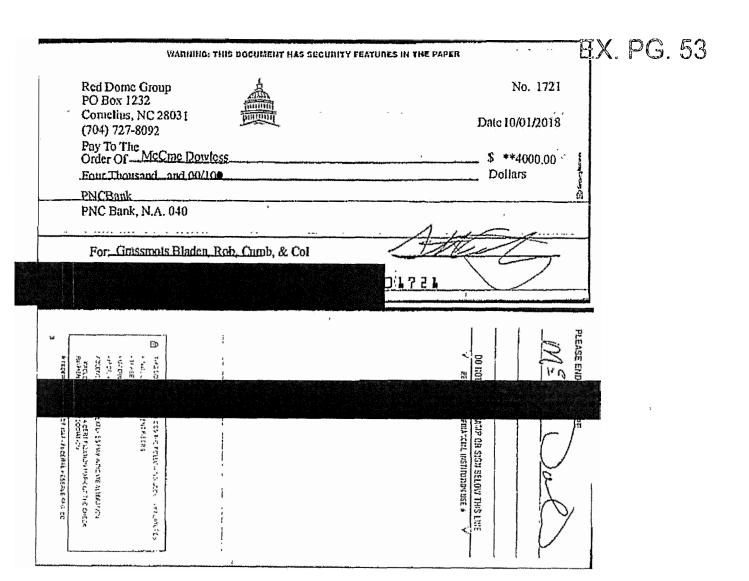
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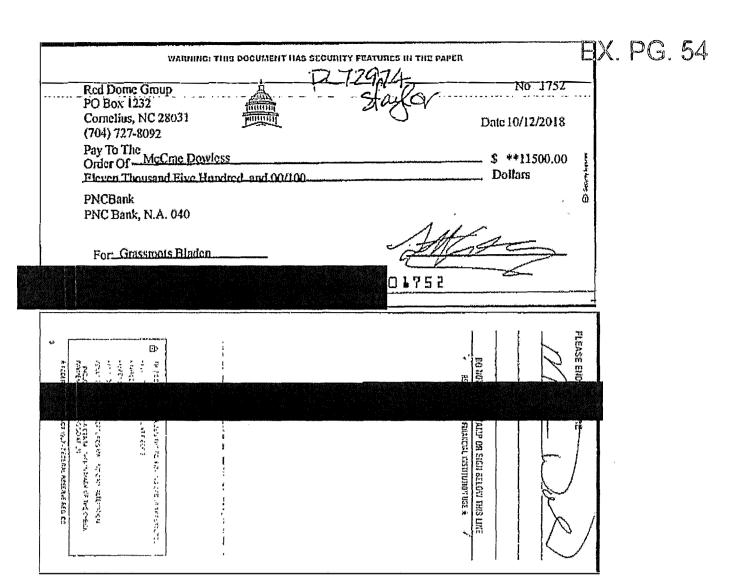
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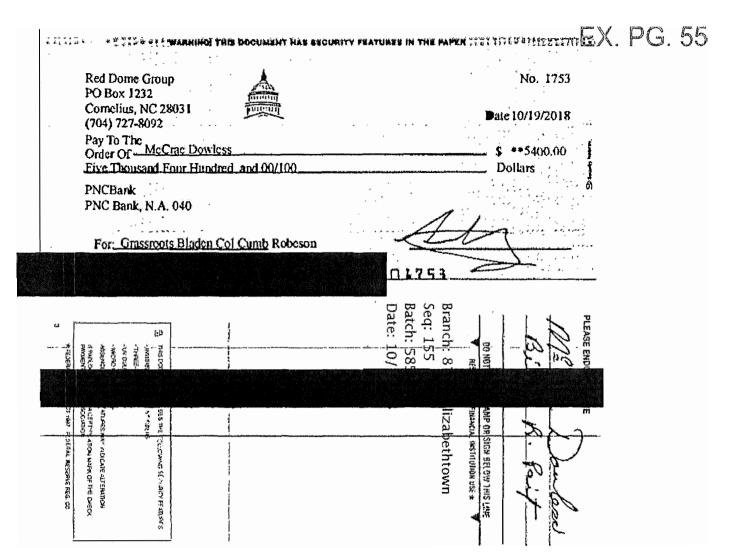
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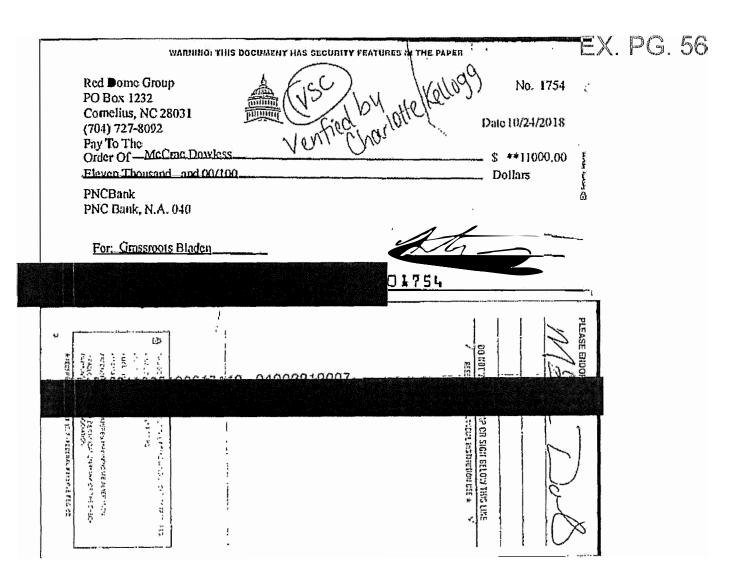
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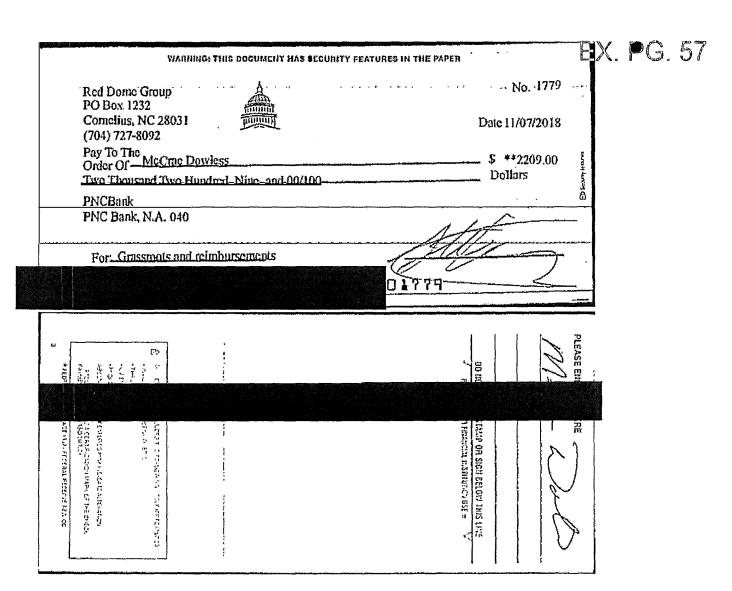
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RED DOME 9213 of 15153



Red Dome Group Phone: (704) 727-8092 andy@reddomegroup.com www.reddomegroup.com INVOICE

Invoice #: Grassroots

Invoice Date: 4/26/2018

Revised Invoice Date: 4/26/2018

Mark Harris for Congress

Attention: Kelly Tain

kellytain@gmail.com

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Direct Mail	Mediock Mailer Design, Copywriting, Production, Mail Prep & Postage	1.00	\$2,713.18	\$2,713.18
Direct Mail	Districtwide Positive Trump Design, Copywriting, Production & Mail Prep	1.00	\$6,720.00	\$6,720.00
Direct Mail	Eastern Counties Pittenger Santuary Cities & Amnesty, Design, Copywriting, Production, Mail Prep & Postage	1.00	\$4,497.54	\$4,497.54
Digital Advertising		1.00.	\$3;000.00	\$3,000.00
Contract Labor	Grassroots	1.00	\$7;895:00	\$7,895.00

Subtotal:

\$24,825.72

Total Due:

\$24,825.72

Due Date:

4/26/2018



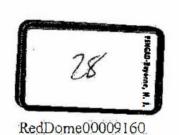
Comments

To Pay Online Via Credit Card Please Click On "Pay Invoice Now" Above

To Pay By Check Please Make All Checks Payable to Red Dome Group

Please Mail Payment To: Red Dome Group PO Box 1232 Cornelius, NC 28031

If you have any questions concerning this involce please contact Andy Yates (704) 457-0795 andy@reddomegroup.com



RED DOME 66 of 15153



Red Dome Group

Phone: (704) 727-8092 andy@reddomegroup.com www.reddomegroup.com

INVOICE PAID

Invoice #: Harris001

Invoice Date: 8/1/2017

Revised Invoice Date: 9/5/2017

Mark Harris for Congress

Attention: Kelly Tain

kellytain@gmail.com

lien.	Besoffilon.	oly,	Tarine 1	Amerit
Website			No of the second	
Design &	15.87 hours @ \$60 per hour	1.00	\$952.50	\$952.50
Set-Up				
Wix Website	Hosting for One Year,	1.00	\$120.00	6400.00
Hosting	markharrisforcongress.com	1.00	\$120.00	\$120.00
T-Shirts		100.00	\$6.52	\$652.00
Rack Cards	Design & Production	1000:00	\$0.37	\$370.00
Rack Cards	Production	250.00	\$0.42	\$105.00
Lapel Stickers		250.00	SO.13	\$32.50
Printing	tjal 2,000 8.5"x11" letterhead, 2,000 #10 Non-Window White Envelopes, 1,000 5" x 7" Thank You Cards, 1,000 A-7 White Envelopes, 2,000 Remittance Envelopes	1.09	\$0.00	\$0.00
Contract Labor	Grassroots - July	1.00	\$4,900.00	\$4,900.00
Contract Labor	Fundralsing - July	1.00	\$5,545.00	\$5,545.00

Subtotal:

\$12,677.00

Total Due:

\$12,677.00

Due Date: Payments Made: 8/1/2017

F F

-\$12677.00

Balance Due:

\$0.00



Comments

To Pay Online Via Credit Card Please Click On "Pay Invoice Now" Above

To Pay By Check Please Make All Checks Payable to Red Dome Group

Please Mail Payment To: Red Dome Group

RED DOME 70 of 15153



Red Dome Group

Phone: (704) 727-8092 andy@reddomegroup.com www.reddomegroup.com

INVOICE PAID

Invoice #: Harris003

Invoice Date: 10/11/2017

Revised Invoice Date: 10/27/2017

Mark Harris for Congress

Attention: Kelly Tain

kellytain@gmail.com

Ifeni	(Description)	T Oly. N	Higge	Amount
Rack Cards	Production	5100.00	\$0.20	\$1,020.00
Digital Advertising		1.00	\$2,000.00	\$2,000.00
Contract Labor	Fündraising	1.00	\$4,015.00	\$4,015.00
Contract Labor	Grassroots	1.00	\$5,900.00	\$5,900.00
Consulfing Fee	July, August and September	3,00	\$4,000.00	\$12,000.00

Subtotal: \$24,935.00

Total Due: \$24,935.00

Due Date:

10/11/2017

Payments Made:

-\$24935.00

Balance Due:

\$0.00



Comments

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To Pay By Check Please Make All Checks Payable to Red Dome Group

Please Mail Payment To: Red Dome Group PO Box 1232 Cornelius, NC 28031

If you have any questions concerning this invoice please contact Andy Yates (704) 467-0795 andy@reddomegroup.com

RED DOME 6614 of 15153



Red Dome Group

Phone: (704) 727-8092 andy@reddomegroup.com www.reddomegroup.com **INVOICE PAID**

Invoice #: Harris004

Invoice Date: 11/3/2017

Mark Harris for Congress

Attention: Kelly Tain

kellytain@gmail.com

Rack Gards	Production	1,0000,00	\$0.16	\$1,600.00
Digital Advertising		1,00	\$2,000.00	\$2,000,00
Contract				
Lábor	Fundraising	1.00	\$6,468.00	\$6,468.00
Contract			2	
Labor	Grassroots	1.00	\$5,900.00	\$5,900.00
Consulting				
Fee	October	1.00	\$4,000.00	\$4,000.00
Contract				
Labor	Campaign Management	1.00	\$4,500.00	\$4,500.00
Printing	Remittance Envelopes	3000.00	\$0.23	\$690.00

Subtotal:

\$25,158.00

Total Due:

\$25,158.00

Due Date:

11/3/2017

Payments Made:

-\$25158:00

Balance Due:

\$0.00



Comments

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To Pay By Check Please Make All Checks Payable to Red Dome Group

Please Mail Payment To: Red Dome Group PO Box 1232 Comelius, NC 28031

RED DOME 77 of 15153



Red Dome Group

Phone: (704) 727-8092 andy@reddomegroup.com www.reddomegroup.com

INVOICE PAID

Invoice #: Harris005

Invoice Date: 12/4/2017

Revised Invoice Date: 1/4/2018

Mark Harris for Congress

Attention: Kelly Tain

kellytain@gmail.com

llem.	Description : 2	Qty ₄ _	Price	Amound
Consulting Fee.	November	1.00	\$4,000.00	\$4,000.00
Contract Laborate	or Fundralsing - November	1.00	\$4,195.00	\$4,195.00
Contract Laborate	or Campaign Management - November	1.00	\$4,000.00	\$4,000.00
Contract Labo	or Grassroots - November	1.00	\$4,950.00	\$4,950.00
Digital Advertising		1.00	\$2,000.00	\$2,000.00

Subtotal:

\$19,145.00

Total Due: Due Date: \$19,145.00

Payments Made:

12/4/2017

ayments mad

\$19145.00

Balance Due:

\$0.00



Comments

To Pay Online Via Credit Card Please Click On "Pay Invoice Now" Above

To Pay By Check Please Make All Checks Payable to Red Dome Group

Please Mail Payment To: Red Dome Group PO Box 1232 Cornelius, NC 28031

If you have any questions concerning this invoice please contact Andy Yates (704) 467-0795 andy@reddomegroup.com

RED DOME 9147 of 15153



Red Dome Group Phone: (704) 727-8092 andy@reddomegroup.com www.reddomegroup.com

INVOICE

Invoice #: Hams006

Invoice Date: 1/4/2018

Revised Invoice Date: 1/4/2018

Mark Harris for Congress

Attention: Kelly Tain-

kellytain@gmail.com

(OFF	<u>Essame</u>	ek	7.14	diring and
Consulting Fee	Red Dome Group	1.00	\$4,000.00	\$4,000.00
Contract Labor	Fundraising - December	1.00	\$3,360.00	\$3,360.00
Contract Labor	Grassroots	100	\$6,850.00	\$6,850.00
Christmas Cards	Design, Printing, Mail Prep and Postage for 14,237 Christmas cards plus 175 additional cards	1.00	\$8;551:52	\$8,551.52
Bumper Stickers	Noe: Due to sale we were able to purchase 500 for price of 400	400.00	\$0.96	\$384.00
Magnetic Bumper Stickers		100.00	\$1.92	\$192.00
Contract Labor	Campaign Management	1.00	\$4,500.00	\$4,500.00

Subtotal:

\$27,837.52

Total Due:

\$27,837.52

Due Date:

1/4/2018



Comments

To Pay Online Via Gredit Card Please Click On "Pay Invoice Now" Above

To Pay By Check Please Make All Checks Payable to Red Dome Group

Please Mail Payment To: Red Dome Group PO Box 1232

RED DOME 87 of 15153



Red Dome Group

Phone: (704) 727-8092 andy@reddomegroup.com www.reddomegroup.com

INVOICE PAID

Invoice #: Han is 007

Invoice Date: 2/5/2018

Mark Harris for Congress Attention: Kelly Tain

kellytain@gmail.com

ey/	CHEMOL TO THE	Απούπυ
1.00	\$4,000.00	\$4,000.00
ent 1.00	\$4,500.00	\$4,500.00
1 00.	\$1,607,00	\$1,607.00
1.00	\$8,283.37	\$8,283.37
1.00	\$2,000.00	\$2,000.00
0) 1.00	\$5,984.62	\$5,984.62
	1.00 ent 1.00 1.00 1.00	1.00 \$4,500.00 1 00 \$1,607,00 1.00 \$8,283.37

Subtotal: \$26,374.99
Total Due: \$26,374.99
Due Date: 2/5/2018
Payments Made: -\$26374.99
Balance Due: \$0.00



Comments

To Pay Online Via Credit Card Please Click On "Pay Invoice Now" Above

To Pay By Check Please Make All Checks Payable to Red Dome Group

Please Mail Payment To: Rad Domo Group PO Box 1232 Cornelius, NC 28031

If you have any questions concerning this invoice please contact Andy Yates (704) 467-0795 andy@reddomegroup.com

RED DOME 1131 of 15153



Red Dome Group Phone: (704) 727-8092 andy@reddomegroup.com www.reddomegroup.com INVOICE

Invoice #: Harris008

Invoice Date: 2/26/2018

Mark Harris for Congress Attention: Kelly Tain

kellytain@gmail.com

4057	2-8970 (9)	Oly 1	9₽des	Attorner.
Rack Cards	Production - 5,000 cards	1.00	\$1,298.99	\$1,298.99
Door Hangers	Production - 5,000 hangers	1.00	\$2,258.99	\$2,258.99
Yard Signs	25 4'x4' Signs	1.00	\$1,200.00	\$1,200.00
Yard Sign Shipping	Freight Charge	1_00	\$1,028.90	\$1,028.90
Gonfract Labor	Grassroots	1.00	\$9,875.00	\$9,875,00
Contract Labor	Campaign Management	1 Ö0.	\$4,500.00	\$4,500.00
Contract Labor	Fundraising	1.00	\$2,519 00	\$2,519.00
Consulting Fee	February	1.00	\$4,000.00	\$4,000.00

Subtotal:

\$26,680.88

Total Due:

\$26,680.88

Due Date:

2/26/2018



Comments

To Pay Online Via Credit Card Please Click On "Pay Invoice Now" Above

To Pay By Check Please Make All Checks Payable to Red Dome Group

Please Mail Payment To: Red Dome Group PO Box 1232 Cornelius, NC 28031

If you have any questions concerning this invoice please contact

RED DOME 1136 of 15153



INVOICE

Red Dome Group Phone: (704) 727-8092

andy@reddomegroup.com www.reddomegroup.com Invoice #: Harris009

Invoice Date: 3/27/2018

Revised Invoice Date: 3/27/2018

Mark Harris for Congress

Attention: Kelly Tain

kellytain@gmail.com

	Making an	G _{(y}	Arg.	/ការជំនាំរ
Contract Labor	Grassroots - Door to Door and Signs	1.00	\$4,995.00	\$4,995.00
Contract Labor	Grassroots - Absentee	1.00	\$9,500.00	\$9,500.00

Subtotal:

\$14,495.00

Total Due:

\$14,495.00

Due Date:

3/27/2018

Comments

To Pay Online Via Credit Card Please Click On "Pay Invoice Now" Above

To Pay By Check Please Make All Checks Payable to Red Dome Group

Please Mail Payment To: Red Dome Group PO Box 1232 Cornelius, NC 28031

If you have any questions concerning this invoice please contact Andy Yates (704) 467-0795 andy@reddomegroup.com

RED DOME 1160 of 15153



INVOICE

Red Dome Group

Phone: (704) 727-8092 andy@reddomegroup.com www.reddomegroup.com Invoice #: Harris010

Invoice Date: 4/2/2018

Mark Harris for Congress Attention: Kelly Tain

kellytain@gmail.com

diane in the	Derfore Rime	Q.	Pietra	Auvenin
Contract Labor	Grassroots	1.00	\$11,425.00	\$11,425.00
Contract Labor	Fundraising	1.00	\$4,068.00	\$4,068.00
Contract Labor	Campaign Management	1.00	\$4,000,00	\$4,000.00
Post It Notes		1.00	\$910.84	\$910.84
Printing	Contrast Handout	1.00	\$499.99	\$499.99

Subtotal:

\$20,903.83

Total Due:

\$20,903.83

Due Date:

4/2/2018



Comments

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Please Mail Payment To: Red Dome Group PO Box 1232 Cornelius, NC 28031

If you have any questions concerning this invoice please contact Andy Yates (704) 467 0795 andy@reddomegroup.com

RED DOME 105 of 15153



Red Dome Group

Phone: (704) 727-8092 andy@reddomegroup.com www.reddomegroup.com

INVOICE PAID

Invoice #: Harris011 Invoice Date: 4/17/2018-

> Mark Harris for Congress Attention: Kelly Tain

kellytain@gmail.com

liem, je, ve-	Opsquiptions	Qty_	Ridge	Ameenic
Survey Research	500 Likely Voter Poll	1.00	\$3,000.00	\$3,000.00
Direct Mail	Mailer 1 Eastern Counties, Design, Copywriting, Production, Mail Prep & Postage	1,00	\$4,497.54	\$4,497.54
Direct Mail	Direct Mailer 2 Districtwide, Design, Copywriting, Production, Mail Prep & Postage	1:00	\$6,720.00	\$6,720.00
Contract Labor	₹.	1.00	\$5,000.00	\$5,000.00

Subtotal: \$19,217.54

Total Due:

\$19,217.54

Due Date:

4/17/2018

Payments Made:

-\$19217.54

Balance Due:

\$0.00



Comments

To Pay Online Via Credit Card Please Click On "Pay Invoice Now" Above

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Please Mail Payment To: Red Dome Group PO Box 1232 Cornelius, NC 28031

If you have any questions concerning this invoice please contact Andy Yates (704) 467-0795

RED DOME 115 of 15153



Red Dome Group

Phone: (704) 727-8092 andy@reddomegroup.com www.reddomegroup.com

INVOICE PAID

Invoice #: Harris012

Invoice Date: 5/1/2018

Mark Harris for Congress. Attention: Kelly Tain

kellytain@gmall.com

ffem .	Descoption .	City	Plance 11 Project	Amount
Direct Mail	Final Districtwide Contrast Design, Copywriting, Production, Mail Prep & Postage	1.00	\$6,720.00	\$6,720,00
Contract Labor	Campaign Management	1.00	\$4,500.00	\$4,500.00
Contract Labor	Grassroots	1.00	\$3,750.00	\$3,750.00
Contract Labor	Fundraising	1.00	\$3,263.00	\$3,263.00

Subtotal:

\$18,233.00

Total Due:

\$18,233.00

Due Date:

5/1/2018

Payments Made:

-\$18233.00

Balance Due:

\$0.00



Comments

To Pay Online Via Credit Card Please Click On "Pay Invoice Now" Above

To Pay By Check Please Make All Checks Payable to Red Dome Group

Please Mail Payment To: Red Dome Group PO Box 1232 Cornelius, NC 28031

If you have any questions concerning this invoice please contact Andy Yates: (704) 467-0795 andy@reddomegroup.com

RED DOME 119 of 15153



Red Dome Group Phone: (704) 727-8092 andy@reddomegroup.com www.reddomegroup.com **INVOICE PAID**

Invoice #: Harris013

Invoice Date: 5/3/2018

Mark Harris for Congress Attention: Kelly Tain

kellytain@gmail.com

iltern : Description	aly	Price	Amount
Confract Labor Grassroots	1.00	\$3,665.00	\$3,665.00

Subtotal:

\$3,665.00

Total Due:

\$3,665.00

Due Date:

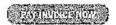
5/3/2018

Payments Made:

\$3665.00

Balance Due:

50,00



Comments

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Please Mail Payment To: Red Dome Group PO Box 1232 Cornelius, NC 28031

If you have any questions concerning this invoice please contact Andy Yates (704) 467-0795 andy@reddomegroup.com

RED DOME 123 of 15153



Red Dome Group

Phone: (704) 727-8092 andy@reddomegroup.com www.reddomegroup.com

INVOICE PAID

Invoice #: Harris014 Invoice Date: 6/4/2018

> Mark Harris for Congress Attention: Kelly Tain

> kellytain@gmail.com

liem.	Description . A. C.	GOV.	Виро — I	Amplint
Robo Call	5 calls - Cumberland, Roberson, Richmond, Union, Mint Hill	1.00	\$625.00	\$625.00
Voter Data	Robocalis	1.00	\$698.75	\$698.75
Advantage	Phone Minutes	1.00	\$1,909.54	\$1,909.54
Contract Labo	r Grassroots	1.00	\$6,665.00	\$6,665.00
Contract Labo	r Campaign Management	1.00	\$2,250.00	\$2,250.00
Contract Labo	r Fundraising	1.00	\$1,562.50	\$1,562.50

Subtotal: \$13,710.79

Total Due: \$13,710.79

Due Date:

6/4/2018

Payments Made:

-\$13710.79

Balance Due:

\$0.00



Comments

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To Pay By Check Please Make All Checks Payable to Red Dome Group

Please Mail Payment To: Red Dome Group PO Box 1232 Cornelius, NC 28031

If you have any questions concerning this invoice please contact Andy Yates (704) 467-0795 andy@reddomegroup.com

RED DOME 128 of 15153



Red Dome Group Phone: (704) 727-8092 andy@reddomegroup.com www.reddomegroup.com

INVOICE PAID

Invoice #: Harris015 Invoice Date: 6/4/2018

> Mark Harris for Congress Attention: Kelly Tain

> kellytair@gmail.com

Consulting	1:00	\$4,000.00	\$4,000.00
Fee	1.00	44,000.03	V - 1000100
Contract Labor Grassroots	1.00	\$1,900.00	\$1,900.00
Contract Labor, Campaign Management	1.00	\$2,250.00	\$2,250:00
Confract Labor Fundraising	1.00	\$1,562.50	\$1,562.50

Subtotal: \$9,712.50

Total Due: \$9,712.50

Due Date: 6/4/2018

Payments Made: \$9712.50

Balance Due: \$0.00

(PAVOAVERSION)

Comments

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If you have any questions concerning this invoice please contact Andy Yates (704)-467-0795 andy@reddomegroup.com

RED DOME 3989 of 15153

INVOICE

Red Dome Group

Phone: (704) 727-8092 andy@reddomegroup.com www.reddomegroup.com Invoice #: Harris016 Invoice Date: 7/3/2018

> Mark Harris for Congress Attention: Kelly Tain

keliytain@gmail.com

		1. T.	1. () vi.	Admin
Consulting Fee		1.00	\$4,000.00	\$4,000.00
Contract Labor	Grassroots & Fundraising	1.00	\$9,250.00	\$9,250.00
Contract Labor	Campaign Management	1.00	\$4,500.00	\$4,500.00
Grassroots	Bladen, Robeson Cumberland: May - July	1.00	\$10,887.50	\$10,887.50

Subtotal:

\$28,637.50

Total Due:

\$28,637.50

Due Date:

7/3/2018

-

Comments

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Please Mail Payment To: Red Dome Group PO Box 1232 Cornelius, NC 28031

If you have any questions concerning this invoice please contact Andy Yates (704) 467-0795 andy@reddomegroup.com

RED DOME 137 of 15153



Red Dome Group Phone: (704) 727-8092

andy@reddomegroup.com www.reddomegroup.com

INVOICE PAID

Invoice #: Harris 0.17 Invoice Date: 8/2/2018

Mark Harris for Congress

kellytain@gmail.com

Attention: Kelly Tain

din :	Desemblique	- 0 <i>9</i>	FORGS 1.17	Amount
Consulting Fee		1.00	\$4,000.00	\$4,000.00
Contract Labo	or Grassroots & Fundraising	1.00	\$9,250.00	\$9,250.00
Contract Labo	or Campaign Management	1.00	\$4,500.00	\$4,500.00
Grassroots	Bladen, Robeson Cumberland: May - July	1.00	\$4,683.00	\$4.683.00

Subtotal:

\$22,433.00

Total Due:

\$22,433.00

Due Date:

8/2/2018

Payments Made:

-\$22433.00

Balance Due:

\$0.00



Comments

To Pay Online Via Credit Card Please Click On "Pay Invoice Now" Above

To Pay By Check Please Make All Checks Payable to Red Dome Group

Please Mail Payment To: Red Dome Group PO Box 1232 Cornelius, NC 28031

If you have any questions concerning this invoice please contact Andy Yates (704) 467-0795 andy@reddomegroup.com

RED DOME 142 of 15153



Red Dome Group

Phone: (704) 727-8092 andy@reddomegroup.com www.reddomegroup.com

INVOICE PAID

Invoice #: Hams018 Invoice Date: 8/2/2018

> Mark Harris for Congress Attention: Kelly Tain

> kellytain@gmail.com

Hem	Description	Qv,	Price (A. Amount
Yard Signs	Signs & Stakes	1.00	\$3,129.67	\$3,129.67
Rack Cards	Printing (5.000)	1.00,	\$1,078:75	\$1,078.75
Bumper Stickers	500	1.00	\$486,50	\$486.50.
Magnetic Bumper Stickers	100	1,00	\$278.75	\$278.75

Subtotal: \$4,973.67

Total Due: \$4,973.67

Due Date: 8/2/2018

Payments Made: \$4973.67

Balance Due: \$0,00

(). With the company (

Comments:

To Pay Online Via Credit Card Please Click On "Pay Invoice Now." Above

To Pay By Check Please Make All Checks Payable to Red Dome Group

Please Mail Payment To: Red Dome Group PO Box 1232 Cornelius, NC 28031

If you have any questions concerning this invoice please contact Andy Yates (704) 467-0795 andy@reddomegroup.com

RED DOME 9135 of 15153



MVOICE

Red Dome Group

Phone: (704) 727-8092 andy@reddomegroup.com www.reddomegroup.com Invoice #: Harris020 Invoice Date: 9/4/2018

> Mark Harris for Congress Attention: Kelly Tain

kellytain@gmail.com

11(277	\$450 and the contract of the c	. 101	Proc.	Amont:
Consulting Fee:	ere transferiorina and establishment of the service and the service of the service and an experience of the service and the se	1.00	\$4,000 00	\$4,000.00
Contract Labo	Grassroots & Fundraising	1.00	\$9,250.00	\$9,250.00
Contract Labo	r Campaign Management	1.00	\$4,500.00	\$4,500.00
Grassroots	Bladen, Robeson Cumberland: August	1.00	\$5,027.00	\$5,027.00
Grassroots	Contract Door to Door 8/16 to 8/30	1.00	\$1,735.00	\$1,735.00

Subtotal:

\$24,512.00

Total Due:

\$24,512.00

Due Date:

9/4/2018

PETTONI SAME

Comments

To Pay Online Via Credit Card Please Click On "Pay Invoice Now" Above

To Pay By Check Please Make All Checks Payable to Red Dome Group

Please Mail Payment To: Red Dome Group PO Box 1232 Cornelius, NC 28031

If you have any questions concerning this invoice please contact Andy Yates (704) 467-0795 andy@reddomegroup.com

RED DOME 5436 of 15153



INVOICE

Red Dome Group

Phone: (704) 727-8092 andy@reddomegroup.com www.reddomegroup.com Invoice #: Harris021

Invoice Date: 9/4/2018

Mark Harris for Congress Attention: Kelly Tain

kellytain@gmail.com

(talo)	Programme and the second	(<u>0</u>);	Paffas,	Append (
Rack Cards	Design & Print: 8,000 East Version, 20,000 Meck/Western Union, 15,000 GOTV	43000.00	\$0:10	\$4,300.00
Shipping	Rack Cards	1.00	\$198.71	\$198.71
Yard Signs	1,000 Signs and Stakes	1.00	\$3,129.67	\$3,129.67

Subtotal:

\$7,628,38

Total Due:

\$7,628.38

Due Date:

9/4/2018



Comments

To Pay Online Via Credit Card Please Click On "Pay Invoice Now" Above

To Pay By Check Please Make All Checks Payable to Red Dome Group.

Please Mail Payment To: Red Dome Group PO Box 1232 Cornelius, NC 28031

If you have any questions concerning this invoice please contact Andy Yates (704) 467-0795 andy@reddomegroup.com

RED DOME 156 of 15153



Red Dome Group

Phone: (704) 727-8092 andy@reddomegroup.com www.reddomegroup.com

INVOICE PAID

Invoice #: Harris022 Invoice Date: 9/11/2018

> Mark Harris for Congress Attention: Kelly Tain

kellytain@gmail.com

Ilems	Февенриол .	Out 1	Price	Amount
Grassioöts	Bladen & Robeson - 9/1 - 9/15	1.00	\$3,260.00	\$3,260.00

Subtotal:

\$3,260.00

Total Due: Due Date: \$3,260.00

196 18 1219

9/11/2018

Payments Made:

-\$3260,00

Balance Due:

\$0.00



Comments

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Please Mail Payment To: Red Dome Group PO Box 1232 Cornelius, NC 28031

If you have any questions concerning this invoice please contact Andy Yales (704) 467-0795 andy@reddomegroup.com

RED DOME 160 of 15153



Red Dome Group

Phone: (704) 727-8092 andy@reddomegroup.com www.reddomegroup.com

INVOICE PAID

Invoice #: Harris023 Invoice Date: 9/28/2018

> Mark Harris for Congress Attention: Kelly Tain

> kellytain@gmail.com

ilian .	.5cqeipue₁	@(i); ¹	of Pariotic post of the second	Anoline
Consulting Fee		1.00	\$4,000.00	\$4,000.00
Contract Labor	Grassroots & Fundraising	1:00	\$9,250.00	\$9,250.00
Contract Labor	Campaign Management	1.00	\$4,500.00	\$4,500.00
Grassroots	Bladen, Robeson Cumberland:	1.00	\$1,535.00	\$1,535.00
Grassroots	Contract Door to Door 9/1 to 9/15	1 00	\$2,105.00	\$2,105.00
Grassroots	Conrad Yard Sign Blitz	1.00	\$900.00	\$900.00
Grassroots	Bladen Yard Signs	1,00	\$500.00	\$500.00

Subtotal: \$2

\$22,790.00

Total Due:

\$22,790.00

Due Date:

9/28/2018

Payments Made:

\$22790.00

Balance Due:

\$0.00



Comments

To Pay Online Via Credit Card Please Click On "Pay Invoice Now" Above

To Pay By Check Please Make All Checks Payable to Red Dome Group

Please Mail Payment To: Red Dome Group PO Box 1232 Cornelius, NC 28031

If you have any questions concerning this invoice please contact Andy Yates (704) 467-0795 andy@reddomegroup.com

RED DOME 165 of 15153



Red Dome Group

Phone: (704) 727-8092 andy@reddomegroup.com www.reddomegroup.com

INVOICE PAID

Invoice #: Harris024 Invoice Date: 9/28/2018

> Mark Harris for Congress Attention: Kelly Tain

> kellytain@gmail.com

Tican -	iplecesimose .	a (QIATZ	Itilioe -	« « « « Атылт
Yard Signs	Signs, Stakes & Shipping	1.00	\$3,004.48	\$3,004.48
Digital. Advertising	*	1.00	\$10,000.00	\$10,000.00
Contrast Sheets	3500	1.00	\$1,458.66	\$1,458.66

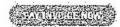
Subtotal: \$14,463.14

Total Due: \$14,463.14

Due Date: 9/28/2018

Payments Made: -\$14463.14

Balance Due: \$0.00



Comments

To Pay Online Via Credit Card Please Click On "Pay Invoice Now" Above

To Pay By Check Please Make All Checks Payable to Red Dome Group

Please Mail Payment To: Red Dome Group PO Box 1232 Cornelius, NC 28031

If you have any questions concerning this invoice please contact Andy Yates (704) 467-0795 andy@reddomegroup.com





Red Dome Group

Phone: (704) 727-8092 andy@reddomegroup.com www.reddomegroup.com

INVOICE PAID (partial)

Invoice #: Harris 025

Invoice Date: 11/6/2018

Mark Harris for Congress Attention: Kelly Tain

kellytain@gmail.com

didire : 1	Diffequity	e Silve	ERES .	Amount
Digital Advertising	Facebook, Mobile, Display	00.F	\$65,000.00	\$65,000.00

Subtotal: \$65,000.00

Total Due: \$65,000.00

Payments Made:

Due Date:

12/6/2018 -\$53750.00

Balance Due:

\$11250.00



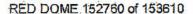
Comments

To Pay Online Via Credit Card Please Click On "Pay Invoice Now" Above

To Pay By Check Please Make All Checks Payable to Red Dome Group

Please Mail Payment To: Red Dome Group PO Box 1232 Cornelius, NC 28031

If you have any questions concerning this invoice please contact Andy Yates (704) 467-0795 andy@reddomegroup.com





Red Dome Group

Phone: (704) 727-8092 andy@reddomegroup.com www.reddomegroup.com INVOICE

Invoice #: Harris026

Invoice Date: 11/25/2018

Mark Harris for Congress Attention: Kelly Tain

kellytain@gmail.com

Grassroots	Reimbursement Payment for Bladen Absentee, Early Voting & Poll Workers	1.00	\$27,590.00		\$27,590.00
Grassroots	Reimbursement Door to Door 9/16 to 10/15	1.00	\$6,720.00		\$6,720.00
				Subtotal:	\$34,310.00

17.11.11.11.12.13.10.11

\$34,310.00

12/10/2018

Total Due:

Due Date:

Comments

To Pay Online Via Credit Card Please Click On "Pay Invoice Now" Above

To Pay By Check Please Make All Checks Payable to Red Dome Group

Please Mail Payment To: Red Dome Group PO Box 1232 Cornelius, NC 28031

If you have any questions concerning this invoice please contact.

Andy Yates
(704) 467-0795

andy@reddomegroup.com



Red Dome Group

Phone: (704) 727-8092 andy@reddomegroup.com www.reddomegroup.com

INVOICE

Invoice #: Harris027 Invoice Date: 11/25/2018

> Mark Harris for Congress Attention: Kelly Tain

kellytain@gmail.com

REMITTAN	OF:			•
ENVELOPE	S. 1500	1.00	\$486.19	\$486.19
Printing	Contrast Sheets - 2500	1.00	\$782.80	\$782.80
Printing	Contrast Sheets - 2500.00	1.00	\$782.80	\$782.80

Subtotal:

\$2,051.79

Total Due:

\$2,051.79

Due Date:

12/10/2018



Comments

To Pay Online Via Credit Card Please Click On "Pay Invoice Now" Above

To Pay By Check Please Make All Checks Payable to Red Dome Group

Please Mail Payment To: Red Dome Group PO Box 1232 Cornelius, NC 28031

If you have any questions concerning this invoice please contact Andy Yates (704) 467-0795 andy@reddomegroup.com



INVOICE

Red Dome Group

Phone: (704) 727-8092 andy@reddomegroup.com www.reddomegroup.com Invoice #: Harris028 Invoice Date: 11/25/2018

> Mark Harris for Congress Attention: Kelly Tain

kellytain@gmail com

nem	Puscone (ar	(61)	(Figure 1	Ambant
Voter Data	Landlines & Gell Phones for Trump, Jr & President Trump Calls	101927.00	\$0,05	\$5,096.35
Voter Data	Robeson Mailer	11374.00	\$0.05	\$568.70
Ringless Voicemail	Trump, Jr.	44329.00	\$0.05	\$2,216.45
Robo Call	Trump, Jr.	1.00	\$0.00	\$0 00
Ringless Voicemail	President Trump	1,00	\$0.00	\$0,00

Subtotal:

\$7,881.50

Total Due:

\$7,881.50

Due Date:

12/10/2018



Comments

To Pay Online Via Credit Card Please Click On "Pay Invoice Now" Above

To Pay By Check Please Make All Checks Payable to Red Dome Group

Please Mail Payment To: Red Dome Group PO Box 1232 Cornelius, NC 28031

If you have any questions concerning this invoice please contact Andy Yates (704) 467-0795 andy@reddomegroup.com

Thank you for your continued business!



INVOICE

Red Dome Group

Phone: (704) 727-8092 andy@reddomegroup.com www.reddomegroup.com Invoice #: Harris029

Invoice Date: 11/25/2018

Revised Invoice Date: 11/25/2018

Mark Harris for Congress

Attention: Kelly Tain

kellytain@gmail.com

ilgo: !	Descention .	(C _{IS})	(Forest Section 1)	. 455 (1995)
Consulting Fee	October & November	1.00	\$6,000.00	\$6,000.00
Contract Labor	Grassroots & Fundraising Oct. & Nov.	1.00	\$13,875.00	\$13,875.00
Contract Labor	Campaign Management Oct. & November	1.00	\$6,750.00	\$6,750.00
Grassroots	Bladen Final	1.00	\$2,209.00	\$2,209.00
Grassroots	Contract Door to Door & Polls 9/16 - 11/6	1.00	\$3,800.00	\$3,800.00

Subtotal:

\$32,634.00

Total Due:

\$32,634.00

Due Date:

11/25/2018



Comments

To Pay Online Via Credit Card Please Click On "Pay Invoice Now" Above

To Pay By Check Please Make All Checks Payable to Red Dome Group

Please Mail Payment To: Red Dome Group PO Box 1232 Cornelius, NC 28031

If you have any questions concerning this involce please contact Andy Yates (704) 467-0795 andy@reddomegroup.com

Thank you for your continued business!











Said they were with Red Dawn consulting firm

Never heard of him

Thu, Nov 22, 8:57 AM

Happy Thanksgiving brother Andy Dandy

Happy Thanksgiving Brother McCrae

Wednesday 12:58 PM

NC Elections Investigator Seized Absentee Ballots From Bladen County wfae.org



And they got them a week and a half ago Joan Fleming





Text Message





From:

Andy Yates [andy@reddomegroup.com]

Sent:

9/24/2018 10:10:25 AM

To:

Elizabeth.anne.bates.harris [elizabeth.anne.bates.harris@gmail.com]

Subject:

Re: absentee data

Of the absentees that have been sent out in Robeson so far, after reviewing them with McCrare, we believe that 181 of them are from his list. They have more yet turn into the BofE in Robeson. McCrae's team has generated a total of 449 requests in Robeson and will be generating more

Andy Yates
Senior Partner, Red Dome Group
(704) 727-8092 (office)
(704) 467-0795 (cell)
andy@reddomegroup.com
www.reddomegroup.com

On Sep 24, 2018, at 7:45 AM, Andy Yates < Andy@reddomegroup.com> wrote:

Awesome...McCrae is supposed to be at my office this morning so I will review with him as well. From first glance I agree at McCrae's analysis that someone is working absentees in Meck.

Andy Yates
Senior Partner, Red Dome Group
(704) 727-8092 (office)
(704) 467-0795 (cell)
andy@reddomegroup.com
www.reddomegroup.com

On Sep 24, 2018, at 7:37 AM, Elizabeth anne bates harris elizabeth-anne-bates-harris@gmail.com wrote:

As always I am so comforted by this response!

I tried to send McRae the master list Saturday but it bounced back. We went over the numbers by phone. The only one he was worried about was the huge number inMeck added in last few weeks. He said someone is working. We are not sending to Bladen as he does have that totally covered. I will sort Robeson as indicated.

Sent from my iPhone

On Sep 24, 2018, at 7:17 AM, Andy Yates <andy@reddomegroup.com> wrote:

I am on top of it. We definitely have a mailer going East this week as well as digital starting in the East. I am revising the mail plan slightly (based on losing last week and the first 1/2 of this week), but if we hit our budget there will be a lot more than 3 pieces of mail going east. The current budget for mail is \$250,000. Right now per the projections Jordan and I have put together we will hit the budget. We are checking that at least twice week so we can adjust quickly if we notice anything different.

I will go back and compare the absentee requests for this election to 2016 and 2014 and see what the initial party breakdown of requests looked like then vs. what they look like now.

I would send the absentee letter out in Robeson to all white and Native American voters. I would not send it to African American voters. Also, I would not send it out in Bladen. Agree with Beth on checking with our folks in Robeson to see who on the list we can identify. Iake - I would also call McCrae and review the list with him. He has generated over 400 absentee ballot requests in Robeson so far so many of these may be his folks (and a ton of his folks are Democrats).

AY

Andy Yates
Senior Partner, Red Dome Group
(704) 727-8092 (office)
(704) 467-0795 (cell)
andy@reddomegroup.com
www.reddomegroup.com

On Sep 24, 2018, at 6:54 AM, Elizabeth Bates Harris elizabeth anne.bates.harris@gmail.com wrote:

Good morning,

Attached is a summary for today's download of absentee data along with raw spreadsheet tabbed by county of absentee requests. The last date for ballots mailed still shows September 21, although I'm not sure the numbers match from Saturday's download. I'm going to look at that before I go to the office at 9:30.

This is urgent and has implications.

Notice Dems are outpacing Republicans in absentees ordered even in Union County.

Quick math by party affiliation, which won't be exactly how it turns out, shows Mark would need 80% of the unaffiliated votes from the current group of absentee requesters to win.

Looking at this, and understanding there may be some logical explanations such as more old folks are Dems, I still think one thing that jumps out is that we need to send the absentee letter to every Robeson County voter even though McCrae is working there. Jake I think this is a change and we can help get those out today at the office if we need to.

The conservative Dems in Robeson can offset the high Dem turn-out in Meck if Robeson Dems know Mark and vote for him.

Jake, I would also strongly consider forwarding the list of Robeson absentee voters to Olivia and ask her to send to Wanda and Jimmy Hammond, who we were with yesterday at Jimmy's church, and see who they know. Send to Phillip, Julius, anyone we know in Robeson and see if they can identify names they recognize but are unsure of support. Perhaps they would be willing to check in with those folks ASAP. Olivia and the Hammonds were very fired up yesterday and were brainstorming influencers they could connect Mark to in the coming days. I know a lot is

HARRIS 2664 of 3049

going on with the flooding down there too, but Olivia and the Hammonds are not displaced from their homes and again were very fired up to help Mark

I understand we have a mailer going east this week. I'm very glad to know that. I hope we will be able to do 3 mailings there if the money holds out. Please Andy I beg you stay on top of this.

Beth

< 9 24 18 Absentee 9th District.xlsx>

<9_24_18 Absentee Data Summary xlsx>

Exhibit Z

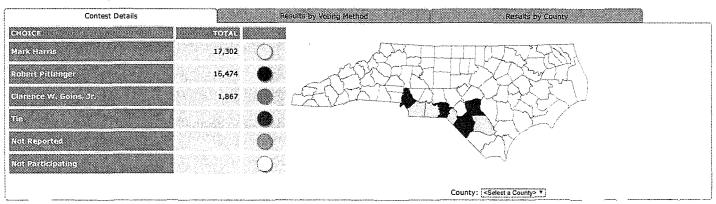


Federal & Council of State | NC Senate & NC House | Judicial | Referenda & Cross-County Local

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05/08/2018 OFFICIAL LOCAL ELECTION RESULTS - STATEWIDE

US HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES DISTRICT 09 - REP (VOTE FOR 1) 8 of 8 Counties Completely Reported 210 of 210 Precincts Reporting





Federal Council of State NC Senate NC House Judicial Referenda Cross-County Local

Text Size: A A

05/08/2018 OFFICIAL LOCAL ELECTION RESULTS - STATEWIDE

US HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES DISTRICT 09 - REP (VOTE FOR 1) 8 of 8 Counties Completely Reported 210 of 210 Precincts Reporting

Contest Details	Results by Voting Method	Results by County
1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	Votes Persont Stoation Day A 17,302 48.54% 11,735 16,474 46.22% 11,541 1,867 5.24% 1,357	Deenter One Stop Attentee By Nail Provisional 4,907 610 50 4,710 186 37 491 15 4



Federal | Council of State | NC Senate | NC House | Judicial | Referenda | Cross County Local

Text Size: A A

05/08/2018 OFFICIAL LOCAL ELECTION RESULTS - STATEWIDE

US HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES DISTRICT 09 - REP (VOTE FOR 1) 8 of 8 Counties Completely Reported 210 of 210 Precincts Reporting

County Reporting Status Mark Harris Robert Pittenger Clarence W. Goins, Jr.
ANISON Final Canvass Results (official) 339 264 21
BLADEN Final Canvass Results (official) 1,427 572 60
Final Canvass Results (official) 846 1,168 633
MECKLE NBURG Final Canvass Results (official) 5,610 6,417 475
Final Canvass Results (official) 590 970 38
ROBESUM Final Canvass Results (official) 597 820 271
SCOTLA S Final Canvass Results (official) 384 369 43
UNION Final Canvass Results (officia) 7,509 5,894 326



Text Size: A A

05/08/2018 OFFICIAL PRIMARY ELECTION RESULTS - BLADEN

US HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES DISTRICT 09 - REP (VOTE FOR 1)

Contest Details	Results b	y Voting Method Results by Precinct
8:0183	27,702	
Partiarie	1,427	
Robert Pilitenge	572	
Clarence W. Coins, Ir.	50	
Tie		
Nat Reported		
Not Participating	O	
		Precinct: <select a="" precinct=""> ▼</select>



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05/08/2018 OFFICIAL PRIMARY ELECTION RESULTS - BLADEN

US HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES DISTRICT 09 - REP (VOTE FOR 1)

Contest Details	Results by Voting Method	Results by Pracinct
Chaice Yota Vo		Absentee One-Stop Absentee By-Mail Provisional
Mars Harris 1	127 69.31% 538	452 437 0
Cobert Fittendo	572 27 78% 356	198 17 1
Clarence W. Goinn, 11.	60 2.91% 47	2 0



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05/08/2018 OFFICIAL PRIMARY ELECTION RESULTS - BLADEN

US HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES DISTRICT 09 - REP (VOTE FOR 1)

Contest Details		Results by Voting Met	hod		Results by Precinct	<u> </u>
	Presint.	Reporting Status V	ark (1877); Röbi		Carrense Ascistant	
	P±0	Final Canvass Results (official)	33	16	5	
	P15	Final Canvass Results (official)	142	35	9	
	72.01	Final Canvass Results (official)	58	24	0	
	7262	Final Canvass Results (official)	74		3	
	72.5	Final Canvass Results (official)	16	36	3	
	PS	Final Canvass Results (official)	7	8	0	
	740	Final Canvass Results (official)	38	61	6	
	P45 • 1	Final Canvass Results (official)	9	26	4	
	9501	Final Canvass Results (official)	- 66	47	4	
	700	Final Canvass Results (official)	52	30	6	
	770	Final Canvass Results (official)	4	4	Ó	
	P80	Final Canvass Results (official)	39	36		
	MAIL ASSENTED		437	17	2	
	oscopostavn		120	44		
	OS DUBLIA		170	- 55	3	
	OS EAST ARCAD		0	0	0	
	GE UTERARVA		162	99	2.46.27.43.17. 3	
	PROVISIONAL		0	1	0	

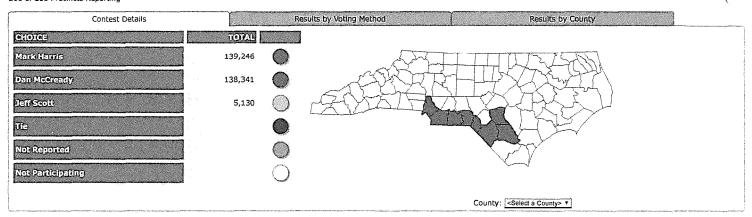
Exhibit AA



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11/06/2018 UNOFFICIAL GENERAL ELECTION RESULTS - STATEWIDE

US HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES DISTRICT 09 (VOTE FOR 1) 8 of 8 Counties Completely Reported 210 of 210 Precincts Reporting





Federal | Council of State | NC Senate | NC House | Judicial | Referenda | Cross-County Local

Text Size: A A

11/06/2018 UNOFFICIAL GENERAL ELECTION RESULTS - STATEWIDE

'S HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES DISTRICT 09 (VOTE FOR 1)
'8 Counties Completely Reported
J of 210 Precincts Reporting

Contest Details	Results by Voting Method	Results by County	
Choice Total	Votes Percent Election Day	Absentee One-Stop Absentee By-Mail Provisional	
Mark Harris 33 13	9,246 49.25% 65,008	69,725 4,027 486	
Dan McCready 13	8,341 48.93% 56,449	74,613 6,471 808	- Simon
Jeff Scott	5,130 1.81% 2,978	8 (4) (10 1 4 4 4 1,946) (74) (2 1 1 5 1 5 1 5 3 1 5 3 1 5 3 1 5 1 5 1 5	



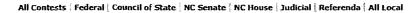
Federal (Council of State | NC Senate | NC House | Judicial (Referenda | Cross-County Local

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11/06/2018 UNOFFICIAL GENERAL ELECTION RESULTS - STATEWIDE

US HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES DISTRICT 09 (VOTE FOR 1) 8 of 8 Counties Completely Reported 210 of 210 Precincts Reporting

Contest Details	Results by Voting Method]	Results by County	-
County	Reporting Status	Mark Harris	Dan McCready	Jeff Scott	
ANSON	Final Canvass Results (official)	3,266	4,586	114	
BLADEN	Final Canvass Results (official)	5,413	3,856	129	
CUMBERLAND	Final Canvass Results (official)	12,314	13,452	400	
MECKLENBURG	Final Canvass Results (official)	42,668	51,856	1,626	
RICHMOND	Final Canvass Results (official)	6,786	7,138	298	
ROBESON	Final Canvass Results (official)	12,691	17,419	777	
SCOTLAND	Final Canvass Results (official)	4,463	5,908	197	
טא סא	Final Canvass Results (official)	51,645	34,126	1,589	
					gannangan nganaran sanada ganis na gara sanaran sanan nganan ngana ngana sahin (dipencial mbana salahilika anda shahi





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11/06/2018 OFFICIAL GENERAL ELECTION RESULTS - BLADEN

THOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES DISTRICT 09 (VOTE FOR 1)

Contest Details	Results	by Voting Method Results by Precinct
CHOICE	101/01	
Mark Harrs	5,413	
Dan McCready	3,856	
Jeff Scott	129	
rie		
Not Reported		
Not Participating	0	Precinct;



Text Size: A A

11/06/2018 OFFICIAL GENERAL ELECTION RESULTS BLADEN

US HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES DISTRICT 09 (VOTE FOR 1)

Contest Details	Re	sults by \	Joting Method		Results	by Precinct	
Choice T	otal Votes	Percent	Election Day	Absentee One-Stop	Attentee By-Mail	Provisional	
Hark Harris	5,413	57.60%	2,519	2,471	420	3	
Dan McCready	3,856	41.03%	1,687	1,906	258	5	
Jeff Scott	129	1.37%	70	53	6	0	





Text Size: A A

11/06/2018 OFFICIAL GENERAL ELECTION RESULTS - BLADEN

THOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES DISTRICT 09 (VOTE FOR 1)

Contest Details	Results by Voting Method			Results by Precinct	
Precinct	Reporting Status	Mark Harris	Dan McGready	Jeff Scott	
P10	Final Canvass Results (official)	131	103	4	
DE .	Final Canvass Results (official)	532	224	14	
P201	Final Canvass Results (official)	347	104	9	
P202	Final Canvaes Results (official)	345	210	9	
Pas	Final Canvass Results (official)	104	108	3	
PO.5	Final Canvass Results (official)	68	89	0	
P40	Final Canvass Results (official)	229	98	5	
P45	Final Canvass Results (official)	120	60	2	
P501	Final Canvass Results (official)	172	226	6	
P60	Final Canvass Results (official)	214	289	7	
P70	Final Canvass Results (official)	70	68	2	
P80	Final Canvass Results (official)	187	108	9	
ABSENTEE		420	258	6	
ONE STOP !	IBRARY	2,471	1,906	53	
PROVISION	IAL	3	5	0	
Bronzion		3	5	U	



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11/06/2018 OFFICIAL GENERAL ELECTION RESULTS - ROBESON

US HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES DISTRICT 09 (VOTE FOR 1)

Contest Details	Results by	Voting Method Results by Precinct
HOTCE	TOTAL .	
an McCready	17,419	
lark Harrs	12,691	
eff Scott	777	
īe .		
lot Reported		
iot Participating		Precinct: <select a="" precinct=""> ▼</select>



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11/06/2018 OFFICIAL GENERAL ELECTION RESULTS ROBESON

"S HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES DISTRICT 09 (VOTE FOR 1)

Contest Details	Results by	Voting Method		Results	by Precinct	
Choice	Total Votes Persent	Election Day	Absentee One-Stop	Absentee By-Mail	Energisterial	ist a-Edgistal experience
Dan McCready	17,419 56.40%	8,675	8,010	403	331	
Mark Harris	12,691 41.09%	7,538	4,779	259	115	and the state of t
Jeff Scott	777 2.52%	442	303	18	14	and the state of t
		aquesta per la conjunción de la cida de la colonida del colonida de la colonida de la colonida del colon	According to the contract of the state of the contract of the	en i en bestamme mentheum der erstelle besette kan deltste er min gestägtigte eine gestägtigte eine stelle ein	والمواد والمعادة والمناسبة والمعادية	norman un de region de descripto de la descripto de comercio de la descripto de la descripto de la descripto d



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11/06/2018 OFFICIAL GENERAL ELECTION RESULTS ROBESON

US HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES DISTRICT 09 (VOTE FOR 1)

Contest Details		Results by Voting Met	hod		Results by Precinct	de amenican proprieta de marcia de actual de marcia como de actual
	Precinct	Reporting Status	Dan McGready	Mark Harris	Jeff Scott	
	01	Final Canvass Results (official)	259	174	12	
	02	Final Canvass Results (official)	620	246	34	
	0 <u>5</u>)	Final Canvass Results (official)	263	447	12	
	04	Final Canvass Results (official)	509	330	44	
	05A	Final Canvass Results (official)	1,034	476	35	
	07	Final Canvass Results (official)	237	108	8.	
	08	Final Canvass Results (official)	255	538	18	
	09	Final Canvass Results (official)	328	259	8.	
	10	Final Canvass Results (official)	247	197	13	
	10	Final Canvass Results (official)	916	1,418	27	
	m.	Final Canvass Results (official)	336	269	19	
	02	Final Canvass Results (official)	577	220	9	
	Œ	Final Canvass Results (official)	495	334	15	
	14	Final Canvass Results (official)	251	183	10	
	05	Final Canvass Results (official)	384	67	9	
	16	Final Canvass Results (official)	473	16	12	
	<u>1</u> 7	Final Canvass Results (official)	103	46	10	
	18A	Final Canvass Results (official)	453	436	19	
	16)	Final Canvass Results (official)	944	250	35	
	20	Final Canvass Results (official)	263	257	15	
	21	Final Canvass Results (official)	458	472	16	
	22	Final Canvass Results (official)	719	417	60	
	28)	Final Canvass Results (official)	876	530	43	(
	24	Final Canvass Results (official)	237	177	10	•
	25	Final Canvass Results (official)	377	231	16	
	26A	Final Canvass Results (official)	1,122	354	29	
	a_{i}	Final Canvass Results (official)	222	192	10	
	29	Final Canvass Results (official)	501	213	16	
	30	Final Canvass Results (official)	589	415	27	
	32A	Final Canvass Results (official)	1,025	1,000	38	
	33	Final Canvass Results (official)	126	90	9:	
	34	Final Canvass Results (official)	232	226	27	
	35	Final Canvass Results (official)	493	411	30	
	36	Final Canvass Results (official)	312	191	3	
	9 7	Final Canvass Results (official)	75	220	6:	
	38	Final Canvass Results (official)	107	81	11.	
	39)	Final Canvass Results (official)	388	211	25	
	40	Final Canvass Results (official)	150	113	3	
	41	Final Canvass Results (official)	463	876	34	

Exhibit E

North Carolina Department Of Public Safety Offender Public Information

View Offender

Offender Search

Escapes/Captures

Absconders

Inmate Releases

Downloads



Back To Search Results

Offender Information

No Photo Available

LESLIE DOWLESS

Offender Number: 0111515

Inmate Status: INACTIVE

Probation/Parole/Post Release Status: INACTIVE

Gender: MALE Race: WHITE

Ethnic Group: UNKNOWN

Birth Date:

Age: 63

Printable Version

Name(s) Of Record

Last Name	Suffix	First Name	Middle Name	Name Type
DALLAS		LESLIE	MCRAE	COMMITTED
DOWLESS		LESLIE		COMMITTED
DOWLESS		LESLIE	MCCRAY	COMMITTED
DOWLESS	JR	LESLIE	DOWLESS	ALIAS
DOWLESS		LESLIE	MCCREA	ALIAS

Most Recent Incarceration Summary

Incarceration Status: INACTIVE Conviction Date: 05/21/1992

Primary Crime: FRAUD (PRINCIPAL)
Special Characteristics: COURT RECOM WORK REL

Admission Date: 06/14/1995

Control Status: REGULAR POPULATION

Custody Classification: MEDIUM

Current Location: BLADEN COUNTY
Last Movement: TERMINATED PAROLE

Total Incarceration Term: 2 YEARS
Projected Release Date: 02/29/1996
Primary Crime Type: FELON
Current Status: N/A
Admitting Location: HOKE CI

Next Control Review: UNKNOWN
Next Custody Review: UNKNOWN
Previous Location: COLUMBUS CI
Last Movement Date: 02/29/1996

Escapes?: N

Offender Sentence History

Most Recent Period of Incarceration Record

Sentence Number: BA-001 Conviction Date: 05/21/1992 Commitment Type: INMATE
County Of Conviction: BLADEN

2/11/2019

Service Status: EXPIRED

Sentence Begin Date: 05/10/1995 Actual Release Date: 11/22/1995 Projected Release Date: 02/29/1996

Punishment Type: FAIR FELONS

Sentence Type 1: DEPT OF CORR DIV OF PRISONS Sentence Type 2: PROBATION REVOCATION

Minimum Term: Parole Begin Date: 11/22/1995 Maximum Term: 2 YEARS

Parole End Date: 02/10/1996

Sentencing

Penalty

Commitment Docket# Offense (Qualifier) Offense Date Type Class Code

INITIAL 91003499 FRAUD (PRINCIPAL)

FELON CLASS I

Sentence Number: BA-002

Conviction Date: 08/21/1992 Service Status: EXPIRED

Commitment Type: INMATE County Of Conviction: IREDELL

09/03/1990

Sentence Begin Date: 05/15/1995 Actual Release Date: 08/13/1995 Projected Release Date: 08/13/1995

Punishment Type: FAIR MISDEMEAN

Sentence Type 1: DEPT OF CORR DIV OF PRISONS Sentence Type 2: PROBATION REVOCATION

04/21/1987

Maximum Term: 6 MONTHS

Minimum Term:

Sentencing Penalty Class Code

Commitment Docket# Offense (Qualifier)

CONCURRENT TO SENTENCE 87006638 WORTHLESS CHECK (PRINCIPAL)

Offense Date Type

> MISD.(PRE-STRUCTURE) MISD.

NUMBER BA-001

Most Recent Period of Supervision Record

Sentence Number: 03-001

Conviction Date: 08/21/1992 Punishment Type: PRE-SS (FAIR) DCC

Sentence Type 1: PROBATION

Sentence Type 2: SUSPENDED SENTENCE

Sentence Type 3: COUNTY JAIL

Commitment Type: PROBATION/PAROLE **County Of Conviction: IREDELL**

Sentencing

Penalty

Commitment

Docket# Offense (Qualifier)

Offense Date Type Class Code

CONCURRENT TO SENTENCE 87006638 WORTHLESS CHECK (PRINCIPAL)

Commitment Type: PROBATION/PAROLE

MISD.

MISD.(PRE-STRUCTURE)

NUMBER 02-001

County Of Conviction: BLADEN

04/21/1987

Sentence Number: 02-001 Conviction Date: 05/21/1992

Punishment Type: PRE-SS (FAIR) DCC

Sentence Type 1: PROBATION

Sentence Type 2: SUSPENDED SENTENCE Sentence Type 3: DEPT OF CORR DIV OF PRISONS

Sentencing

Commitment Docket# Offense (Qualifier) Penalty Class Code

Offense Date Type

INITIAL 91003499 PERJURY (PRINCIPAL) 09/03/1990

FELON CLASS I

Previous Period of Supervision Record

Sentence Number: 01-001 Conviction Date: 01/19/1988

Commitment Type: PROBATION/PAROLE County Of Conviction: COLUMBUS

Punishment Type: PRE-SS (FAIR) DCC Sentence Type 1: PROBATION

Sentence Type 2: SUSPENDED SENTENCE

Sentence Type 3: DEPT OF CORR DIV OF PRISONS

Commitment	Docket# Offense (Qualifier)	Offense Date	Type	Sentencing Penalty Class Code
INITIAL	87004876 VIOLATE VEHICLE REGISTRATION (PRINCIPAL)	02/14/1987	MISD.	MISD.(PRE-STRUCTURE)
CONSOLIDATED FOR JUDGMENT	87003383 WORTHLESS CHECK (PRINCIPAL)	02/27/1987	MISD.	
CONSOLIDATED FOR JUDGMENT	87004722 OTHER MISDEMEANANT (PRINCIPAL)	06/23/1987	MISD.	



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Exhibit BB

Mark Harris Says Background Check On McCrae Dowless Missed His Felonies

talkingpointsmemo.com/news/mark-harris-background-check-mccrae-dowless-undecided-north-carolina-house-race

Latest



The Washington Post/The Washington Post

By EMERY P. DALESIO

February 11, 2019 3:46 pm

RALEIGH, N.C. (AP) — The Republican in the nation's last undecided congressional election said Monday he recruited a political operative now at the center of a ballot fraud investigation because he produced election results in his rural North Carolina county and other Republicans vouched for him.

Mark Harris said he didn't know before November's election that state elections board investigators found evidence that operative Leslie McCrae Dowless Jr. may have illegally handled ballots in 2016. Harris said he didn't know that that evidence was referred to federal prosecutors. A background check by Harris' political consultants missed Dowless' previous felony convictions for insurance fraud and perjury, Harris said in an interview with The Associated Press.

Harris said he decided he wanted Dowless on his 2018 team after noting Dowless' candidate — who was Harris' opponent — in the 2016 GOP primary got an incredible 98 percent of Bladen County's absentee votes. He said he discussed with a campaign attorney after that 2016 primary whether to protest the anomalous result, but ultimately decided to drop the matter.

"The reason that I wanted to hire McCrae Dowless is that, one, I had seen his success and that he beat us in 2016," Harris said. "But number two, I had, basically, the statements from elected officials and respected leaders in the community that the landscape was changing down there and that McCrae Dowless had been a very important part of that."

With Dowless' help, Harris beat the incumbent, U.S. Rep. Robert Pittenger, in last year's primary. Pittenger has said he shunned Dowless because he was suspicious of his methods. State elections officials suspect Dowless of tampering with or even discarding mail-in ballots last year.

In 2016, Dowless paid people to visit Bladen County voters and collect absentee ballots from them, a potential felony under North Carolina law, elections board investigators said in a January 2018 report. "Workers employed by Dowless were required to hand-carry the ballots to Dowless in order to be paid," the report said.

Dowless declined to answer questions about Harris' campaign when contacted by phone Monday.

Dowless was the only person in the nine-county district running a get-out-the-vote effort targeting absentee ballots, Harris said.

A state elections board hearing next week should reveal whether investigators found wrongdoing in the 9th District race, where Harris narrowly leads Democrat Dan McCready. The elections board twice refused to certify the Republican as the winner due to the potential ballot fraud.

McCready's staff has not responded to multiple requests by Associated Press to interview the candidate.

Last month, McCready said if Harris knew Dowless was illegally handling potentially vulnerable ballots, the candidate should go to jail.

"I was somewhat surprised by the sort of outlandish statements that would be made," Harris said. "There've been statements like that made, and statements that there are thousands and thousands of ballots that were mishandled or abused. I haven't been privy to any of the investigation information and unless Mr. McCready has been privy to that information, I'm not sure what his source actually is."

Harris says he still supports holding a new election if there is convincing evidence of ballot fraud in Dowless' Bladen County electioneering efforts and the impact could have been large enough to change the results of the contest.

The state elections board is expected to close its hearing next week by certifying a winner or ordering a new election. Its decision could be superseded by the U.S. House, where Democrats in the charge of the chamber have suggested they may review the election no matter what the state board does. The U.S. Constitution says the House is the judge of the elections and qualifications of its members.

Still, it would be a stretch for the House to step in if the state election board clears Harris and certifies him as the winner after its investigation, the Republican said.

"That would be a strong, strong step or leap to take," he said. "I do think everybody has appreciated and enjoyed the fact that elections are decided and determined by the states and this should be a North Carolina issue."

```
1 NORTH CAROLINA
                                            BEFORE THE
   COUNTY OF WAKE
                                    STATE BOARD OF ELECTIONS
 3
   IN RE: PROTEST OF ELECTION OF
     LESLIE McCRAE DOWLESS, JR.
   G.S. 162-182.10(a) and
     G.S. 163-182.12 and
     G.S. 163-182.10 (b) - (d)
 7
 8
 9
                North Carolina Board of Elections
10
                     441 N. Harrington Street
11
                      Raleigh, North Carolina
12
13
14
                    SATURDAY, DECEMBER 3, 2016
                              1:30 p.m.
15
16
17
                        Pages 1 through 253
18
19
    Board members present:
20 Mr. Grant A. Whitney, Chairman
    Ms. Rhonda K. Amoroso, Secretary
21
   Dr. Maja Kricker
    Mr. Joshua D. Malcolm
22
    Judge James L. Baker
23
    Also Present:
    Ms. Kim Westbrook Strach, Executive Director
    Mr. Joshua Lawson, General Counsel
MS. Katelyn Love, Special Counsel
24
25
```

- 1 she validated at least 67 mail in ballots. Do you know that
- 2 to be true, sir, and if so, how?
- 3 MR. DOWLESS: That--the 67 ballots is where
- 4 I've got information back from the attorneys that that
- 5 happened. And it come out in the paper, you know, that it
- 6 happened that way. But as far as me actually knowing that
- 7 she done it 67 times, no, I don't.
- 8 MR. MALCOLM: Do you know whether she did
- 9 it one time?
- MR. DOWLESS: No, sir.
- 11 MR. MALCOLM: You state in your protest that
- 12 in further--quote, "In further shocking evidence of this
- 13 scheme, the Bladen County Improvement Action PAC filed
- 14 reports with the North Carolina State Board of Elections,
- 15 admitting they paid Ms. Monroe."
- MR. DOWLESS: Well, I think that--
- 17 MR. MALCOLM: How do you know that to be
- 18 true?
- 19 MR. DOWLESS: I think that was brought up
- 20 earlier by the professor and the other lawyers, that that
- 21 was Get Out the Vote, GOTV.
- 22 MR. MALCOLM: Yes, sir. But I'm asking you.
- 23 When you signed this protest, how did you know that to be
- 24 true, because you--you're certifying at the end of this that
- 25 everything that you put in this protest is true, so how do

```
1 you know that to be true? How did you know at that time it
```

- 2 to be true?
- 3 MR. DOWLESS: That they paid the GOTV?
- 4 MR. MALCOLM: That supposedly the Bladen
- 5 Improvement PAC filed reports with the State Board admitting
- 6 they paid her. How did you know that to be true?
- 7 MR. DOWLESS: When I seen the report.
- 8 MR. MALCOLM: Which report are you referring
- 9 to?
- MR. DOWLESS: The--
- 11 MR. MALCOLM: Are you referring to campaign
- 12 finance reports?
- 13 MR. DOWLESS: I've seen that, yes. I didn't
- 14 actually get that, but somebody else had it and I seen it.
- MR. MALCOLM: Someone gave that to you?
- MR. DOWLESS: Yes.
- MR. MALCOLM: Who?
- MR. DOWLESS:
- MR. MALCOLM: Who gave that to you?
- 20 MR. DOWLESS: I'd rather take the Fifth on

Sir?

- 21 that, who gave that to me.
- 22 MR. MALCOLM: Okay. So to make sure I'm
- 23 clear, you're taking the Fifth as it relates to who gave you
- 24 copies of disclosure reports.
- MR. DOWLESS: Yes.

23

24

25

MR. DOWLESS:

MR. MALCOLM: At all?

	133	
1	came through you.	
2	MR. DOWLESS:	Yep.
3	MR. MALCOLM:	And on each one of those, you
4	would put initials either on	the top left or top right-hand
5	corner?	
6	MR. DOWLESS:	That was on the request forms.
7	MR. MALCOLM:	On the request forms.
8	MR. DOWLESS:	Yes, sir.
9	MR. MALCOLM:	And that's what youwhen you
10	say 168, you're referring to	the request forms.
11	MR. DOWLESS:	Yes.
12	MR. MALCOLM:	Okay. How many ballots came
13	to you, sir?	
14	MR. DOWLESS:	I have no idea how many
15	ballots are on there.	
16	MR. MALCOLM:	Do you think it was more than
17	a dozen or more than 100 ball	ots came to you?
18	MR. DOWLESS:	I don't know. What you mean
19	"came to me"?	
20	MR. MALCOLM:	Well, I just asked you how
21	many ballots came through tha	t process.
22	MR. DOWLESS:	No ballots come to me.

MR. MALCOLM: You never saw any ballots?

No.

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- 1 an envelope that purportedly had Ms. Baldwin's ballot inside
- 2 of it?
- 3 MR. DOWLESS: No, sir.
- 4 MR. MALCOLM: Did you ever meet with
- 5 investigators for the North Carolina State Board of
- 6 Elections?
- MR. DOWLESS: Did I meet with him?
- 8 MR. MALCOLM: Named Fleming or Tutor?
- 9 MR. DOWLESS: I have in the past met with
- 10 Mr. Tutor.
- MR. MALCOLM: During this--
- 12 MR. DOWLESS: No, sir, I have not. I have
- 13 not met with Ms. Fleming or--in person, no, sir, I have not.
- 14 MR. MALCOLM: Have you spoke with them on
- 15 the phone?
- MR. DOWLESS: I spoke to briefly--it's
- 17 probably been six weeks ago.
- 18 MR. MALCOLM: Did they ask you a series of
- 19 questions?
- MR. DOWLESS: I can't remember.
- 21 MR. MALCOLM: Do you remember anything from
- 22 your conversation with Ms. Fleming or Mr. Tutor from the
- 23 State Board of Elections?
- 24 MR. DOWLESS: Oh, I told them that I knew
- 25 Kate and I would try to get up with her. At the time I

- 1 couldn't get up with her, and I believe I did tell them that
- 2 I had made Caitie to get the request forms. I believe I did
- 3 tell them that.
- 4 MR. MALCOLM: Is that all the information
- 5 you provided to them?
- 6 MR. DOWLESS: I think at that time, yes,
- 7 sir.
- 8 MR. MALCOLM: Was there anything you were
- 9 supposed to follow up with them on?
- 10 MR. DOWLESS: I told them that--I told Mr.
- 11 Tutor that I would try to get back with him and get the
- 12 phone number for Caitie, and I got the phone number and
- 13 tried to call Caitie and couldn't get in contact with her.
- 14 MR. MALCOLM: Oh, so you told them you were
- 15 going to call Caitie?
- MR. DOWLESS: I told him--no, I told him I
- 17 would try to get in contact with her to call Mr. Tutor.
- 18 MR. MALCOLM: So you were going to basically
- 19 pass a message to call him.
- MR. DOWLESS: Yes.
- 21 MR. MALCOLM: Have you spoke to Caitie? So
- 22 you didn't get up with her then? Did you speak to her at
- 23 all?
- MR. DOWLESS: No.
- 25 MR. MALCOLM: You never got up with her?

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- 1 MR. DOWLESS: No. I talked to her one time,
- 2 and she said--I believe she said that Ms. Fleming had called
- 3 her or something. I--to that matter. I said, "Tell her the
- 4 truth."
- 5 MR. MALCOLM: I think this is about my final
- 6 question. So is it your testimony that as it relates to the
- 7 November 8th election in Bladen County, you never handled,
- 8 filled out, or saw in any form or fashion anyone's ballot
- 9 other than your own.
- 10 MR. DOWLESS: Other than my own.
- 11 MR. MALCOLM: Whether you--you never like-
- 12 -let me make sure my question's clear. You never saw a
- 13 container, an envelope, or a package that may have had
- 14 someone else's ballot in it, to your knowledge?
- MR. DOWLESS: To my knowledge, no.
- MR. MALCOLM: Okay. I don't have any more
- 17 questions. Thank you, sir.
- 18 CHAIRMAN WHITNEY: Mr. Nichols or Mr. Branch, do
- 19 you have--can you stay up there, please. Do you have any
- 20 questions of your client?
- 21 MR. KNIGHT: Not that it matters, but it's
- 22 Knight. Not Nichols, it's Knight. But I don't have any
- 23 questions, no.
- 24 CHAIRMAN WHITNEY: Sorry. Okay. Would you like
- 25 to ask some questions?

- 1 said, I have not seen the ballots. You know, it could only
- 2 be 100 Franklin Grahams. All I'm saying the reason why I
- 3 brought the protest and me and the Republican Chair sat down
- 4 because of the high volume of write-ins, like I've stated
- 5 from the first time I walked up.
- 6 MR. JOYNER: And this is just--because it's
- 7 been a while since I've heard this. Your information is
- 8 that you did not observe any ballots and/or certification
- 9 forms other than your own; is that correct?
- 10 MR. DOWLESS: That's correct.
- 11 CHAIRMAN WHITNEY: All right, if we can limit
- 12 this to one more question because Mr. Malcolm has a couple
- 13 of questions in order to move on to the Respondent's
- 14 presentation.
- MR. JOYNER: And you got me at a great
- 16 time, Mr. Chairman, because that was my last question.
- 17 CHAIRMAN WHITNEY: Thank you, Professor. Mr.
- 18 Malcolm.
- 19 MR. MALCOLM: Sir, a couple of questions.
- 20 Did you speak with Matthew Mathis after speaking with the
- 21 investigators from the State Board of Elections?
- MR. DOWLESS: Did I speak with him? Yes,
- 23 and he came to me.
- 24 MR. MALCOLM: Came to see you?
- 25 MR. DOWLESS: Yes. He said he wanted to

- 1 meet me, and I met him and--
- 2 MR. MALCOLM: Where'd you meet him at?
- 3 MR. DOWLESS: Elizabethtown.
- 4 MR. MALCOLM: Where at, though, in
- 5 particular?
- 6 MR. DOWLESS: It was right there close to
- 7 Burger King.
- 8 MR. MALCOLM: Outside, or did y'all get a
- 9 Whopper?
- 10 MR. DOWLESS: No, no, no. I had pulled my
- 11 van up, and they got in the van.
- MR. MALCOLM: Who's they?
- MR. DOWLESS: Ms. Caitie and Mr. Mathis, and
- 14 we was talking, and I believe his words was, "I'm scared."
- 15 I said, "Well, Mr. Mathis, I didn't hire you." I said, "I
- 16 hired Caitie." I says, "Now, what you've done on your own
- 17 and if you've done something wrong, you need to tell the
- 18 people." That was my exact words to that gentleman.
- 19 I said, "If you have done something wrong, you
- 20 need to tell the investigators."
- 21 MR. MALCOLM: Do you recall when that was?
- MR. DOWLESS: Maybe two and half weeks ago
- 23 or something like that. I'm just saying in a round about
- 24 area there, Mr. Malcolm.
- 25 MR. MALCOLM: Do you recall if it was during

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ž **4**

1	MS. AMOROSO: Second.
2	CHAIRMAN WHITNEY: Any discussion?
3	(No response)
4	CHAIRMAN WHITNEY: All in favor say aye.
5	(Three votes in favor)
6	CHAIRMAN WHITNEY: Opposed, no.
7	(Chairman Whitney and Ms. Amoroso vote no.)
8	CHAIRMAN WHITNEY: Motion carries. Petition
9	dismissed. We have another motion.
10	MR. MALCOLM: Mr. Chairman, I make a motion
11	that this Board gather and prepare to make available to the
12	United States attorney for the Eastern District of North
13	Carolina any and all information in our possession, notes
14	and otherwise, regarding the election that took place in
15	Bladen County, North Carolina, concerning the federal
16	election for November 8, 2016, and make thatmake that made
17	available immediately.
18	CHAIRMAN WHITNEY: Do I have a second?
19	MS. AMOROSO: Second.
20	CHAIRMAN WHITNEY: All in favor say aye.
21	(Unanimous vote in favor)
22	CHAIRMAN WHITNEY: Opposed, no.
23	(No response)
24	CHAIRMAN WHITNEY: Motion carries unanimously.
25	Okay. Thank you everybody for your participation. We have

the kiss on the corner of his mouth.

Bonnie did not, he was fairly sure, just want to hang angels on a tree. Clyde's asking her to move in with his mistress had put her in a giddy, reckless mood, and Everett was the beneficiary. He wasn't going to think about Clyde's low, sincere apology to Pam or about Pam turning away on the phone to ask Clyde to come to the house. Although he found he wanted very much to think about that.

He thought instead about Anne Marie and how the evening might work out for her. The lesson about not abandoning people was a good one. The silent, submerged unhappiness of the evening couldn't be good for a kid. And now it was gone, dissolved by Pam's call into the buzz of unsettled excitement.

The streets were dark and empty, the houses warm with light. He wanted to keep thinking, but he was at the station before he'd sorted things out. And Bonnie was waiting on the curb. She climbed into the front seat and kicked the snow off her boots. "Hi," she said, and she clutched her hands in her lap. She shuddered once from nervousness or cold. "Clydell be here in a second," she said, "he's signing something about the car." "OK," he said.

She looked at Everett and seemed about to say something, and then she was in his arms. He gathered her up as well as he could given her thick coat and the awkward position and kissed her sweet face. Her cheeks were cold, but her lips were warm, and she was trembling. The peacoat was unbuttoned and he reached inside to feel the curve of her breast through her sweater. A second later, they pulled apart and Bonnie smoothed her hair.

The lighted glass door of the police station opened, and Clyde walked with his long stride toward them and got in the backseat. Everett thought there must be a smell in the car from the kiss, an electricity. But the husband said nothing, and Everett drove the outlaws back to his house. They talked about the stolen car, and the cold, and the tree. All the while, Everett felt both the threat of disorder and the steady, thrumming promise of having everything he wanted all at once.

Ira Glass Maile Meloy. This story appears in her book, Both Ways is the Only Way I Want It.

Email Address

[MUSIC - MAKE YOU BETTER" BY THE DECEMBERISTS"]

Coming up, why some Republican leaders in North Carolina are feeling weird about Santa Claus this year. That's in a mi Chicago Public Radio, when our program continues.

Act Two: He's Making A List, Checking It Nice, Gonna Find Out Who Voted Twice

Ira Glass It's This American Life. I'm Ira Glass. Our program today, Just What I Wanted. We've arrived at Act Two of our program, Act Two. He's making a list, checking it nice. Gonna find out who voted twice. So this fall, what certain Republicans thought they would discover under the tree was proof of voter fraud. This, of course, is one of the big divisive issues that separate the Right and the Left in our country. Democrats in the mainstream media point out





And this year, the place where the search has been the most intense for voter fraud was North Carolina. And this time, Zoe Chace reports, Republicans really had moments when they thought they had found proof of organized fraud.

Zoe Chace The man leading the hunt for voter fraud in North Carolina is Dallas Woodhouse, executive director of the North Carolina Republican Party. Picture a Southern party boss. It's probably Dallas-- white guy in an Oxford shirt, bottom buttom undone, loafers, no socks--

Zoe Chace Are you really smoking a cigar right now?

Dallas Woodhouse I am.

Zoe Chace --a cigar in the corner of his mouth. Younger and handsomer than you're imagining, I think. He used to be a TV anchor. He's trying to cut back on cigars since the election ended. I point out there have been a lot of studies looking into voter fraud that conclude voter fraud is minuscule, almost nonexistent.

Zoe Chace 1 think that if you see any study, there is no study that ever points to--

Dallas Woodhouse You know, look, look.

Zoe Chace Look, I've got to say this.

Dallas Woodhouse Don't show me studies. Academics, I mean, a bunch of knuckleheads, pointy-headed professors. We deal in the real world.

Zoe Chace In the real world, Dallas looks for voter fraud, he will tell you, as a matter of principle. There was also a numbers game going on this November. The Republican governor of North Carolina refused to concede the election for weeks because it was such a close race. At the moment I met Dallas, the governor was down just 8,500 votes out of 4.7 millior. There were other close races also.

Dallas was out running down every claim of voter fraud around the state. His team accused people of voting twice. That was dismissed. People who voted when they were dead, that was dismissed. Felons who voted.

Constituting out it wasn't the same person. It seems like to me you have to make an attempt to address that.

Zoe Chace Dallas found 24 ineligible felons out of 43 they accused. He's not perfect.



Zoe Chace The day we talk, Dallas has a smoking gun, a few hundred ballots in the southeast of the state, lots with the same handwriting on them. Jackpot. He takes a breath.

Dallas Woodhouse They do realize that 300 or 400 write-in votes can't be done by one person. They do realize that's illegal.

Zoe Chace Here's what happened. Down in Bladen County, North Carolina, this guy Brian was going through absentee balance at the Board of Elections. He's a board member, a Republican. His job was to scrutinize each ballot as it came out of the machine. He's heard a lot about voter fraud, never seen it before, but he believes it's widespread. He's heard a lot about it on the news. His eyes are peeled.

And then he notices something. Way down at the bottom of the ballot, there was room for a write-in candidate, the county soil and water district supervisor. And he kept seeing the name Franklin Graham.

Brian And it looked like the same handwriting a lot of times.

Zoe Chace He demonstrates by writing the name in my notebook.

Brian Every time I write this, my R's are going to be the same. My A's are pretty much going to be the same. My K's are going to be the same. So if I write it again as you watch.

Zoe Chace Franklin Graham.

Brian You see similarities between certain letters every time.

Zoe Chace Like how many times?

Brian Considerable, I would say, I don't, 50 to 100.

Zoe Chace Of one person putting in 100 votes.

Brian You could infer that.

Zoe Chace In all maybe 300 halfots Brian is a paramedic. He's used to looking at EKG waveforms. He says he has an ey Email Address

tes their name. Brian is also pretty careful. He wasn't sure it was fraud.

But i Go suspicious.

Brian I wouldn't infer that, because obviously I'm not an expert. But you could infer that.

Zoe Chace Dallas Woodhouse does more than infer.





Zoe Chace It wasn't just one person's handwriting. It was around a dozen people. Dallas has a term for what he thinks this is. He calls it an absentee ballot mill. This is what he pictures when he hears about all these ballots with the same handwriting on them. Key Democratic operatives, running around searching for old people who barely know their own rames and then filling out ballots for them. A blatant scheme, Dallas thinks, that gins up votes for the Democrats. And the Democratic governor, remember, is only up by a couple thousand votes.

Dallas Woodhouse Should the election board find that these are absentee ballot mills, with the purpose of fraudulent voting, those people should go to jail. They should go to jail. They should spend the first term of the Trump administration behind bars.

Zoe Chace I go down south to meet the victims of the alleged scheme, the democratic voters of Bladen County. It is an unusual interviewing situation.

Man 1 This is Zoe.

Zoe Chace Hi.

Man 1 She's out of New York. She has a talk radio show.

Zoe Chace I'm at a senior center in this classroom. I'm standing up at the front with a microphone like a teacher. There are rows of older people sitting quietly, staring back at me. Their dominoes game is sealed up in a Tupperware. I go from person to person and ask each one about their vote while everyone else silently watches. It's awkward.

Zoe Chace May I ask you about your vote? OK.

Her name is Lula Pearl Graham. She did vote absentee this year. She says someone helped her get an absentee ballot in. This person worked with a political PAC, the Bladen County Improvement Association PAC. And she followed their advice on how to vote. They gave her a sample ballot with a slate of endorsed candidates.

Zoe Chace Did you know everybody who you were voting for on the ballot this year?

Lula Pearl Graham No, I didn't.

Zoe Chace But did you know who you were voting for for governor? Email Address

Go <mark>earl Graha</mark>m Yeah.

Zoe Chace OK. What about for soil and water? Can I ask you who you voted for there? Do you know?

Lula Pearl Graham I don't remember.



Lula Pearl Graham Oh, yes, they're good. They're good.

Zoe Chace Why?

Lula Pearl Graham Because when you don't know the people, they'll tell you-- they explain them to you. So you say, well, I would like to vote here, but I don't know who this is. They tell you.

Zoe Chace What she's describing doesn't sound illegal. If the PAC bought her vote, it would be illegal. If the PAC threatened her, it would be illegal. Giving someone a slate of candidates to vote for is not illegal. Having someone assist you in filling out your ballot is not illegal. Though if you do assist someone, you're supposed to give them some space while they actually vote and then sign the envelope saying you assisted them. But I do think if Dallas, the Republican guy, chewed his cigar into this room and heard Lula Pearl talk, he would be horrified, based on how he thinks about this stuff.

Dailas Woodhouse Under a select few circumstances, you can get assistance from a relative or somebody who declares your help. Now, that is intended to be a neighbor helping a neighbor, a friend helping a friend. If somebody is going out there and helping hundreds of people, they are harvesting ballots.

Zoe Chace For Dallas, Lula Pearl saying she doesn't know anything about the candidates she's voting for but votes for them anyway, at the suggestion of volunteers who get \$35 a day reimbursement for gas and food, that's shady to Dallas on its face. If it's not technically illegal, it should be. It's supposed to be one person, one vote. As soon as you have one person helping lots and lots of people vote, it feels like a scheme to him. Lula Pearl sees it differently. Having a volunteer come to the house makes it easier for her to vote. She wants it.

Lula Pearl Graham I don't drive, and I have two knee implants. Sometimes it's difficult to get around. So somehody would come and pick me up. But sometimes I don't feel like going that way. So I just let someone come and vote for me and let—come and let me fill out the application. And then it goes, and it comes back.

Zoe Chace Voting is very important to her. She feels like, why shouldn't it be easy?

Lula Pearl Graham My mother and my father, they marched all the way from Selma, Alabama to Birmingham, Alabama for the right for me to vote. And I'm going to vote.

Zoe Chace This is, in fact, why this organization that helped her with the ballot exists, the Bladen County Improvement Association PAC. It exists to protect the vote for black people in the community.

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The Go the PAC is Horace Munn. Horace Munn-- for a man allegedly at the center of a blatant scheme to rig an election-- Horace is pretty easy to find. Like, I couldn't get any service on my phone driving down to Bladen County, so I went into this convenience store at the side of the road. Tammy let me use her phone. She goes, oh, you're talking to Horace? That's my godfather. Let me have the phone. Horace, where do you want me to send her?



freedom abroad, but we're not free at home.

Horace Munn I served to make sure that we all get freedom in America. And I come home, and I find out that they say that we're free but in actuality, we're not. They say things are equal, but in actuality, they're not.

Zoe Chace Meaning black voters in this area have been subject to extra scrutiny, to harassment, extra rules, all things that keep them from voting. This is how Horace sees it. The PAC exists to get people to the polls and also bring black people together as a voting bloc. And he says, yes, his group was behind the campaign to get people to write in Franklin Graham for soil and water supervisor. And he explains it. Basically, there was an incumbent running unopposed. They did not like him. So Horace decided, let's get my buddy Franklin Graham on the ballot.

Horace Munn Well, I missed the window. I missed the window to get his name placed on the ballot.

Zoe Chace Does Franklin Graham actually know anything about what it takes to take care of soil and water as a district supervisor?

Horace Munn No.

Zoe Chace The soil and water supervisor, as far as I can figure, keeps the water from being contaminated by the soil and the soil from being eroded by the water. In any way, the incumbent didn't have any special expertise either when he got the job. That's what Horace thinks. I asked Horace about why so many of the ballots seem to have Franklin Graham's name written out in the same handwriting. But he can't discuss the Franklin Graham thing. It's under investigation. And while Lula Pearl's vote seems legit, there are about 300 others that might not be.

There is an official body that decides whether it's voter fraud or not, the State Board of Elections. And on a Saturday afternoon, they have a special hearing to decide who's right in this case.

Man 2 We are here to conduct two hearings. We assume jurisdiction that--

Zoe Chac The board is rushing to rule on all these election protests coming in so the state can actually have a governor. The Republican governor still hasn't conceded the race. The election is up in the air. It's not made for TV. It's not even a courtroom. It's a badly lit press conference-style space. Rows of chairs are just dragged in. There are five board members who will decide things. Three Republicans, two Democrats, a big audience, a slew of lawyers at the table.

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discounted or the ballots should be discounted?



Man 4 The entire ballot should be discounted.

Zoe Chace The governor's lawyers come off a little sloppy. Because a few hours in, the complaint starts to fall apart in this kind of mortifying way. It happens when the person who actually filed the complaint against the Bladen

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Man 5 How you doing, sir?

Mccrae Dowless Doing fine, Mr. Michael.

Zoe Chace McCrae Dowless. He's actually the guy who won the soil and water supervisor race in Bladen County. And he takes the stand looking like he's not quite ready for this. He doesn't have a suit. He's got a big beard, skinny guy, windbreaker. And once he's up there being questioned by one of the Democrats on the Board of Elections, he seems amazingly unfamiliar with his own case.

Man 5 You allege that there was a scheme that was taking place in Bladen County, correct? That's the words that you used-- "blatant scheme"? What did you mean by that?

Mccrae Dowless Scheme?

Man 5 You used the words, "resulting from a blatant scheme."

Mccrae Dowless Are you saying I used the words or the attorney that wrote that up used the words?

Man 5 Well, it's got your signature at the end.

Mccrae Dowless It's got my signature here on it. But as far as writing that personal-- writing that up, I didn't do that. The attorney did. The attorney was the one that drew the protest up.

Zoe Chace He tries to remember who that attorney is, like what his name is.

Mccrae Dowless I can't think of the gentlemen's name. Steve? I can't remember his last name.

Zoe Chace His attorneys seem embarrassed. It is embarrassing when a client who's supposedly lodging a complaint is not familiar with the complaint. They try to object. It doesn't work. McCrae just ignores his lawyers and keeps talking over them. I look over at Horace Munn from the PAC, and he is all giddy. He's tapping his lawyer, spinning around in his seat. He pulls his glasses down his nose and makes eyes at me.

The hearing goes on for five hours. Some people who wrote in the name Franklin Graham on 300-odd ballots broke the rules by not signing the envelope, saying they assisted the voters in filling out the ballots. But over those hours, no one disputes that real voters cast those votes. Finally, one of the Republicans on the election's board says he's not buyi Email Address thwatting the Republican governor.

Man 6 There does not appear to be any dispute that the signatures of the voters on all the ballots are proper. And I think that's something that I would have to hear before all of you wanting to throw out a lot of ballots.

Go



was able to find a single case of true voter fraud, where someone deliberately impersonates someone else, casts a ballot in their name, real fraud, except possibly one case. One. And that one comes out in a very strange twist during this same hearing, just not where the Republicans were looking. One of the board members starts asking McCrae, their incumbent Republican soil and water supervisor, about whether his side had committed voter fraud.

Man 7 So you keep saying GOTV, does that mean--

Man 5 Get out the vote. Get out the vote.

Man 7 You get paper.

Mccrae Dowless Get out the vote.

Man 7 And what exactly was it that she got paid to do?

Zoe Chace Here's what tumbles out of McCrae under the board's questioning. He had some people working for him, getting out the vote-- volunteers, McCrae calls them. The volunteers, though, were allegedly getting paid for each ballot they turned in. That is illegal. One of the voters who signed an affidavit said that Get Out the Vote workers came by and had her family request absentee ballots. But then they never received their absentee ballots in the mail like they were supposed to. Then, when the family went to vote on election day, they were told they'd already voted. In essence, McCrae's getting accused of paying people to obtain absentee ballots, fill them out, and cast their votes on someone else's behalf. That, for sure, is illegal. McCrae says he didn't do anything wrong.

An election board member then calls for further criminal investigation, what appears to be Republican voter fraud.

Mar 8 I will be making a motion, that any and all information that this board has in its possession shall be forwarded to the United States Attorney for the Eastern District of North Carolina.

Zoe Chace The attorney could choose to keep looking into Horace as well, but the focus of the investigation seems to be what LicCrae has just revealed. Two days later, the governor of North Carolina concedes the race to the Democrats. There are just no votes left to recount, no more fraud left to look into.

Dallas Woodhouse, the Republican fraud hunter, says there is still systemic voter fraud out there, stuff that's not being caught. And that is going to continue until the voting system itself changes. Right now, Dallas would say there are too many opportunities for voter fraud too many ways that people could pretend to be someone else. Right now, you Email Address vote. You show up at the wrong precinct, they let you vote.

Dallas Woodhouse Our side does think the voters have some responsibilities. And the best example is showing up to the right place to vote on election day. I do think that's a fair statement.

Go



Dallas Woodhouse How does it disenfranchise their people?

Zoe Chace Because their people

Dallas Woodhouse See, they have such a negative, horrible, demeaning view of their own people, that they can't show up at the right place to vote.

Zoe Chace The two parties have very different ideas about how we should vote. To generalize, Democrats think it should be as easy as possible. Republicans don't. Conveniently, each of these positions ends up helping their side at the polls. Tougher voter requirements tend to disproportionately discourage minority voters. That traditionally helps Republicans. Higher voter turnout of minority voters usually helps the Democrats. Dallas, a passionate partisan, will keep arguing and keep looking for fraud, though he keeps losing these fights.

The North Carolina State Board of Elections tracked 57 voter fraud complaints this year and dismissed the vast majority of them. For those searching for voter fraud, it's like they waited all election year, opened up their presents Christmas morning, and there was nothing inside.

Ira Glass Zoe Chace is one of the producers of our show.

[MUSIC "JUST WHAT I WANTED FOR CHRISTMAS" BY BING CROSBY"]

Credi:s

Ira Glass Well, our program was produced today by Stephanie Foo, our production staff-- Susan Burton, Zoe Chace, Sean Cole, Neil Drumming, Karen Duffin, Emmanuel Dzotsi, Chana Joffe-Walt, David Kestenbaum, Miki Meeke, Jonathan Menjivar, Robyn Semien, Matt Tierney, and Nancy Updike. Research help today from Christopher [? Sotala, ?] Inusic help from Damien Grave.

[ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS]

Our website, thisamericanlife.org. *This American Life* is delivered to public radio stations by PRX, the Public Radio Exchange. Thanks, as always, to our program's co-founder, Mr. Torey Malatia. You know, great around the office, but whenever i try to talk to him about my personal issues, he sticks his fingers in his ears and he says--

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Huisenga (SINGING) La la la la la la la la la.

Ira Glass I'm Ira Glass. Back next week with more stories of *This American Life*.

[MUSIC - "JUST WHAT I WANTED FOR CHRISTMAS" BY BING CROSBY"]

Exhibit R

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AUDIO TRANSCRIPTION

FULL RAW INTERVIEW:

Mark Harris speaks exclusively to Nick Ochsner about NC9 investigation

DIGITAL EVIDENCE GROUP

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12/14/2018 **Audio Transcription**

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MR. OCHSNER: I'll start with the Washington Post story from last night that has reported that you personally hired McCrae Dowless to come work for your campaign. Did you do that?

MR. HARRIS: I did. And readily it goes back to understanding the race of 2016. You recall, Nick, that in 2016, they had redrawn the districts in North Carolina, and I felt led to step into the race for the U.S. House in the newly-drawn Ninth District. And we went through that race. It was three people. There was Robert Pittenger, it was myself, and there was Todd Johnson. And at the end of that 2016 race, you know, I would see that I lost. I mean, I got beat. Johnson beat me significantly in that county, and with absentee ballots. And I remember looking at that and going, "Wow, that's unusual."

And it was just probably a couple weeks after all of that that I got a call and was talking with Judge Marion Warren, who used to be a Superior Court Judge in that area, is now the Administrator

shared with me that there was an absentee ballot 2 program and a Get Out the Vote program that he did. 3 And he explained to me because I wanted to

4 understand what that meant. And it was the same

5 thing I assumed he had done to have the success 6 that he had in the past, and that was a two-stage 7 program.

> Stage one is the absentee ballot application, or absentee ballot request form. And he said that he hired individuals that worked for him that went out and canvassed door to door, trying to encourage people to be involved and were they willing to fill out an absentee ballot request form. And they would fill out the absentee ballot request form, and they would take it and then would return it to the Board of Elections. And that was what he was doing in phase one.

> Phase two was the absentee ballot part. And so once an individual had turned in the absentee ballot, it was explained to me that they would -- Board of Elections would mail an absentee ballot to that address. And then he would have two

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Page 4

1 of the courts here in North Carolina. And he had

2 become a good friend through the years. And he

said, you know, "Man, I would have given anything

4 if I could have introduced you to McCrae Dowless

before Todd Johnson got to know him." And I said, 6 "Well, who's McCrae Dowless?" And he told me that

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McCrae was a guy from Bladen County. He was a good old boy that knew Bladen County politics, that he,

you know, did things right, and that he knew

10 election law as better -- better than just about

11 anybody he knew of.

> And he said, you know, "I really wish that I could connect you with him." And he said, "If, in the future, you decide to run for this seat again," he said, "I hope you'll reach out to me," and he said, "I'll be more than happy to set up a meeting, and I'll even take you down there personally and introduce you to some of the key leaders there." And that's what we did.

MR. OCHSNER: So what do you think McCrae Dowless did for your campaign in 2018?

MR. HARRIS: In 2018, McCrae Dowless

1 people that would go and follow up on those 2

absentee ballot requests once the ballot got there, 3 and their job was basically to knock on the door,

to follow up with those people, and offer their

services to -- if they need any assistance with

their ballot.

And the ballots, as I understood it, required two witnesses, if it was just being witnessed, or the signature of one notary. And they would offer to do that, and then they would tell people, in that process, that -- you know, they urged them to get their ballot in the mail that day. And I remember him saying specifically that they were not to take a ballot. They were not to touch a ballot.

In fact, he used the illustration that I still recall that, "I don't care if it's a 95-year-old woman in a wheelchair or a walker. You cannot take her ballot. You can walk her to the mailbox and put the ballot in the mailbox and raise the flag, but you don't take the ballot."

So that was my understanding of what the

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1 absentee ballot program was that he was doing in 2 2018. So then, of course, there were other things ä that he was doing. He got us in parades that we 4 were involved in the Peanut Festival down there. 5 We were involved in a fall festival called Beast 6 Fest down in Bladenboro that he lined us up. He 7 got me opportunities to speak down there at those 8 kind of social settings. He puts signs in yards 9 all over Bladen County and, you know, just built 10 crowds for events and things when we would be down 11 there. 12 MR. OCHSNER: At any time did you have

any indication that McCrae Dowless was doing something that might be illegal?

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MR. HARRIS: No, absolutely not.

MR. OCHSNER: And had you had that, would you still have continued to employ him?

MR. HARRIS: No, I would not have. Again, we kept emphasizing again and again that when he was describing the ballot to us -- and, in fact, when you get down to his description of the program, he was being vouched for by a number of

1 into this political arena, because I believe in 2 this country. I believe in our Constitution. I 3 believe in our processes we use. And we know 4 there's a reason that we vote on Election Day, and 5 then if you lose an election, then you concede that 6 evening or the next day. And then time passes, 7 about ten days, before they count provisional 8 ballots and count absentee ballots that come in

after Election Day.

Then there's another period of waiting when the County Boards actually meet and certify these races and go through their process, and then there's another waiting period of another week before the Board of Elections meets to carry out their ministerial duty of making sure all the numbers came in and certified those races.

And there's a reason for all of those gaps, and the reason is that if anybody has seen anything to cause question, if anybody has seen anything to bring about concern or allegation, those are the times to make those protests. Those are the times to clearly say, wait a minute, time

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Page 8

1 other leaders down there. When I was introduced to 2 him in the initial meeting, first time that I had 3 met him in the meeting that Judge Warren was able 4 to set up for us, there was a County Commissioner 5 there by the name of Ray Britt, there was a 6 businessman there by the name of Pat Melvin, there 7 was a GOP Chairman there by the name of Walter 8 McDuffie, and there was McCrae Dowless and others. 9 And since that time, I'd spoken with Judge Scott 1.0 Ussery down there. I, of course, had seen the 11 sheriff was involved and used McCrae in his work, 12 as well. So, I mean, I had no reason to think that 13 what he was doing was illegal. 14 MR. OCHSNER: Sure. Of course, this has 15

now all led the State Board of Elections to not certify your race.

MR. HARRIS: Yes.

18 MR. OCHSNER: Did that catch you by 19 surprise?

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MR. HARRIS: Oh, absolutely it caught us by surprise. I mean, Nick, there's a reason that we have processes, and there's a reason that I got

Page 7

out, something's wrong here, and bring it to light.

And we went through every one of those periods, and nothing, to my knowledge, was ever said, ever reported, ever lodged, formally or informally, to my knowledge, until we got to the Tuesday of the Board of Elections.

And, in fact, if you'd gone on the website. I'm told at 9:40 that morning that my name and District 9 was in the list of races to be certified that day. And then Vice Chairman Josh Malcolm, who since then has been promoted to Chairman, made the motion in that meeting to say that he wanted to pull the Ninth District race due to -- I think he called it unfortunate activities in his part of the state. And that was the first we had heard of anything, and that was extremely, extremely frustrating. I was in Washington at new member orientation at the second and final week when that came down.

MR. OCHSNER: It's got to be -- I'll call it interesting. It's got to be interesting for you to be in this limbo where you think you've won an

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election, but you may very well not be seated when
 Congress starts in January. Are you prepared for
 that to happen?

MR. HARRIS: Well, it's not only interesting, as you put it; it's frustrating. It's frustrating for us because there's so many things that we need to be doing in this transition period to get ready. It's very frustrating because I've been elected to serve the Ninth District, and I don't feel like the Ninth District is getting served.

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For instance, we had -- we're looking to establish our district offices, where they were going to be located. And until we get certification, that's put on hold because the House Administration Committee doesn't want to sign a lease on where the offices will be, so it's very frustrating. You know, getting committee assignments for where I can serve that would best serve the people of the Ninth District, that's being put on hold right now.

So there's a lot of people being hurt.

not sure the thinking in that. But again you'll have to ask the legislators what their thoughts are there.

MR. OCHSNER: Do you - MR. HARRIS: But again I think it's
 frustrating.

MR. OCHSNER: Do you feel under attack from your own party in some ways?

MR. HARRIS: Well, I certainly don't feel the circling of the wagons around Harris the way I see the Democrats circling the wagons around McCready.

MR. OCHSNER: Yeah, of course. Just this afternoon, the Republican Party Chairman in Robeson County in the Ninth District, part of the center of this investigation --

MR. HARRIS: Sure.

MR. OCHSNER: -- they just issued a statement this afternoon calling on you to break your silence and kind of criticizing you for not having spoken out previously. Are you comfortable with your decision to have remained silent until

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Page 10

There's a lot of frustration, obviously, that I
feel in what we're going through right now. But,
you know, we're trying to cooperate. We're trying
to do everything we can to help people get the
material and the answers they're looking for, and
that's where we find ourselves.

MR. OCHSNER: Of course, now your own party, the state Republican Party, has come out and said, we think there likely needs to be a new election in the Ninth Congressional District. What would you say about that?

MR. HARRIS: Well, you know, I don't know all the ins and outs of that, and I would understand that may be slightly differently than how you worded it, that there likely needs to be. I think they're stating that if there is going to be a call for a new election, that there's evidence to prove that somehow the outcome of this election would have been changed seems to be the message that I've heard.

They've written into this bill that there needs to be a primary and a general election. I'm

this point?

MR. HARRIS: Well, I am, and on a number of different fronts. As I mentioned earlier, people have got to think about the timing of all of this, if they'll just stop for a moment and think. This blindsided us when we were in Washington on Tuesday, November 27th. If you go back and look at the motion, the motion said that we're going to maintain jurisdiction at least until Friday, which would have been three days later. So again nobody really knew what to do at that point, thinking that whatever the issues were that were being raised perhaps would be resolved by Friday. We had no reason to think otherwise, and so we went through that holding pattern.

I flew back at the end of orientation, got back into town here on Saturday. I had responsibilities on Sunday and Monday to actually do ten sheriff swearing-ins down in the eastern part of the state, in Robeson County and Bladen County. They had their sheriff swearing-in that day. And it was Monday afternoon on December --

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what would that be? The 3rd was the very first 2 communication we received from the Board of 3 Elections. We have sent letters from the Tuesday 4 when they stopped until Friday, letters were sent 5 from our attorneys twice, on two different days, 6 asking why are you holding this up, please tell us 7 what the accusations are, please help us know 8 something, and we were told nothing. 9

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And on Monday the 3rd is when we received the subpoena. And at that point, it was the first time I had actually even had a conversation with our attorneys on the phone that night, driving back from Bladen, and we set up a meeting and opportunity to meet with them on Wednesday was the first chance that they had for us to communicate.

So I realize in the media world, you know, two, three days is a lifetime, but to process it, you know, two or three days is two or three days. And so we've had to try to get everything together that has been asked of us to get together before I wanted to come out and speak. And so, yes, I'm comfortable that we've

MR. OCHSNER: When the facts come out, do you believe that your campaign will be exonerated of any wrongdoing?

MR. HARRIS: I hope so. I mean, I don't know. I mean, it is an investigation. I know what I was told, and I know the absentee ballot program that we entered into and the services with the Get Out the Vote that we entered into, and my hope is that McCrae hasn't done anything wrong. I don't know that. I'm waiting for the investigators to make that clear, and that's all we can do.

MR. OCHSNER: Mm-hmm. At the end of the day, if someone does find that McCrae or someone associated with your campaign did something wrong, are you prepared to accept whatever consequence that might come with it?

MR. HARRIS: Oh, I believe that anybody who has broken the law needs to be held accountable for it, and I've said that clearly, as well.

MR. OCHSNER: Sure. So what are you doing now? Are you preparing for a new election now?

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1 tried to do this right. I'm comfortable to say 2

- that there is an investigation that's going on, and
- we want that to be a full -- I put a statement out
- 4 last Friday, you might have seen, and that
- 5 statement said that we looked forward to a
- 6 transparent, complete, and fair investigation, and
- 7 on both sides. And I think that's important to
- 8 note, that this investigation has got to look on
- 9 both sides here to discover just what may be 10

happening.

MR. OCHSNER: What led you to decide to sit down and speak on camera now?

MR. HARRIS: Well, I just felt like it was important. I felt like -- I've been wanting to get out here up to now every day because, you know, as I told you how I met McCrae Dowless is something I wanted people to understand and know and what led me to hire him. And -- but I felt like that the time needed to pass, we needed to make sure that everything was done decently and in order, and we felt like today was the right day to have this conversation.

MR. HARRIS: Well, you know, again, that's a great question. I'm trying to figure out -- quite frankly, our time is pretty occupied with Christmas events and Christmas parties with Republican events around the state and other locations, so we're, you know, going to be part of those.

We are still maintaining -- we had put on the guy that we were going to have as our Chief of Staff in Washington, and so I'm in contact with him daily, although we've slowed down our hiring of staff right now, which again is another way that I feel like the district's being hurt because there was a great pool of talent after this last election that basically found themselves out of work, and we were having an opportunity to bring some of that best talent in to work for our Ninth District, and some of those opportunities are being lost by this

So again, we feel like we won this race by 905 votes. I do think that it's possible that the Board of Elections can continue to investigate,

Page 17

12/14/2018 Audio Transcription

1 but if they can come to a numeric answer if it --2 what they're looking at, would it have changed the 3 outcome of the election. They can still certify, 4 continue the investigation. And again, if a crime 5 has been committed, then the individuals need to be 6 held accountable for that. 7 MR. OCHSNER: Do you think there will be 8 a new election or do you think you will end up 9 being seated as the Congressman from the Ninth 10 District? 11 MR. HARRIS: I am hopeful. I am hopeful 12 that the investigation that's being done by the 13 Board currently will ultimately produce a report 14 that will make it clear that the outcome would not 15 have been changed and that they'll choose to go 16 ahead and certify, and I believe if we're certified 17 that I'll be seated. 18 (Recording ends) 19 20 21 22 Page 18 CERTIFICATION 2 3 I, Ilene Watson, do hereby certify 4 that the foregoing is a correct transcript from the 5 electronic sound recording provided for б transcription and prepared to the best of my professional skills and ability. 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 January 4, 2019 20 Ilene Watson 21 AAERT Cert. No. 447 22 Certified Court Transcriptionist Page 19

1	MR. JOYNER:	Yes. Could you pass the
2	(Pause)	
3	MR. MALCOLM:	While Professor Joyner's
4	getting that, earlier in y	our testimonywho was itwho was
5	it that called you from th	e County Board of Elections?
6	MR. DOWLESS:	That called?
7	MR. MALCOLM:	Yeah.
8	MR. DOWLESS:	It maywhat reference?
9	MR. MALCOLM:	Related to the problems with
10	the ballots. Who was it t	hat called you from the Bladen
11	County Board of Elections	and told you there were problems?
12	Was it a board member of M	s. Shaw or one of the workers?
13	MR. DOWLESS:	Which ones are you talking
14	about? I don't know which	are you talking about with Ms.
15	Baldwin?	
16	MR. MALCOLM:	Uh-huh (affirmative).
17	MR. DOWLESS:	Ms. Cynthia.
18	MR. MALCOLM:	Ms. Cynthia?
19	MR. DOWLESS:	Yes.
20	MR. MALCOLM:	Were there other occasions
21	where other folks that wor	k at the Bladen County Board of
22	Elections	
23	MR. DOWLESS:	But now the reason why she
24	called me, because it had	the cc on it.
25	MR. MALCOLM:	Yes, sir.

- 1 MR. DOWLESS: And I told them when I went
- 2 $\,$ in there, I said, "Hey, this is what I'm putting on the
- 3 request form so that if there is a problem, you know who to
- 4 contact without hearsay."
- 5 MR. MALCOLM: The CC that you're referring
- 6 to, do you mean the initials--
- 7 MR. DOWLESS: That's when I told you it was
- 8 Caitie Croom.
- 9 MR. MALCOLM: So would it be correct for me
- 10 to say Ms. Shaw or Ms. Cynthia knew that you were the ones
- 11 putting initials on the absentee request forms?
- MR. DOWLESS: That they knew it?
- MR. MALCOLM: Yes.
- 14 MR. DOWLESS: Yes. I told them I was doing
- 15 that so if there was a problem, we could find--get to the
- 16 problem, what was happening.
- 17 MR. MALCOLM: Before they processed them.
- MR. DOWLESS: Yes.
- 19 CHAIRMAN WHITNEY: Just for clarification, every
- 20 absentee request form that was turned in had somebody's
- 21 initial on it.
- MR. DOWLESS: Yes.
- 23 CHAIRMAN WHITNEY: Okay, Professor.
- 24 MR. JOYNER: Yes. I want to start back
- 25 with your protest itself. My understanding from what I

NINTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT 2018 ELECTION RESULTS

11/06/2018 OFFICIAL GENERAL ELECTION RESULTS - BLADEN COUNTY

Choice	Total Votes	Percent	Election Day	Absentee One-Stop	Absentee By-Mail
Mark Harris	5,413	57.60%	2,519 (59%)	2,471 (56%)	420 (61%)
Dan McCready	3,856	41.03%	1,687 (39%)	1,906 (43%)	258 (38%)
Jeff Scott	129	1.37%	70 (2%)	53 (1%)	6 (1%)
TOTAL	9,398	100%	4,276	4,430	684

11/06/2018 OFFICIAL GENERAL ELECTION RESULTS - ROBESON COUNTY

Choice	Total Votes	Percent	Election Day	Absentee One-Stop	Absentee By-Mail
Dan McCready	17,419	56.40%	8,675 (52%)	8,010 (61%)	403 (59%)
Mark Harris	12,691	41.09%	7,538 (45%)	4,779 (37%)	259 (38%)
Jeff Scott	777	2.52%	442 (3%)	303 (2%)	18 (3%)
TOTAL	30,887	100%	16,655	13,092	680

NINTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT 2018 ELECTION RESULTS

US HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES DISTRICT 09 (VOTE FOR 1)

8 of 8 Counties Completely Reported 210 of 210 Precincts Reporting

Choice	Total Votes	Percent	Election Day	Absentee One-Stop	Absentee By-Mail
Mark Harris	139,246	49.25%	65,008	69,725	4,027
Dan McCready	138,341	48.93%	56,449	74,613	6,471
Jeff Scott	5,130	1.81%	2,978	1,946	153
TOTAL	282,717	100%	124,435	146,284	10,651

Use this form for general report and committee information, n	met be signed and submitted alon	g with other detailed forms.
Do not use this form to update information.		
. Tell Name		c.ID Number
BLADEN COUNTY IMPROVEMENT ASS	CIATION (PAC)	7940011
		d Date Filed
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ELIZABETHTOWN NC 2833	7	910-862-4868
		FOR BURNES
2018 07/01/2018 10/20	12018 MINNI	B. PRICE
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☐ Independent Expenditure ☐ Joint Fundrainer ☐ Thirty-five do	Quarterly	Pro-referendant
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Detailed Summary

Amendment LI Yes

Ise this form to summarize all disclosure recording forms and I. Commuttee Full Manne (and Fund it, inducible)	2 Type of	terret in the second	ID Number
BLADEN COUNTY IMPROVEMENT ASSOC. PAC	THIRD	QUARTER	7940011
Start of Election Cycle: Jaunary 1, 2018		Total fluis Reporting Period	Total fais Klection Cycle
4) Cash on Hand at Start		\$ 1979.34	\$ 1979.34
A) Cash on trant at State			
5) Aggregated Contributions from Individuals	(CRO-1205)	\$	* S
Contributions from Individuals	(CRG-1310)	\$ 1800-00	\$ 1800.00
7) Contributions from Political Party Committees	(CRO-1226)	\$.1000,00	\$ 1000.00
6) Contributions from Other Political Committees	(CRO-1236)		\$.
9) Loan Proceeds	(CRG-1416)	\$	\$
16) Refunds/Reimbursements to the Committee	(CRO-1241)	\$	\$.
11) Other Receipt Sources			
11a) Interest on Bank Accounts	(CRO-1250)	\$	\$
11b) Communicas from Not-For-Profit Organization	(CRO-125E)	S	\$.
ile) Cutside Sources of Income	(CRO-1250)	S	\$
11d) Legal Expense Fund - Other Sparces	(CRO-1278)	\$	\$
He) Exempt Purchase Price Sales	(CRO-1265)	· /	Ş
12) TOTAL RECEIPTS (Add lines 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11a, 11b, 11	c,11d and 11e	\$ 2800.00	\$2800,00
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13) Disbursements	<u> </u>		
13a) Operating Expenditures	(CRO-1310)		\$ 167.03
13b) Contributions to Candidates/Political Committee	≤ (CRO-1370)	\$.	
13c) Coordinated Party Expenditures	(CEO-1316)	\$	Ş
14) Aggregated Non-Media Expenditures	(CRO-1315)) \$	\$
15) Loan Repayments	(CRO-1420	-	s
16) Refunds/Reimbursements from the Committee	(CRO-1320)		\$
17) In-Kind Contributions	(CEG-1510		\$ 167.03
18) TOTAL EXPENDITURES (Add Not 132, 13b, 13c, 14	, 15, 16 and I)	\$ 167.03	\$4612,31
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ADDEFICIATE INFORMATION	CRO-1330	o s	
20) Non-Monetary Gifts Given to Other Committees			
21) Outstanding Loans (mcl. ones from other campaign	(080-161)		
22) Debts and Ohligations owed by the Committee	(CRO-162)	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	
23) Debts and Obligations owed to the Committee	(CRO-172)		
24) Account Transfers Within the Committee			<u> </u>
25) Administrative Support	(GO-171)		\$.
26) Forgiven Loans	(CRO-144)		\$
27) 48-Hour Notice Reports Sum	(CRO-2270 (CRO-3215		\$ -
28) Contributions to be Refunded CRO-1160 NC State	Board of Bection		August 2

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Contributions from Political Party Committees

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Use this form to report contributions from a political party

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Use this form for general report a	and committee information, m	ust be signed and submitted ale	og with other detailed forms.
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NC State Board of Elections

CRO-1000

rental-bayonne, n. z

August 2008

Amendment C Yes Detailed Summary

is this form to surmarize all disclosure reporting forms and Committee Full Name (and Famil Capped and Elec-	to total mon	etary information	THE Number
		7''	7940011
SLADEN COUNTY IMPROVEMENT ASSOC. PAC	JOH WII		
Start of Election Cycle: January 1, 2018	t your	Total this Reporting Period	Total flois Election Cycle
4) Cash on Hand at Sturt	į	\$4612,31	\$4612.31
GETERTS			
5) Aggregated Contributions from Individuals	(CRO-1305)	\$	ş
6) Contributions from Individuals	(CRO-1210)	\$ 2,200.00	\$2,200.00
7) Contributions from Political Party Constitutes	(CRO-1229)	\$.5,000.00	\$5,000.00
8) Contributions from Other Political Committees	[CRO-1230]	\$	S
9) Loan Proceeds	(CRO-1410)	\$.	\$
(i) Refunds/Reimbursements to the Committee	(CRO-1240)	\$	S
1) Other Receipt Sources			
11a) Interest on Bank Accounts	(CRO-1250)	\$	\$
115) Contributions from Not-Fou-Profit Organizations	(CEO-1250)	\$	\$
11c) Outside Sources of Income	(CRO-1250)		\$
11d) Legal Expense Fund - Other Sources	(CRO-1270)	\$	\$
11e) Exempt Purchase Price Sales	(CRO-1265)	\$	\$
12) TOTAL RECEIPTS (Add lines 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 112, 11b, 11c	,11d and 11e)	\$7,200.00	\$ 7,200.00
EXPENDITIONS			
13) Disbursements		= =	
13a) Operating Expenditures	(CRO-1316)	\$7,195.16	\$7,195.16
13b) Contributions to Cambridges/Policial Committee	(CRG-1310)	\$.	\$
13c) Coordinated Party Expanditures	(CEO-1310)	S	¢p.
14) Aggregated Non-Media Expenditures	(CRO-1315)	\$.	\$
15) Loan Repayments	(CR0-1420)	\$	S
16) Refunds/Reimbursements from the Committee	(CRO-1320)	Ş	§ .
17) in-Kind Contributions	(CEO-1510)		\$
	15, 16 and 17	\$7,195,16	\$7,195.16
19) Cash on Hand at End (Add lines 4 and 12 together, then s	derect line 18	13461115	\$ 4,617,15
		3	
20) New-Monetary Gills Given to Office Committees	(CRO-1339)		
II) Outstanding Loans (incl. ones from other campaigns	(020-1489)	-	
22) Debts and Obligations owed by the Committee	(CHO-1619)		
23) Debts and Obligations owed to the Committee	(CRO-1620)		
24) Account Transfers Within the Committee	(CRO-1724)	\$	
25) Administratīve Support	(CRO-1710)	3	Ş
26) Forgiven Loans	(CBO-1440)	\$	\$.
27) 48-Hour Notice Reports Sum	(020-2220)	The state of the s	\$
28) Conscibutions to be Refunded	(CRO-DIS)		15 -
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CRO-1310

NC State Board of Elections

# Disbursements

Pg 9 of 16 Amendment

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# Comparison of Absentee Voting in CD 9 in Bladen and Robeson Counties

	Total Votes in CD 9 Race -	Mail Absentee Votes	% Absentee of All	
	All Methods	in CD 9 Race	CD 9 Votes	
Bladen	9,398	684	7.28%	
Robeson	30,887	680	2.20%	

Based of data from State Board of Elections

PEKGAD-Bayonne, M. J.

# Comparison of Population of State House Districts in Robeson County

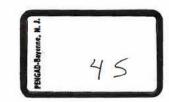
NC House District	<b>Total Pop</b>	% of County	White Pop	White %	Black Pop	Black %	Amer Ind Pop	Amer Ind %
46	51,550	38.42%	22,244	43.15%	11,855	23.00%	11,921	23.13%
47	82,618	61.58%	16,633	20.13%	20,782	25.15%	39,581	47.91%

County

134,168

Based on 2010 Census

Does not account for slight precinct splits



2/19/2019

NC SBE Election Contest Details

All Contests | Federal | Council of State | NC Senate | NC House | Judicial | Referenda | All Local

#### Text Size: A A

#### 11/06/2018 OFFICIAL GENERAL ELECTION RESULTS - ROBESON

#### NC HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES DISTRICT 046 (VOTE FOR 1)

18 of 18 Precincts Reporting

Contest Details	Results by Voting Method	Results by Precinct	
CHOICE	TOTAL	DISTRIC	T
Branden II. Jones	6,685	11.6	
Barbara S. Mates-Lockamy	4,652	46	
Пе	0	James James	
Not Reported	O	/ E for	
Not Participating	0		
		Che & Mary Company	
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	DISTRICT	Z Z	
	DISTRICT 47		
	1.7		
		•	
		Precinct: Select a Precinc ▼	

# Absentee Votes in 3 Contests by Precinct in Robeson Part of House District 46

									Dist Judge		
			CD 9			HD 46	Yates-		16B-2		
Precinct			Precinct	McCready	Harris	Precinct	Lockamy	Jones	Precinct	Burton	Moody
#	Precinct Name	Largest Group	Winner	D	R	Winner	D	R	Winner	D	R
3	Britts	White majority	McCready	2	2	Jones	3	8	Moody	3	8
8	E Howellsville	White majority	Harris	8	10	Jones	8	12	Moody	8	11
9	W Howellsville	White plurality	McCready	5	8	Y-L	5	9	Burton	7	6
10	Lumber Bridge	White plurality	McCready	6	3	Jones	3	6	Burton	6	3
13	Lumberton 3	White plurality	McCready	17	4	Y-L	18	3	Burton	16	5
14	Lumberton 4	White plurality	McCready	6	7	Y-L	6	7	Burton	7	6
20	Orrum	White majority	McCready	2	2	Jones	2	2	Moody	2	2
21	Parkton	White majority	Harris	14	11	Jones	13	12	Moody	13	12
28	Rennert	Indian majority	McCready	8	3	Jones	6	5	Moody	8	3
30	Saddletree	Indian majority	McCready	13	12	Jones	14	11	Moody	14	11
32A	St Paul's	White plurality	McCready	29	65	Jones	26	67	Moody	32	63
33	Shannon	Indian majority	McCready	4	2	Y-L	4	2	Burton	4	2
36	Smyrna	Black plurality	McCready	1	3	Y-L	1	3	Burton	1	3
37	Sterlings	White majority	Harris	6	2	Jones	2	6	Moody	1	6
40	Whitehouse	White plurality	McCready	1	0	Y-L	1	0	Burton	1	0
41	Wisharts	White majority	Harris	10	9	Jones	9	10	Moody	9	10
				132	143		121	163		132	151

Based on data from State Board of Elections





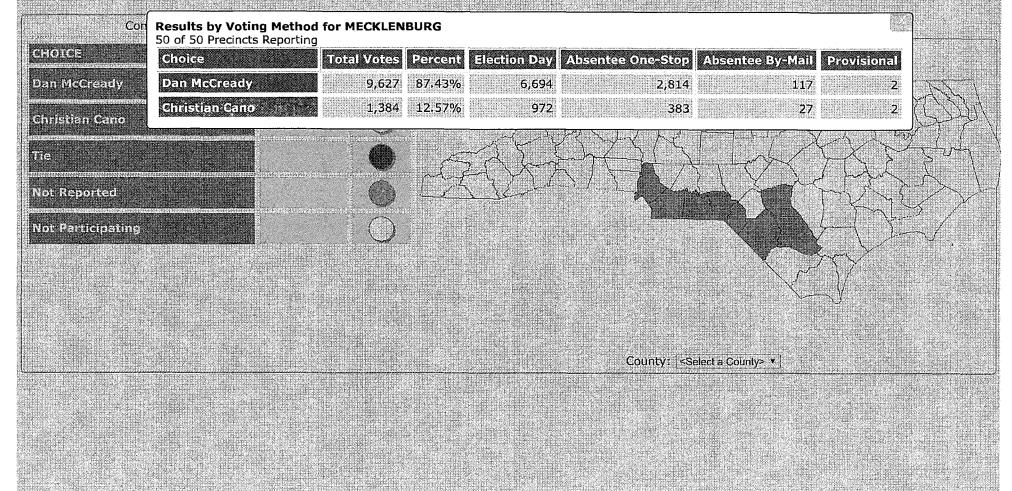
Federal | Council of State | NC Senate | NC House | Judicial | Referenda | Cross-County Local

Text Size: A A

## 05/08/2018 OFFICIAL LOCAL ELECTION RESULTS - STATEWIDE

## US HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES DISTRICT 09 - DEM (VOTE FOR 1)

8 of 8 Counties Completely Reported 210 of 210 Precincts Reporting



47



"Mcrae Dowless"

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#### North Carolina State Board of Elections releases audit of 2016 ...

https://www.bladenjournal.com > News >

Apr 28, 2017 - The statement alludes to allegations — including a formal complaint to the State Board by McRae Dowless — that the Bladen Improvement Political Action ...

#### Election protest by Register is dismissed by Bladen Board of Elections ...

https://www.bladenjournal.com > Top Stories >

Nov 29, 2016 Those two are the one filed shortly after the election by McRae Dowless, who won the Bladen County Soil & Water supervisor position, and the one filed Nov.

#### WataugaWatch: Miracle on North Harrington Street

blog.wataugawatch.net/2016/12/miracle on north harrington street.html ▼

Dec 4, 2016 Leslie McRae Dowless Jr., 60, an incumbent Bladen County Soil and Water Commissioner – one of five District Supervisors — a former Democrat currently ...

#### Hey, there's a hurricane! (Let's poll those people on the election!)

https://dailyhaymaker.com/?p=16220

Oct 15, 2016 GUWonder on NC 09: DEMs put (at least) \$126K on the streets of Robeson County in 2018 for McRae Dowless like ops; Charles Tew on Grey skiesover...

#### More judge stuff .... - The Daily Haymaker

https://dailyhaymaker.com/?p=7798 •

Apr 28, 2014 - GUWonder on NC 09: DEMs put (at least) \$126K on the streets of Robeson County in 2018 for McRae Dowless like ops; Charles Tew on Grey skies over...

#### Page 181 - Daily Haymaker

dailyhaymaker.com/?wordfence logHuman=1&hid...paged=181 🕶

Mar 7, 2016 - GUWonder on NC 09: DEMs put (at least) \$126K on the streets of Robeson County in 2018 for McRae Dowless-like ops; Charles Tew on Grey skies over ...

#### Page 469 - The Daily Haymaker

dailyhaymaker.com/?wordfence_logHuman=1&hid...paged=469 ▼

Mar 20, 2012 GUWonder on NC 09: DEMs put (at least) \$126K on the streets of Robeson County in 2018 for McRae Dowless like ops; Charles Tew on Grey skies over ...

#### Page 406 - The Daily Haymaker

https://dailyhaymaker.com/?wordfence_logHuman=1&hid...paged=406 ▼

Feb 9, 2013 - GUWonder on NC 09: DEMs put (at least) \$126K on the streets of Robeson County in 2018 for McRae Dowless like ops; Charles Tew on Grey skies over ...

#### Rusty Jacobs (@rustyjacobsWUNC) | Twitter

https://twitter.com/rustyjacobswunc?lang=en •

Mar 12, 2017 McRae Dowless and his attorney waiting to hear terms of his testimony in @NCSBE ... mcrae dowless beingg called to stand in @NCSBE hearing on voting ...

#### Images for "Mcrae Dowless"













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"Mcrae Dowless"

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NC Board of Elections decides to dismiss both Bladen County protests https://www.cbs17.com/news/nc-board-of elections-decides-to.../1017064480 Dec 3, 2016 McCrae Dowless won his re-election bid in Bladen County as district supervisor for soil and water conservation.

Democrat 'absentee ballot mill' alleged in Bladen County - Carolina ... https://www.carolinajournal.com/.../democrat-absentee-ballot-mill-alleged-in-bladen-c... Nov 16, 2016 - McCrae Dowless, who won election as supervisor of Bladen County's Soil and Water Conservation District, has filed a complaint with his county board of ...

#### Soil & Water Conservation - Bladen County, NC

https://bladennc.govoffice3.com/?SEC=A7FF5586-45DF-4D12-9CBE... ▼ Aug 24, 2016 - Chairman, Willie Beard. Vice-Chairman, McCrae Dowless. Secretary/Treasurer, Charles Gillespie. Member-at-large, Albert Beatty. Member-at-large, Earl Storms.

#### Bladen Improvement PAC under state investigation | Bladen Journal https://www.bladeniournal.com > Top Stories >

Nov 16, 2016 - The protest, filed by Bladen County Soil and Water Conservation District Supervisor McCrae Dowless and corroborated by a forensic handwriting expert, notes ...

#### [PDF] 1 1 NORTH CAROLINA BEFORE THE 2 COUNTY OF ... - Amazon S3

https://s3.amazonaws.com/dl.ncsbe.gov/State_Board.../Transcript_of_Hearing.pdf Dec 3, 2016 - 10. CHAIRMAN WHITNEY: Okay, Would the attorney or. 11 other representative for Mr. Leslie McCrae Dowless, Jr., 12 please appear, identify yourself, and-.

#### Obituary for James L. 'Levi" Dowless | McKenzie Mortuary

https://www.mckenziemortuary.net/notices/James-Dowless ▼ Apr 22, 2017 - ... Harry T. Dowless (Linda) of Hope Millis, N.C., Dewey Herman Dowless (Linda) of Whiteville, N.C. and L. McCrae Dowless of Bladenboro, N.C., sisters; Myrtice ...

#### Images for "Mccrae Dowless"











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Report images

#### Voter fraud complaints emerge in tight NC gov race | Fox News https://www.foxnews.com/politics/voter-fraud-complaints-emerge-in-tight-nc-gov-race Nov 16, 2016 - The state board of elections confirmed with FoxNews.com that it is investigating the matter and provided a copy of the complaint filed by McCrae Dowless, the ...

#### Politicians Appreciation Day was a success | BladenOnline.com https://bladenonline.com/politicians-appreciation-day-was-a-success/ Mar 7, 2016 - Certificates of appreciation were handed out to McCrae Dowless, Billy Ray Pait, Representative Ken Waddell and Representative William Brisson. Candidates .

#### Fight Over North Carolina Governor's Race - The Intercept

https://theintercept.com/.../gop-fraud-claims-in-north-carolina-governors-race-reflect-... ▼ Nov 23, 2016 - The accusations against Munn's group were initiated not by law enforcement but by a local politician named McCrae Dowless, who hired a handwriting expert to ...

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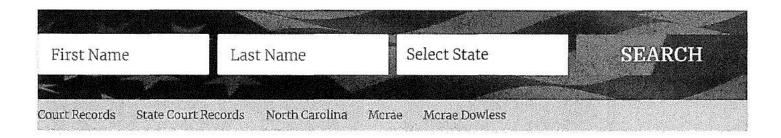
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## Mcrae Dowless Court Records Search in North Carolina

DISCLAIMER: The North Carolina court records information accessible herein is derived from unofficial, publicly available sources, does not constitute the official court records of any case, may not be up to date, complete, or accurate, and should not be relied upon by any person or entity for any purpose. This site is a third-party commercial entity that is neither authorized by nor affiliated with the North Carolina Judiciary or the North Carolina Administrative Office of State Courts in any way. The North Carolina Judiciary and the North Carolina Administrative Office of State Courts have not endorsed, warranted, or otherwise validated any of North Carolina court records information available on this site.

Record ID:	246980990
ID Case	01080BLADEN 1992CF
Number:	001991
Last Name:	DOWLESS
First Name:	MCRAE
City:	BLADENBORO
State:	NO
Charges Filed Date:	18/04/1992
Offense Code:	5599
Offense	FAILING TO PRODUCE
Description:	PROPER TITLE
Disposition Date:	13/07/1992



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Record ID: 286937646 ID Case 01770ROBESON 1996CR 015010 Number: Last Name: **DOWLESS** First Name: **MCRAE** City: **BLADENBORO** NC State: Charges 08/12/1996 Filed Date: Offense 2655 Code: Offense WORTHLESS CHECK CLOSED Description: ACCOUNT 0037977 Disposition 27/03/1997 Date: Source NC **BUY FULL REPORT** 

DISCLAIMER: Court records of Mcrae Dowless are public documents sourced from records made freely available by state and local offices, agencies, or departments, and are for informational purposes only. Because these records are sourced from third parties outside of our control, we cannot and do not guarantee that the information presented is current or accurate. For further information about Mcrae Dowless's legal status, or to confirm or correct this record, contact the relevant state or local office, agency, court, or department. All individuals are considered innocent until proven guilty, and publication of these records does not indicate that Mcrae Dowless has committed or been convinced of a criminal offense. The existence of these records and the information contained within them may not be used to determine Mcrae Dowless's eligibility for credit, employment, housing or other business transactions. If you believe any part of this record is incorrect, please review our Opt-Out/Data Removal Policy to learn how you can correct and/or remove that information.

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2/20/2019

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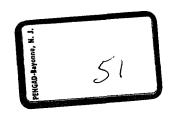
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# Term Sheet VICTORY BONUS

Victory Bonus	
	tory Bonus" by the CLIENT of \$25,000, should Mark Harrisouse, with payment made by April 15 th , 2019.
IN WITNESS WHEREGO authorized agents have agreed	OF, the parties hereto, by their respective and duly do the terms hereof.
QMI:	CLIENT:
Date:	Date: 6/5/19
Signature:	Signature: Mal & Horn
Name:	Name: Mark E. Harris
Title:	Title: Candidate



**Scanned with CamScanner** 



## Counted Robeson Absentee Ballots by Precinct in Burton-Moody Election

5A Fairmont Black majority Moody 13 7 Gaddys Indian plurality Burton 8	7 Total 3 0 8 1 1 2 2 1 4 1 1 1 6 1
2 Back Swamp Indian majority Burton 5 3 Britts White majority Moody 3 4 Burnt Swamp Indian majority Moody 9 1 5A Fairmont Black majority Moody 13 7 Gaddys Indian plurality Burton 8 8 E Howellsville White majority Moody 8 1	0 8 1 1 2 2 1 4 1 1 1
3 Britts White majority Moody 3 4 Burnt Swamp Indian majority Moody 9 1 5A Fairmont Black majority Moody 13 7 Gaddys Indian plurality Burton 8 8 E Howellsville White majority Moody 8 1	8 1 1 2 12 1 4 1 11 1
4 Burnt Swamp Indian majority Moody 9 1 5A Fairmont Black majority Moody 13 7 Gaddys Indian plurality Burton 8 8 E Howellsville White majority Moody 8 1	1 2 2 1 4 1 1 1
5A Fairmont Black majority Moody 7 Gaddys Indian plurality Burton 8 8 E Howellsville White majority Moody 8 1	32 1 4 1 1 1
7 Gaddys Indian plurality Burton 8 8 E Howellsville White majority Moody 8 1	4 1 1 1
8 E Howellsville White majority Moody 8 1	.1 1
9 W Howellsville White plurality Burton 7	6 1
10 Lumber Bridge White plurality Burton 6	3
11 Lumberton 1 White majority Moody 23 2	25 4
11A Lumberton 11A Indian plurality Moody 4	2
12 Lumberton 2 Black plurality Burton (13	5 1
13 Lumberton 3 White plurality Burton 16	(5 ⁾ 2
14 Lumberton 4 White plurality Burton 7	6 1
15 Lumberton 5 Black majority Burton 8	2 1
16 Lumberton 6 Black majority Burton 5	1
17 Lumberton 7 Indian majority Burton 6	0
18A Lumberton 8 White majority Moody 15	LO 2
19 Maxton Black majority Burton (19	ን 2
20 Orrum White majority Moody 2	2
21 Parkton White majority Moody 13	12 2
22 N Pembroke Indian majority Burton 17	5 2
23 S Pembroke Indian majority Moody 17	L2 2
24 Philadelphus Indian majority Burton 3	3
25 Raft Swamp Indian majority Burton 2	4
26A Red Springs Black plurality Burton 60	10 ) 7
28 Rennert Indian majority Moody 8	3 1
29 Rowland Black majority Burton 20	<u> 5</u> ) 2
30 Saddletree Indian majority Moody 14 :	11 2
32A St Paul's White plurality Moody 32 4	63
33 Shannon Indian majority Burton 4	2
34 Oxendine Indian majority Moody 2	3
35 Prospect Indian majority Moody 6	6 1
36 Smyrna Black plurality Burton 1	3
37 Sterlings White majority Moody 1	6
38 Thompson Indian majority Moody 2	2
39 Union Indian majority Burton 1	6
40 Whitehouse White plurality Burton 1	0
	10 1
393 2	80 67

Based on data provided by the State Board of Elections

## Robeson County Precincts - Party Turnout & Burton-Moody Vote

Precinct #	Precinct Name	Burton %	Moody %	Total B/M	Dem Voters	GOP Voters	UA Voters	Precinct #
1	Alfordsville	53.32%	46.68%	422	68.72%	16.52%	14.76%	1
2	Back Swamp	60.42%	39.58%	897	81.30%	6.63%	11.96%	2
3	Britts	29.09%	70.91%	722	62.75%	15.52%	21.59%	3
4	Burnt Swamp	45,99%	54.01%	822	74.65%	8.34%	17.01%	4
5A	Fairmont	(49.89%)	50.11%	1 <b>7</b> 82	78.37%	8.89%	12.64%	5A
7	Gaddys	53.43%	46.57%	350	72.85%	9.97%	17.17%	7
8	East Howellsville	29,72%	70.28%	811	52.85%	18,98%	27.92%	8
9	West Howellsville	51.52%	48.48%	592	61.59%	16.06%	22.02%	9
10	Lumber Bridge	52.23%	47.77%	448	58.15%	22.69%	18.94%	10
11	Lumberton #1	30.58%	69.42%	2335	52.13%	20.41%	27.30%	11.
11A	Lumberton # 11A	42.70%	57.30%	623	62.95%	13,50%	23.39%	11A
12	Lumberton # 2	64.15%	35.85%	809	69.05%	10.32%	20.51%	12
13	Lumberton#3	(51.87%)	48.13%	854	(65.50%)	10.76%	23.51%	13
14	Lumberton # 4	52.61%	47.39%	441	67.04%	11.88%	20.85%	14
15	Lumberton # 5	79.87%	20.13%	462	80.99%	6.26%	12.74%	15
16	Lumberton # 6	93.03%	6.97%	502	88.33%	0.97%	10.70%	16
17	Lumberton #7	61.94%	38.06%	155	77.11%	9.04%	13.86%	17
18A	Lumberton # 8	41.20%	58.80%	903	55.74%	15.48%	28.57%	18A
19	Maxton	(77.65%)	22,35%	1217	(80.45%)	7.84%	11.63%	19
20	Orrum	43.14%	56.86%	547	73.47%	11.01%	15.34%	20
21	Parkton	46.92%	53.08%	942	49.21%	25.45%	24.71%	21
22	North Pembroke	(59.62%)	40.38%	1154	(66.09%)	10.54%	23.12%	22
23	South Pembroke	49.78%	50.22%	1378	71.06%	10.43%	18.45%	23
24	Philadelphus	50.86%	49.14%	407	68.65%	14.42%	16.48%	24
25	Raft Swamp	50.74%	49.26%	609	69.33%	9.86%	20.50%	25
26A	Red Springs	<i>[</i> 72.87% <b>)</b>	27.13%	1,482	(76.21%)	7.73%	16.06%	26A
28	Rennert	41.43%	58.57%	420	59.60%	14.73%	25.45%	28
29	Rowland	67.36%	32.64%	723	80.63%	8.05%	11.05%	<b>2</b> 9
30	Saddletree	45.51%	54.49%	1013	63.41%	9.57%	26.64%	30
32A	St Paul's	46.75%	53.25%	2049	57.13%	21.46%	21.08%	32A
33	Shannon	56,89%	43.11%	225	58.41%	12.39%	29.20%	33
34	Oxendine	45.05%	54.95%	455	63.16%	13.36%	23.08%	34
. 35	Prospect	42.00%	58.00%	888	70.86%	10.88%	18.06%	35
36	Smyrna	54.34%	45.66%	519	72.11%	8.73%	19.17%	36
37	Sterlings	14.85%	85.15%	303	49.35%	18.30%	32.35%	37
. 38	Thompson	40.10%	59.90%	202	63.59%	12.14%	24.27%	38
39	Union	63.50%	36.50%	611	73.36%	11.68%	14.95%	39
40	Whitehouse	50.19%	49.81%	267	68.77%	10.04%	20.82%	
41	Wisharts	28.32%	71.68%	1356	58.31%	12.79%	28.76%	
		50.11%	49.89%	30697	66.63%	12.88%	20.31%	

Majority Dem_ Plurality Dem

Based on data provided by the State Board of Elections



## Anomalous Voting in Bladen County

John Harris <jeharri4@gmail.com>
To: Mark Harris <mark.everette.harris@gmail.com>
Cc: Beth Harris <elizabeth.anne.bates.harris@gmail.com>

Tue, Jun 7, 2016 at 11:04 PM

#### Dad -

I mentioned by text that things looked strange coming out of Bladen County. I've taken another look, and can confirm that the absentee by mail votes look very strange. I've attached a spreadsheet summarizing the numbers. Here's the gist - Johnson got a significantly disproportionate share of an unusually high number of absentee-by-mail votes. Obviously, you are not competing against Johnson anymore, but the irregularity suggests perhaps there is a more systematic error, and given that you outperformed Pfittenger in both early voting and on Election Day in Bladen County, it may be worth investigating.

In one stop voting - here's the breakdown of the votes in Bladen County (according to the SBOE):

<u>Choice</u>	iotal Votes	Tota	al Percent
Toda Johnson		68	57.63%
Mark Harris		43	36.44%
Robert Pittenger		7	5.93%
TOTALS:		118	169.86%

On Election Day, here's the breakdown of the votes in Bladen County (according to the SBOE):

<u>Cinoice</u>	Election Day Votes	<u>Elect</u>	ion Day %
Todd Johnson		226	53.94%
Mark Harris		149	35.56%
Robert Pittenger		44	10.50%
TOTALS:		419	199.00%

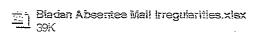
Now, here's the breakdown of absentee by mail votes:

Choice	Absentee By-Mail Mail %	
Todd Johnson	214	98.17%
Mark Harris	Ţ	7.83%
Robert Pittenger	0	0.00%
TOTALS:	213	168.60%

Moreover, there were only 996 absentee-by-mail ballots cast in the entire district (as of election night according to the SBOE). Bladen's 218 accounts for about 22% of them. In contrast, its election day and one-stop voting (537 votes) accounts for only 2% (yes, you read that right) of the election day and one-stop voting cast throughout the district. This smacks of something gone away.

It is also worth mentioning to your lawyers that based on my own analysis of the Bladen absentee-by-mail votes, there were a disproportionately high number of black voters from that county relative to other counties' absentee-by-mail ballots and throughout the early voting period - enough so that it was significantly noticeable.

John E. Harris J.D., 2015 University of North Carolina School of Law Janan 4 6 pms | 55,00 704-619-6577







### **URGENT:** Democrat Voting Fraud Scheme Uncovered

Mark E. Harris <mark.everette.harris@gmail.com>
To: John Harris <ieharri4@gmail.com>

Tue, Nov 15, 2016 at 9:37 PM

Amen! But interestingly enough, the guy who made the claim. Dowess, is the same guy that Johnson paid to run the "absentee ballot program" for him! Guess he didn't like the Dems cutting into his business! Or as Mon said, you can shoot built to a bull shooter!

#### Sent from my iPhone

On Nov 15, 2016, at 7.36 PM, John Haltis kjanatt 4/8 gittarilports wrote.

Preaching to the choir.

Begin forwarded massaga;

From: Russell Feek < 1.0 & pathtorn; com>
Date: November 15, 2018 at 7.16, to PM EST
Torrename Signal com
Subject- (1995)315 Democret Voting Fraud Schome Groovered
Reply-Torring About 2010 1, 2011

The state of the comment to the first often accomment

#### Friend.

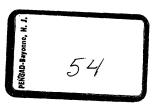
A massive voting fraud scheme has been undervered in Biaden County. Hundreds of absence ballots appear to have been fraudulently east for Roy Cooper and other Democrats. Initial evidence shows that a North Carolina Democrat Party-funded group may have paid people to east fraudulent votes to tip this election to Roy Cooper!

This cannot stand. Whit here to densis to own legal defense fund to fight back against colors.

We are challenging these likely traudulent votes, but need your immediate help! There is evidence to suggest that this may have occurred in other countes as well.

Our team is working around the clock to ensure votes are properly counted. Don't let Roy Cooper and his cronies steal this election with back door shenanigans. Out this true to Perfill Don't is legal to 4.99 full true to Perfill Don't is legal to 4.99 full true to Perfill Don't in the perfill the same that the perfill the same that the perfill the perfilling the perfil perfilling the perfillin

Russell Peck Team McCrcry



Part ich and Krabethteu i v Stra Pat McChary Committee

This massage referre the combine and representations of the Pai McCrory Committee. You are receiving this omeil because you signed up as a member of the Pai McCrory Committee's chine community. Click term to unsubscribe from the Pai McCrory Committee.

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ereeta Halar

#### Election Law

John Harris <jeharri4@gmail.com>
To: Mark Harris <mark.everette.harris@gmail.com>

Fri, Apr 7, 2017 at 8:56 AM

See below. Specific provision is highlighted.

#### § 163-226.3. Certain acts declared felonies.

- (a) Any person who shall, in connection with absentee voting in any election held in this State, do any of the acts or things declared in this section to be unlawful, shall be guilty of a Class I felony. It shall be unlawful:
  - (6) For any person to take into that person's possession for delivery to a voter or for return to a county board of elections the absentee ballot of any voter, provided, however, that this prohibition shall not apply to a voter's near relative or the voter's verifiable legal guardian;

John E. Harris enarri 4.2 gmail earr 704-619-6577

John Harris <eharri4@gmail.com>
To: Beth Harris <elizabeth.anne.bates.harris@gmail.com>

Fri, Apr 7, 2017 at 9:21 AM

[Quoted text hidden]

Mark E. Harris < mark everette harris@gmail.com>
Tot John Harris < eharri4@gmail.com>

Fri, Apr 7, 2017 at 9:22 AM

So you found no problem in handling "request forms?" I am certain they have them malled in then!

Sent from my iPhone (Quoted text hidden)

John Harris <jehani4@gmail.com>
To: "Mark E Harris" <mark.everette.harris@gmail.com>
Co: Beth Harris <elizabeth.anne.bates.harris@gmail.com>

Fri, Apr 7, 2017 at 9:29 AM

This is not legal advice.

I didn't see anything about requests forms, and I don't think there's a problem with calling people and providing them the forms. Best practice would be to have that person mail the request form personally, but I'm not sure it's illegal to collect request forms and mail them at once.

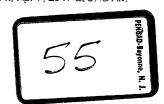
They are on thin ice by sending somebody out to sign and/or witness the ballot, but technically not illegal is no relative or legal guardian can do it.

The key thing that I am fairly certain they do that is illegal is that they collect the completed absentee ballots and mail them all at once. The way they pop up in batches at the board of elections makes me believe that. But if they simply leave the ballot with the voter and say be sure to mail this in, then that's not illegal.

[Quoted text hidden]

Mark E. Harris <mark.everette.harris@gmail.com>
To: John Harris <jeharri4@gmail.com>

Fri, Apr 7, 2017 at 9:43 AM



Morn brought up a good point...maybe they just go with the person to their personal mailbox and put it in, and raise the flag for the mailman to pick up. Since the ballot is already sealed and sign do yet he seal, they don't pick them up, to my understanding, but rather encourage them to mail it that day by putting it in their mailbox and raising the flag.

Sent from my iPhone (Quoted fext hidden)

John Harris cjehani4@gmail.com>

Fri, Apr 7, 2017 at 9:54 AM

Good test is if you're comfortable with the full process he uses being broadcast on the news.

It's a legal gray area as to what taking into possession for delivery to the Board of Elections means. Taking it yourself and popping it in a big PO mailbox is a felony. Walking the person to their mailbox probably isn't. Walking the ballot from someone's front door to their mailbox at their request - tough call.

But if in the last race, it was RP instead of Johnson who had done this, I would have strongly advocated going to the press with the analysis of the numbers (22% of absentee ballots versus 2% of other ballots) as well as investigated some of the voters personally to decide whether to refer the case to the DA. So I think you should be prepared for the same.

[Quoted text hidden]

Mark E. Harris <mark.everette.harris@gmail.com>
To: John Harris <jeharri4@gmail.com>

Cc: Beth Harris <elizabeth.anne.bates.harris@gmail.com>

Thanks so much.

Sent from my iPhone (Quoted text hidden)

Fri, Apr 7, 2017 at 10:09 AM

Mailing Address: P.O. Box 27255, Raleigh, NC 27611

(919) 814-0700 or (866) 522-4723

Fax: (919) 715-0135

#### VIA EMAIL

John Branch for Mark Harris for Congress Committee

#### February 21, 2019

Re:

New production of records previously not produced under the State Board's subpoena to the Mark Harris for Congress Committee dated December 1, 2018 and February 6, 2019.

#### Mr. Branch:

Last night, ahead of the fourth day of testimony in the evidentiary hearing on your case, counsel for the State Board received a new production from the Mark Harris for Congress Committee (the "Committee"). New records were provided days after you had confirmed in writing that you had already produced "all responsive, non-objectionable" documents in response to the State Board's subpoenas."

The Committee's prior representation was "mistaken," according to your email, because your "supplements were responding to the Board's supplemental request and not the entirety of the subpoena." I assume you are referring to the January 15 letter captioned, "Request for clarification regarding productions under the State Board subpoena to Mark Harris for Congress Committee dated December 1, 2018" (enclosed), and to which the Committee responded with documents on February 8.

To be clear, there was no supplemental subpoena. The terms of the State Board's two subpoenas to the Committee, issued December 1, 2018 and then on February 6, 2019 under the new Chair's signature, were identical in scope. Both clearly included all documents related to "Leslie McCrae Dowless, Jr." and "Absentee ballots and absentee ballot request forms" from January 1, 2016 through December 1, 2018 in the possession of the Committee.

Based on your communication from last night, you represent that you only conducted "additional searches of documents, emails, and texts between March 1, 2017 and July 4, 2017 using the terms 'absentee', 'ballot', and different iterations of 'McCrae' and 'Dowless'" yesterday afternoon.

My letter of January 15, did not modify any term of the subpoena. Rather, it informed the Committee of our Agency's view that in effort to shield communications prior to July 2017 the filing of certain statements with the

Federal Elections Commission—was not supported by law. Records of exploratory activity may become records of a committee once formed. Further, the subpoena called for production of records within the Committee's possession, whatever entity may have been the "author" of those records.

The Committee on February 8 specifically stated that "Text messages with variations of "McCrae": all prior to July 3, 2017" was included in its search. And yet we were only provided the following last night, among other documents:

From:

"Mark Harris" <+117046191156> "Marion Warren" <+19105230472>

To: Sent:

08 Mar 2017 17:44:32

Subject: No Subject

Hey Bro Marion....it's Mark Harris....hope you are well! I wanted to circle back with you per our phone conversation last week. On the HB186 front, I have had several really good conversations with several legislators and with some folks lobbying on this issue.. I am still trying to feel my way as to what the conclusion will be, but sense it is really bogged down at the moment.

On the other issue of your gracious offer to meet me in Bladen County and spend a day connecting me to the "key people" that can help me carry that part of the county in a future US House NC-9 race.....I wanted to see if you would be able to spend the day on Friday, March 25 with me down there. You know the political and financial connections better than anyone else I would know, including the guy whose absentee ballot project for Johnson could have put me in the US House this term, had I known, and he had been helping us. Anyway, let me know your thoughts and if that date would work for you. Thanks so much Marion for all your prayers and support as Beth and I come to some major decisions in our journey!

Mark

The timing of your disclosure raises significant and material concerns regarding the Committee's compliance and candor prior to, and now during, the hearing. Minutes ahead of the testimony of Dr. Mark Harris' son—and only after you understood that the State possessed certain documents in his possession—you stated to Agency counsel that the Committee had failed to produce certain correspondence. The explanation at that time for having withheld those documents was that your query of search had been incomplete. The testimony immediately following the Committee's disclosure strongly suggests that explanation was not accurate.

Sincerely,

Josh Lawson General Counsel

Encl: Records of Committee correspondence

### N.C. BIPARTISAN STATE BOARD OF **ELECTIONS & ETHICS ENFORCEMENT**

SUBPOENA (N.C. Gen. Stat. §163A-4)					
In Re: North Carolina General Election of 2018	) To appear in Person ) To produce papers, books, records ) or other evidence				
TO: Mark Harris for Congress Committee c/o Mr. Robert D. Lyerly, Jr., Treasurer					
Name of Person Being Served 227 West Trade Street					
Street address/post office box Charlotte, NC 28202					
City/State/Zip/Telephone					

#### YOU ARE COMMANDED TO:

Appear for testimony in above-entitled hearing at the place, date, and time shown below. X Produce the following items at the place, date and time indicated below:

#### SEE ATTACHMENT FOR ITEMS TO BE PRODUCED AND OTHER INFORMATION

Failure to appear and/or produce the subpoenaed material may lead to up to 30 days imprisonment upon the order of the Chair of the North Carolina Bipartisan State Board of Elections & Ethics Enforcement (N.C. Gen. Stat. § 163A-744).

#### Location of Appearance/Production:

North Carolina Bipartisan State Board of North Carolina Bipartisan State Board of Elections & Ethics Enforcement 430 N. Salisbury Street Raleigh, NC 27603

#### Date and Time to Appear/Produce:

December 7, 2018 at 10:00 a.m. [X] If this box is marked, you may, in lieu of of Elections & Ethics Enforcement. appearing at the date and time above, produce the subpoenaed materials to the person serving this subpoena.

#### Agency Issuing Subpoena:

Elections & Ethics Enforcement P.O. Box 27255 Raleigh, NC 27611 legal@ncsbe.gov (919) 814-0755

Issued on the day of DEC, 2018, by the North Carolina Bipartisan State Board

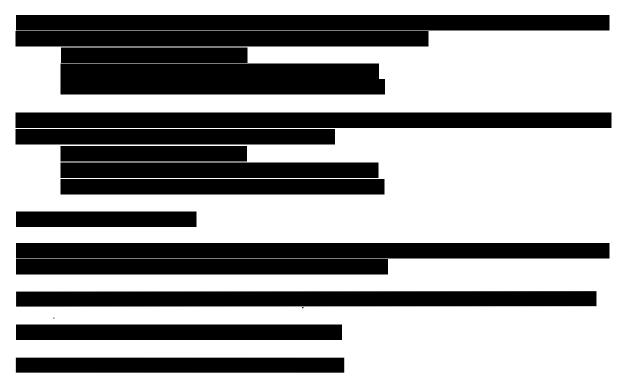
J. Anthony Penry, Chair

# RETURN OF SERVICE

i ceiu	iy that this subpoena was received and served as follows.		
	By delivering a copy of this subpoena to the person named  Date served Time Served		
	By registered or certified mail, return receipt requested on the person named  Date Mailed		
	Subpoenaed party accepted service by other method, as follows:  Counsel for the Committee, Roger Knight, confirmed acceptance by email		
	at 12:37 p.m. on December 3, 2018.		
	This subpoena was NOT served for the following reasons:		
	Signature of Authorized Server		
	(Date received by authorized server		

#### ATTACHMENT TO SUBPOENA MARK HARRIS FOR CONGRESS COMMITTEE

All documents, including documents in electronic form, relating to:



Documents to be produced include, but are not limited to, contracts, agreements, invoices, checks, proposals, reports, letters, emails, text messages, voicemails, and other correspondence. The time period of the records request is January 1, 2016, to the present.

Documents existing only in electronic format may be produced in electronic format. Originals of documents existing in paper format must be produced.

This subpoena is issued pursuant to N.C.G.S. § 163A-4A. The provisions of N.C.G.S. §§ 163A-1391 and 163A-1447 are expressly made inapplicable to this subpoena. Compliance with this subpoena does not confer any kind of immunity on any person or entity. Any documents or other material produced in response to this subpoena may be used in any administrative, civil, or criminal proceeding against the party or parties producing the material, and may be used to find other evidence that can be used in any administrative, civil, or criminal proceeding against the party or parties producing the material.

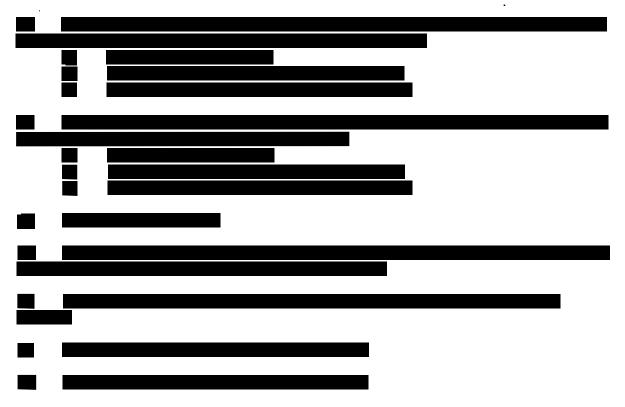
If any person or entity involved in complying with this subpoena intends to invoke any privilege against self-incrimination with respect to the material produced in response to this subpoena, under the Fifth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution or any other provision of law, including with respect to the act of production of such material, such person or entity must notify Chief Investigator Joan Fleming, in writing at <a href="mailto:joan.fleming@ncsbe.gov">joan.fleming@ncsbe.gov</a>, of such invocation of privilege prior to producing material in response to this subpoena. Otherwise, that person or entity shall be deemed to have waived such privilege. If such notice is given, then the persons and entities in possession of any material responsive to this subpoena are directed to preserve all such documents and other material until further notice.

## N.C. STATE BOARD OF ELECTIONS

SUBPOENA (N.C. Gen. Stat. § 163-23)				
In Re: Investigation of election irregularities affecting counties within the 9th Congressional District	) To appear in Person ) To produce papers, books, ) records or other evidence			
TO: Mark Harris for Congress Committee c/o Mr. Robert D. Lyerly, Jr., Treasurer				
Name of Person Being Served 227 West Trade Street				
Street address/post office box Charlotte, NC 28202				
City/State/Zip/Telephone				
Failure to appear and/or produce the sul	E PRODUCED AND OTHER INFORMATION  bpoenaed material may lead to up to 30 days  the North Carolina State Board of Elections (N.C.			
Location of Appearance/Production: North Carolina State Board of Elections 430 N. Salisbury Street Raleigh, NC 27603	Agency Issuing Subpoena: North Carolina State Board of Elections P.O. Box 27255 Raleigh, NC 27611 legal@ncsbe.gov (919) 814-0700			
Date and Time to Appear/Produce: February 12, 2019 at 9:00 a.m. [X] If this box is marked, you may, in lieu of appearing at the date and time above, produce the subpoenaed materials to the person serving this subpoena.	Issued on the 6 th day of February 2019 by the North Carolina State Board of Elections.			
	Robert Cordle, Chair			

#### ATTACHMENT TO SUBPOENA MARK HARRIS FOR CONGRESS COMMITTEE

All documents, including documents in electronic form, relating to:



Documents to be produced include, but are not limited to, contracts, agreements, invoices, checks, proposals, reports, letters, emails, text messages, voicemails, and other correspondence. The time period of the records request is January 1, 2016 through December 1, 2018.

All documents must be produced in unredacted form, unless the committee is claiming a lawful privilege protecting portions of documents. A privilege log is required for any claims of privilege, providing descriptions of the redacted or withheld documents sufficient to demonstrate why each withheld document or redacted portion is privileged. Documents existing only in electronic format may be produced in electronic format. Originals of documents existing in paper format must be produced.

This subpoena is issued pursuant to N.C.G.S. § 163-23. The provisions of N.C.G.S. §§ 163-277 and 163-278.29 are expressly made inapplicable to this subpoena. Compliance with this subpoena does not confer any kind of immunity on any person or entity. Any documents or other material produced in response to this subpoena may be used in any administrative, civil, or criminal proceeding against the party or parties producing the material, and may be used to find other evidence that can be used in any administrative, civil, or criminal proceeding against the party or parties producing the material.

If any person or entity involved in complying with this subpoena intends to invoke any privilege against self-incrimination with respect to the material produced in response to this subpoena, under the Fifth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution or any other provision of law, including with respect to the act of production of such material, such person or entity must notify Chief Investigator Joan Fleming, in writing at <a href="mailto:joan.fleming@ncsbe.gov">joan.fleming@ncsbe.gov</a> of such invocation of privilege prior to producing material in response to this subpoena. Otherwise, that person or entity shall be deemed to have waived such privilege. If such notice

is given, then the persons and entities in possession of any material responsive to this subpoena are directed to preserve all such documents and other material until further notice.

## Tough & Smart * Proven

December 4, 2018
(Via Email Only)
(ioshua.lawson@ncsbe.gov; iohn.bruce@ncsbe.gov)

Joshua Lawson, Esq. General Counsel

John Bruce, Esq. Deputy General Counsel, Investigations

N.C. Bipartisan State Board of Elections and Ethics EnforcementP.O. Box 27255Raleigh, N.C. 27611

Re: In re: North Carolina General Election of 2018
Subpoena to Mark Harris for Congress Committee

Mr. Lawson and Mr. Bruce,

My firm, Shanahan McDougal, PLLC ("SM") has been retained along with Roger W. Knight P.A. to represent the Mark Harris for Congress Committee (the "Committee") regarding the Subpoena dated December 1, 2018, (the "Subpoena") issued by the North Carolina Bipartisan State Board of Elections and Ethics Enforcement (the "State Board") regarding In re: North Carolina General Election of 2018.

The Committee intends to fully comply with the investigation and produce the responsive documents requested; however, we seek clarification from the State Board regarding the scope of the Subpoena so that we are able to get you the most relevant information as quickly as possible. The Subpoena makes vague requests for documents "relating to" various "activities" undertaken by and on behalf of the Committee. These requests provide little guidance on the types of documents the State Board is seeking. Currently, our only understanding of the scope of the investigation is from media reports, and the Subpoena seeks documents well beyond the scope of such reports. Accordingly, the Committee generally objects to the Subpoena on the basis that it is overly broad and does not allow adequate time to respond. A mutual understanding of the scope of the Subpoena, including the types of documents requested, is critical to a prompt production of documents and efficient, timely investigation by the State Board, and we would appreciate the State Board facilitating that process by immediately clarifying the scope of its inquiry.

N.C. Bipartisan State Board of Elections and Ethics Enforcement December 4, 2018 Page 2 of 3

We also have questions regarding the rules and processes that might apply to the Subpoena. Based on the statutory authority invoked by the State Board, it is unclear what the State Board's position is as to which rules apply to this Subpoena. For example, does the Subpoena need to comply with Rule 45 of the North Carolina Rules of Civil Procedure, or is the State Board's authority to compel compliance with the Subpoena under N.C. Gen. Stat. § 163A-4 without any procedural restrictions beyond those the State Board sets itself? Is this a "contested case" to which the North Carolina Administrative Procedure Act would apply? While we would assume that the rules governing subpoenas under the North Carolina Rules of Civil Procedure would apply, we would appreciate the State Board's clarification on which rules to follow in responding to the Subpoena.

Further, the Subpoena requests documents from January 1, 2016 through the present. Please note that the Committee did not exist until it filed its Statement of Organization with the Federal Election Commission on or about July 4, 2017. The Committee will have few, if any, documents to produce for dates prior to its organization.

Since receiving the Subpoena, the Committee has begun the process of analyzing the scope of the Subpoena, identifying custodians of potentially responsive records, and obtaining those records which may be in the Committee's possession, custody, and control for review and eventual production, if appropriate. As you can imagine, this is a lengthy process involving a substantial volume of documents. The Subpoena purports to give the Committee six (6) days to respond, to and including December 7, 2018. Given the broad nature of the Subpoena, the Committee will almost certainly require additional time to produce responsive documents.

To that end, we would appreciate an opportunity to hold a meet and confer call with you tomorrow, December 5, 2018, to discuss the scope of the Subpoena and determine mutually agreeable, reasonable timelines for document production, which may include production on a rolling basis.

As stated earlier, the Committee intends to produce documents responsive to the Subpoena, and to do so in a timely manner such that the State Board can conduct its investigation posthaste. We would appreciate the State Board's clarification and consultation on the points discussed herein to facilitate this process.

Nothing in this correspondence is intended to prejudice any and all rights available to the Committee, which are expressly reserved.

N.C. Bipartisan State Board of Elections and Ethics Enforcement December 4, 2018 Page 3 of 3

Sincerely,

SHANAHAN MCDOUGAL, PLLC

ohn E. Branch, III

JEB/njp

From:

Lawson, Joshua

Sent:

Thursday, December 06, 2018 2:29 PM

To:

Nate Pencook; John Branch

Cc:

Roger Knight; Bruce, John; Love, Katelyn; SBOE_Grp - Legal

Subject:

RE: [External] In re: North Carolina General Election of 2018

Nate,

I am just dropping a note as a courtesy in your search process to indicate that we are aware of the following email addresses for Mr. Harris

Josh Lawson | General Counsel o: 919 814-0755 | f: 919 715-0135



From: Lawson, Joshua

Sent: Wednesday, December 05, 2018 9:02 PM

To: Nate Pencook <NPencook@shanahanmcdougal.com>; John Branch <JBranch@shanahanmcdougal.com> Cc: Roger Knight <roger@rogerknightlaw.com>; Bruce, John <John.Bruce@ncsbe.gov>; Love, Katelyn

ct. Roger Knight Gloger @rogerknightiaw.com>, bruce, John Gorn.bruce@ricsbe.gov.

<Katelyn.Love@ncsbe.gov>; SBOE_Grp Legal < Legal@ncsbe.gov>
Subject: Re: [External] In re: North Carolina General Election of 2018

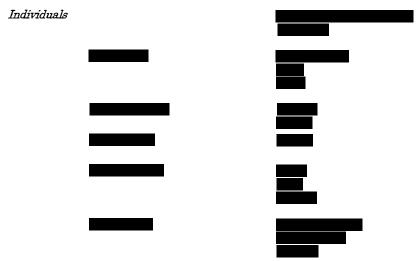
Nate,

Thank you for your email. Your characterization of our conversation earlier this afternoon requires some clarification. We agreed to generate preliminary search terms to aid the production of responsive documents on a priority basis. We emphasized, however, that the initial list of search terms would not, and could not, limit the scope of the subpoena, which was issued by the State Board, not by staff. The preliminary list is non-exclusive and does not relieve you of the duty to produce documents that are otherwise responsive, but which may not incorporate those search terms.

We agreed also that you would provide responsive documents that would include aliases or variations for individuals identified or terms suggested in cases where the Committee is aware of or suspects that such aliases or variations were utilized to describe the individual or subject.

As agreed, find a preliminary set of search terms below:

As to Subpoena Attachment Section (A):





Subject Matter

Suggested term variations (see Note)

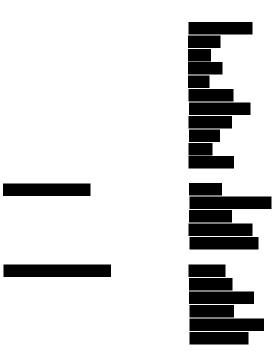




As to Subpoena Attachment Section (B):

Individuals	Suggested term variations (see Note)
	£
Subject Matter	Suggested term variations (see Note)
	(see above)





As to Subpoena Attachment Section (C):

Subject Matter Suggested term variations (see Note)

As to Subpoena Attachment Section (D):

As to Subpoena Attachment Section (E):

Subject Matter

Suggested term variations (see Note)



# Suggested term variations (see Note)



*NOTE: Listed individuals are <u>in addition to</u> any alias(es) known to the Committee or agents, as discussed on our call on the afternoon of December 5. Suggested term variations are <u>in addition</u> to any and all other terms known to the Committee to describe the subject matter, as outlined in the correspondence above.

From: Nate Pencook <a href="mailto:NPencook@shanahanmcdougal.com">NPencook@shanahanmcdougal.com</a>

Sent: Wednesday, December 5, 2018 2:49 PM

To: Lawson, Joshua; John Branch

Cc: Roger Knight; Bruce, John; Love, Katelyn; SBOE_Grp - Legal Subject: RE: [External] In re: North Carolina General Election of 2018

CAUTION External email. Do not click links or open attachments unless verified. Send all suspicious email as an attachment to lighter spain.

Josh,

Thank you for taking the time today to speak with us. The purpose of the call was twofold: (1) following up on our correspondence in which we indicated that we had various concerns regarding the scope of the Subpoena, we sought clarification and tailoring of the requests, and (2) discussing the timing of our response. To summarize, we mutually suggested proposing search queries to aid in clarifying the scope of the Subpoena and facilitate the timely and efficient production of those responsive documents. You agreed to give us a list of those queries to search through potential sources of responsive documents in our possession, custody, or control, which you told us you would do today. We agreed to produce responsive documents, if any, on a rolling basis. We look forward to receiving your list of search terms today, and will begin running the queries on the sources of responsive documents we locate as soon as possible.

Thanks,

Nate Pencook | Associate



Raleigh, NC 27601

Phone: (919) 856-9494

Email: npencook@shanahanmcdougal.com

Please see the IRS Circular 230 Notice and the Confidentiality Notice below before reading this

email.

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From: Lawson, Joshua [mailto:joshua.lawson@ncsbe.gov]

Sent: Wednesday, December 05, 2018 11:28 AM

To: Nate Pencook <NPencook@shanahanmcdougal.com>; John Branch <JBranch@shanahanmcdougal.com>

Cc: Roger Knight <roger@rogerknightlaw.com>; Bruce, John <a href="mailto:slope-gov>">John.Bruce@ncsbe.gov>">Johe, Katelyn</a>

<a href="mailto:</a><a href="mailto:Katelyn.Love@ncsbe.gov">csbe.gov</a>; SBOE_Grp - Legal <a href="mailto:Legal@ncsbe.gov">Legal@ncsbe.gov</a>>

Subject: RE: [External] In re: North Carolina General Election of 2018

Nate,

We are good for 2 p.m., if that works for you. Please notify us as soon as possible if things change.

Josh Lawson General Counsel o: 919-814 0755 fr: 919-715-0135



P.S. My prior correspondence contained a typo: October 4, rather than December 4. It is corrected in the below chain.

From: Nate Pencook [mailto:NPencook@shanahanmcdougal.com]

Sent: Wednesday, December 05, 2018 11:18 AM

To: Lawson, Joshua <<u>joshua.lawson@ncsbe.gov></u>; John Branch <<u>JBranch@shanahanmcdougal.com></u>
Cc: Roger Knight <roger@rogerknightlaw.com>; Bruce, John <John.Bruce@ncsbe.gov>; Love, Katelyn

<Katelyn.Love@ncsbe.gov>; SBOE_Grp - Legal <Legal@ncsbe.gov>
Subject: RE: [External] In re: North Carolina General Election of 2018

t Auri on External email. Do not click links or open attachments unless verified. Send all suspicious email as an attachment to report Spans.

Josh,

Thank you for your prompt response to our letter. We can discuss all of the issues raised in your email on today's call. We would tentatively suggest 2:00 p.m. as the time for the conference call, although we would appreciate your flexibility in the event that we need to push to a later time.

The conference call dial-in information is as follows:

Phone number: (781) 448-4024

Code:

Please let us know if 2pm works for you. We look forward to speaking soon.

Thanks,

Nate Pencook | Associate



128 E. Hargett Street | Third Floor Raleigh, NC 27601

Phone: (919) 856-9494

Email: npencook@shanahanmcdougal.com

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From: Lawson, Joshua [mailto:joshua.lawson@ncsbe.gov]

Sent: Wednesday, December 05, 2018 10:13 AM

To: John Branch <a href="mailto:SPranch@shanahanmcdougal.com">JBranch@shanahanmcdougal.com</a>

Cc: Roger Knight <a href="mailto:knight]</a> Snee Pencook <a href="mailto:knig

<Legal@ncsbe.gov>

Subject: RE: [External] In re: North Carolina General Election of 2018

Good morning, John.

Thank you for your letter of yesterday evening, December 4. We would welcome a meeting or telephone conference today to discuss your concerns regarding compliance with the subpoena.

With regard to your question about procedural rules, our view is that this subpoena, issued pursuant to G.S. § 163A-4(a), is not governed by the N.C. Rules of Civil Procedure or the Administrative Procedures Act (the "APA").

Rule 1 of N.C. Rules of Civil Procedure limits the scope of those rules to superior court, district court, and the industrial commission.

As to the APA, G.S. 150B-38(a) applies those procedural rules to the Bipartisan State Board of Elections and Ethics Enforcement only "in the administration of any investigation or audit under the provisions of Article 23 of Chapter 163A" (campaign finance). The proceeding giving rise to this subpoena deals with the administration of Article 20 (Conduct of Primaries and Elections), Article 21 (Absentee Voting) and Article 22 (Regulation of Election Campaigns—Corrupt Practices and Other Offenses Against the Elective Franchise), and not with Article 23.

Having said that, if you have specific concerns about the subpoena that you would raise if the subpoena was governed by the civil rules or the APA, we would be happy to discuss those and to try to address them as a matter of courtesy, subject to your understanding that the subpoenas arise form a separate statutory framework.

Your letter contains a general reservation of rights to contest issues regarding the subpoena. Please advise us immediately if this is intended to include any challenge to the method of service or any other particularize aspect of the subpoena. Based on Roger Knight's email correspondence with us, we understand that the Harris Committee has accepted service of the subpoena and will not contest that issue. If that is not the case, please advise us immediately so that we can effect personal service.

Please ensure your response to this and any other correspondence includes legal@ncsbe.gov.

Sincerely,

Josh Lawson | General Counsel o: 919 814 0755 | f: 919 715 0135



From: Nate Pencook [mailto:NPencook@shanahanmcdougal.com]

Sent: Tuesday, December 04, 2018 5:20 PM

To: Lawson, Joshua <joshua.lawson@ncsbe.gov>; Bruce, John <John.Bruce@ncsbe.gov>

Cc: John Branch Spranch@shanahanmcdougal.com; Roger Knight <rerequest</pre>rogerknightlaw.com

Subject: [External] In re: North Carolina General Election of 2018

Josh and John,

Please see the attached correspondence from John Branch related to the Subpoena served on Mark Harris for Congress Committee.

Thanks,

Nate Pencook | Associate



128 E. Hargett Street | Third Floor Raleigh, NC 27601

Phone: (919) 856-9494

Email: npencook@shanahanmcdougal.com

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Mailing Address: P.O. Box 27255, Raleigh, NC 27611

(919) 814-0700 or (866) 522-4723

Fax: (919) 715-0135

#### VIA EMAIL

John Branch for Mark Harris for Congress Committee

January 15, 2019

Re: Request for clarification regarding productions under the State Board subpoena to Mark Harris for Congress Committee dated December 1, 2018 (the "Subpoena").

Dear John:

Thank you for your team's effort to compile, review, and produce records responsive to the above-referenced Subpoena. On various occasions, you communicated that production under the Subpoena included only records after July 4, 2017. The reason, as I understand it, was that the Mark Harris for Congress Committee (the "Committee") did not file its Statement of Organization until that time. I write seeking further clarification regarding that position.

As you know, certain obligations attach prior to a committee's registration with the Federal Elections Commission, including responsibilities affecting records-keeping. Our agency has obtained documents suggesting expenditures were made prior to the Committee's filing in July 2017, and documents indicate certain contractual terms had been established prior to the Statement of Organization. It is our belief, certainly, that there has been no effort to make expenditures contrary to applicable requirements, and it would seem such permissible expenditures—made either while "testing the waters" or early in the campaign—created obligations that transferred to the entity lawfully permitted to bind the future campaign: the Committee.

When records are within the possession of the Committee, even if those records predate the Committee's initial filings, it is unclear on what basis those records should be withheld. I appreciate your review of the above and any further light you may shed on the Committee's position.

Sincerely

Josh Lawson General Counsel

¹ See e.g. 11 C.F.R. §§ 101.3 and 100.131.

² See 11 C.F.R § 100.112.

From:

Lawson, Joshua

Sent:

Tuesday, January 15, 2019 5:33 PM

To:

'John Branch'

Cc:

'Steven B. Long'; 'roger@rogerknightlaw.com'; 'Alex C. Dale'; 'Nate Pencook'; 'Andrew Brown'; Love,

Katelyn

Subject:

RE: [External] Harris Committee - Production of Emails

Attachments:

Correspondence_2019-1-15_Committee.pdf

John,

Attached, please find a follow-up question regarding Committee records production. Thanks in advance for your review.

Sincerely,

Josh Lawson General Counsel o: 919-814 0755 | f: 919-715-0135



From: Lawson, Joshua

Sent: Thursday, January 10, 2019 11:39 AM

To: 'John Branch' < JBranch@shanahanmcdougal.com>

Cc: Steven B. Long <SBLong@wardandsmith.com>; roger@rogerknightlaw.com; Alex C. Dale

<ACD@wardandsmith.com>; Nate Pencook <NPencook@shanahanmcdougal.com>; Andrew Brown

<a>ABrown@shanahanmcdougal.com>; Love, Katelyn <Katelyn.Love@ncsbe.gov> Subject: RE: [External] Harris Committee Production of Emails</a>

Thank you for your confirmation, John.

Best,

Josh Lawson | General Counsel o: 919 814 0755 | f: 919-715 0135



From: John Branch [mailto:JBranch@shanahanmcdougal.com]

Sent: Thursday, January 10, 2019 10:41 AM

To: Lawson, Joshua <joshua.lawson@ncsbe.gov>

Cc: Steven B. Long <SBLong@wardandsmith.com>; roger@rogerknightlaw.com; Alex C. Dale

<ACD@wardandsmith.com>; Nate Pencook <npencook@shanahanmcdougal.com>; Andrew Brown

<a href="mailto:specification-color: blue;">ABrown@shanahanmcdougal.com>;</a>; Love, Katelyn <a href="mailto:specification-color: blue;">Katelyn.Love@ncsbe.gov></a>

Subject: RE: [External] Harris Committee Production of Emails

િલ્લા ાં ભારત External email. Do not click links or open attachments unless you verified: Send all suspicious email as an attachment to report spam@nc.gov

Thanks Josh. Per our email, we've run the queries and believe that we have complied with the subpoena. Thus, we don't anticipate another production.

Best regards,

John

John E. Branch III | Partner



128 E. Hargett Street | Third Floor Raleigh, NC 27601

Phone: (919) 856-9494

Email: jbranch@shanahanmcdougal.com

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From: Lawson, Joshua [mailto:ioshua.lawson@ncsbe.gov]

Sent: Thursday, January 10, 2019 9:04 AM

To: John Branch

Cc: Steven B. Long; roger@rogerknightlaw.com; Alex C. Dale; Nate Pencook; Andrew Brown; Love, Katelyn Subject: RE: [External] Harris Committee - Production of Emails

Good morning, John.

We appreciate your team's efforts this week. I am seeking to confirm whether Tuesday's production did in fact contain the balance of responsive text messages, based on the Committee's review. (Your email indicated this may be the case).

Additionally, are you able to confirm whether the Committee anticipates any further productions under the subpoena, or do the three productions conclude things?

Thank you in advance for your review.

Sincerely,

Josh Lawson | General Counsel o: 919-814-0755 | f: 919-715-0135



From: John Branch [mailto:JBranch@shanahanmcdougal.com]

Sent: Tuesday, January 08, 2019 5:00 PM

To: Lawson, Joshua <ioshua.lawson@ncsbe.gov>

Cc: Steven B. Long <SBLong@wardandsmith.com>; roger@rogerknightlaw.com; Alex C. Dale <ACD@wardandsmith.com>; Nate Pencook <NPencook@shanahanmcdougal.com>; Andrew Brown

<a href="mailto:</a> <a href="mailto:ABrown@shanahanmcdougal.com">ABrown@shanahanmcdougal.com</a>; Love, Katelyn <a href="mailto:Katelyn.Love@ncsbe.gov">Katelyn.Love@ncsbe.gov</a>

Subject: RE: [External] Harris Committee Production of Emails

ic witter. External email. Do not click links or open attachments unless you verified. Send all suspicious email as an attachment to report spam@nc.gov.

Thanks Josh. Similar to our production on Sunday, please find below information that will allow you to download approximately 3,850 documents. These should be the balance of text messages in the Committee's possession, custody, or control which are responsive to the Subpoena. Per our earlier conversations, since the Committee was not formed until July 4, 2017, the dates of the documents we are producing are from July 4, 2017 until December 1, 2018 (the date of the Subpoena).

File link:

Password:

Please note that we have no redacted any information from these documents.

Let me know if you have any questions.

Best regards,

John Branch

#### John E. Branch III | Partner



128 E. Hargett Street | Third Floor Raleigh, NC 27601

Phone: (919) 856-9494

Email: <u>ibranch@shanahanmcdougal.com</u>

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From: Lawson, Joshua [mailto:ioshua.lawson@ncsbe.gov]

Sent: Tuesday, January 08, 2019 9:57 AM

To: John Branch

Cc: Steven B. Long; roger@rogerknightlaw.com; Alex C. Dale; Nate Pencook; Andrew Brown; Love, Katelyn

Subject: RE: [External] Harris Committee Production of Emails

John,

This email confirms our phone discussion yesterday evening: Staff understands text productions may include sensitive telephone numbers, and staff does not intent to release same publicly. Assurances are, of course, subject to the clarifications listed in my email yesterday (below), given the absence of seated board members.

We appreciate your ongoing efforts to produce responsive records for review by our investigators.

Sincerely,

Josh Lawson | General Counsel o: 919 814 0755 | f: 919-715-0135



From: Lawson, Joshua

Sent: Monday, January 07, 2019 11:08 AM

To: 'John Branch' < JBranch@shanahanmcdougal.com>

Cc: Steven B. Long <a href="mailto:SBLong@wardandsmith.com">SBLong@wardandsmith.com</a>; roger@rogerknightlaw.com; Alex C. Dale <a href="mailto:ACD@wardandsmith.com">ACD@wardandsmith.com</a>; Nate Pencook <a href="mailto:NPencook@shanahanmcdougal.com">NPencook@shanahanmcdougal.com</a>; Andrew Brown <a href="mailto:ABrown@shanahanmcdougal.com">ABrown@shanahanmcdougal.com</a>; Katelyn R. Love (Katelyn.Love@ncsbe.gov) <a href="mailto:Katelyn.Love@ncsbe.gov">Katelyn.Love@ncsbe.gov</a>) <a href="mailto:Katelyn.Love@ncsbe.gov">Complete:Katelyn.Love@ncsbe.gov</a>) <a href="mailto:Katelyn.Love@ncsbe.gov">Katelyn.Love@ncsbe.gov</a>) <a href="mailto:Katelyn.Love

Subject: RE: [External] Harris Committee Production of Emails

John,

This email confirms receipt of your email of yesterday evening (Jan. 6). Thank you for describing your collection and review efforts associated with the subpoena. Agency staff believes it necessary to clarify the characterization in your email regarding attempts to constrain this agency's use of responsive documents.

The agency has not accessed the linked files but will do so at 1 p.m. today.

It is not necessarily true that the "documents are not subject to disclosure under the Public Records Act, or for any other reason, unless staff or the Board seeks to utilize them at the hearing of this matter." For some time, this agency has relied on a 2013 memorandum from counsel at the Attorney General's Office permitting our withholding of records under the so-called "criminal investigation" exception of the Public Records Act. The exception is permissive—allowing but not requiring the agency to withhold documents—not compulsory. As to "any other reason" for disclosure of documents, an

array of scenarios could trigger the agency's release, including efforts to comply with a subpoena, court order, or the request of Congress, for example. The agency will evaluate scenarios as they may arise, but it is not authorized to guarantee a Board hearing is the exclusive venue for possible release.

Director Strach noted Thursday (Jan. 3) that staff is unable to bind a Board regarding use of the documents. While constituted, the Board chair directed disclosure under processes distinct from ordinary practice. See, e.g., Letter to Strach, Dec. 3, 2018. A Board could announce procedures to govern the disposition of objections. See Order of Proceedings at ¶5 ("written objections shall be deemed under the State Board's advisement once filed, and any objection not specifically sustained shall be deemed denied"). Staff cannot, therefore, guarantee that the Board will not disclose documents, nor can staff guarantee that a future chair or members will call a meeting. As indicated by Director Strach, staff will make the Board aware of any particular objections to documents.

Thank you for maintaining open channels of communication on this and other issues.

Josh Lawson | General Counsel o: 919-814 0755 | f: 919-715-0135



From: John Branch [mailto:JBranch@shanahanmcdougal.com]

Sent: Sunday, January 06, 2019 10:04 PM

To: Lawson, Joshua < joshua.lawson@ncsbe.gov>

Cc: Steven B. Long <SBLong@wardandsmith.com>; roger@rogerknightlaw.com; Alex C. Dale

<a href="mailto:</a> <a href="mailto:ACD@wardandsmith.com">Andrew Brown</a> <a href="mailto:ACD@wardandsmith.com">Andrew

<a href="mailto:</a></a><a href="mailto:ABrown@shanahanmcdougal.com">ABrown@shanahanmcdougal.com</a>

Subject: [External] Harris Committee - Production of Emails

(EALINONE External email: Do not click links or open attachments unless you verified: Send all suspicious email as an attachment to report spannion; gov

Josh,

This follows up on our previous letter dated December 4, 2018 and our numerous discussions regarding the December 1, 2018 Subpoena (the "Subpoena") issued by the N.C. Bipartisan State Board of Elections and Ethics Enforcement (the "Board") to the Mark Harris for Congress Committee (the "Committee"). As stated in our December 4, 2018 letter, the Committee intends to comply with the investigation and to produce responsive documents as timely as possible. To that end, the Committee engaged in the following efforts to identify and produce responsive, non-privileged documents:

Upon receipt of the Subpoena, we used a third-party eDiscovery firm to image

Given the date range identified in the Subpoena, our initial dataset was in excess of 130,000 documents.

On December 5, 2018, after discussions between your office and mine about concerns we had with regard to the scope of the Subpoena, you provided a list of more than a hundred search terms (the "Queries") your office suggested that we run against the documents. We sought to do so in house, but ultimately due to the time constraints the Board sought to impose on us we utilized the third-party eDiscovery firm to run the Queries against the documents and do an initial review of the hits for, e.g., responsiveness and privilege. We thereafter conducted quality control on the responsive documents and prepared this batch for production.

Accordingly, please find below information that will allow you to download approximately 1,837 documents. These should be the balance of emails in Committee's possession, custody, or control which are responsive to the Subpoena. Per our earlier conversations, since the Committee was not formed until July 4, 2017, the dates of the documents we are producing are from July 4, 2017 until December 1, 2018 (the date of the Subpoena).

These documents are confidential and are being produced solely in connection with the Board's investigation of purported 2018 election irregularities, which we understand has a criminal aspect to it. These documents are responsive to the Subpoena, and we are producing them without waiving our right to contest, e.g., the validity Subpoena itself, its scope, and the time constraints which the Board sought to impose on the Committee. As such, it is our understanding that these documents are not subject to disclosure under the Public Records Act, or for any other reason, unless staff or the Board seeks to utilize them at the hearing of this matter. Per the conversation between David Freedman and Kim Strach last week, it is our understanding that, prior to the Board or staff seeking to publicly disclose any of the documents we have produced, are producing, or will produce pursuant to the investigation, the Committee

will be given notice and an opportunity to be heard on any objections to the disclosure of the documents since, once documents are made public, it is not something that can be undone.

The information for the document production is below. Let me know if you have any questions.

Please click on the following link to download the attachments:

Password:

Best regards,

John Branch

#### John E. Branch III | Partner



128 E. Hargett Street | Third Floor Raleigh, NC 27601

Phone: (919) 856 9494

Email: jbranch@shanahanmcdougal.com

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From:

John Branch < JBranch@shanahanmcdougal.com >

Sent: To: Sunday, February 17, 2019 2:07 PM Wakely, Lindsey; Nate Pencook

Cc:

Love, Katelyn; Lawson, Joshua; Andrew Brown; Alex C. Dale; Steven B. Long; David Freedman; Dudley

Witt

Subject:

RE: [External] Harris Committee - Supplemental Production

SAUTION: External email. Do not click links or open attachments unless you verify. Send all suspicious email as an attachment to report spamment gov.

Lindsey,

Yes, given obviously that the same qualifications accompanying our earlier productions and representations apply here. Thus, this will confirm that we produced all responsive, non-objectionable (per the attorney client privilege, the attorney work product doctrine, or the spousal privilege) documents related to

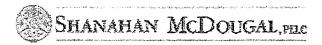
which we found using the agreed to methods of searching for the documents (i.e. the State Board's queries) and the quality control efforts we undertook to make sure, to the best extent we reasonably could, that all responsive documents were found.

Let me know if you have any other questions.

Thanks,

John

#### John E. Branch III | Partner



128 E. Hargett Street | Third Floor Raleigh, NC 27601

Phone: (919) 856-9494

Email: jbranch@shanahanmcdougal.com

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From: Wakely, Lindsey <Lindsey.Wakely@ncsbe.gov>

Sent: Sunday, February 17, 2019 11:57 AM

To: Nate Pencook <NPencook@shanahanmcdougal.com>; John Branch <JBranch@shanahanmcdougal.com>
Cc: Love, Katelyn <Katelyn.Love@ncsbe.gov>; Lawson, Joshua <joshua.lawson@ncsbe.gov>; Andrew Brown
<ABrown@shanahanmcdougal.com>; Alex C. Dale <ACD@wardandsmith.com>; Steven B. Long
<SBLong@wardandsmith.com>; David Freedman <david@cfpwlaw.com>; Dudley Witt <dudley@cfpwlaw.com>
Subject: RE: [External] Harris Committee - Supplemental Production

Good afternoon,

Your last production

Can you please

confirm by 5 p.m. today that the Committee has provided any documents related to

Sincerely,

From: Nate Pencook [mailto:NPencook@shanahanmcdougal.com]

Sent: Friday, February 8, 2019 3:02 PM

To: Lawson, Joshua < ioshua.lawson@ncsbe.gov>

Cc: Love, Katelyn <a href="mailto:Katelyn.Love@ncsbe.gov">Kately, Lindsey <a href="mailto:Lindsey.Wakely@ncsbe.gov">Lindsey.Wakely@ncsbe.gov</a>; John Branch <a href="mailto:JBranch@shanahanmcdougal.com">JBranch@shanahanmcdougal.com</a>; Andrew Brown <a href="mailto:ABrown@shanahanmcdougal.com">ABrown@shanahanmcdougal.com</a>; Alex C. Dale

<a href="mailto:scale-red"><a href="mailto:scale-red"><a href="mailto:scale-red"><a href="mailto:scale-red"><a href="mailto:scale-red">scale-red<a href="mailto:scale-red<a href="mailto:scale-red">scale-red<a href="mailto:scale-red<a href="mailto:scale-red<a href="mailto:scale-red<a

Dudley Witt <a href="mailto:com/dudley@cfpwlaw.com/">dudley@cfpwlaw.com/</a>

Subject: [External] Harris Committee Supplemental Production

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Josh,

This email is in response to your previous request for records	
	In looking back at records prior to
the Harris Committee's formation on July 4, 2017, we	
<del></del>	

We also reviewed text messages exchanged between the following individuals during the following timeframes:



The production link below includes the documents responsive to your request for supplementation that we found pursuant to the foregoing searches.

The password for is is

This production is subject to, and without waiving, all prior objections raised to the subpoenas.

Please let us know if you have any trouble accessing these documents or if you have any questions.

Thanks,

Nate Pencook | Associate



128 E. Hargett Street | Third Floor Raleigh, NC 27601

Phone: (919) 856 9494

Email: npencook@shanahanmcdougal.com

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From:

John Branch <JBranch@shanahanmcdougal.com>

Sent:

Wednesday, February 20, 2019 8:15 PM

To:

Wakely, Lindsey; Nate Pencook

Cc:

Love, Katelyn; Lawson, Joshua; Andrew Brown; 'Alex C. Dale'; 'Steven B. Long'; 'David Freedman';

'Dudley Witt'

Subject: Attachments: RE: [External] Harris Committee - Supplemental Production

MCH0000002486.0001.pdf; MCH0000002486.0002.pdf; MCH0000002486.0003.pdf;

MCH0000002486.0004.pdf; MCH0000002486.pdf; MCH0000002487.0001.pdf; MCH0000002487.pdf; MCH0000002614.0001.pdf; MCH0000002614.0002.pdf; MCH0000002614.pdf; MCH0000002733.pdf; MCH0000012196.pdf; MHCP MH-MW texts March 1, 2017 - July 3, 2017.pdf; MHCP35850-35852.pdf

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Lindsey and Josh,

This will confirm our conversation earlier today in which I disclosed that I realized today that a representation made in my below email on Sunday afternoon was mistaken in that our supplements were responding to the Board's supplemental requests and not the entirety of the subpoena. Specifically, the supplemental production and searches, made after our January 8, 2018 production, primarily concerned raised by Josh in his January 25, 2018 email. This afternoon we conducted additional searches of documents, emails, and texts between March 1, 2017 and July 4, 2017 using the terms and reviewed all the hits for responsiveness and privilege. Attached are the responsive, nonprivileged documents we found running those queries today. I believe that these, along with the email David Freedman, Dr. Harris' individual attorney, hand delivered to you prior to John Harris's testimony, are the responsive, nonprivileged documents we found from March 1, 2017 to July 4, 2017 utilizing those queries which have not already been produced. These are produced subject to the same objections raised with respect to the previous productions.

Thank you,

John Branch

#### John E. Branch III | Partner



128 E. Hargett Street | Third Floor Raleigh, NC 27601

Phone: (919) 856 9494

Email: jbranch@shanahanmcdougal.com

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From: John Branch

Sent: Sunday, February 17, 2019 2:07 PM

To: Wakely, Lindsey <Lindsey.Wakely@ncsbe.gov>; Nate Pencook <NPencook@shanahanmcdougal.com>
Cc: Love, Katelyn <Katelyn.Love@ncsbe.gov>; Lawson, Joshua <joshua.lawson@ncsbe.gov>; Andrew Brown
<ABrown@shanahanmcdougal.com>; Alex C. Dale <ACD@wardandsmith.com>; Steven B. Long

<SBLong@wardandsmith.com>; David Freedman <david@cfpwlaw.com>; Dudley Witt <dudley@cfpwlaw.com> Subject: RE: [External] Harris Committee - Supplemental Production

Lindsey,

Yes, given obviously that the same qualifications accompanying our earlier productions and representations apply here. Thus, this will confirm that we produced all responsive, non objectionable (per the attorney-client privilege, the attorney work product doctrine, or the spousal privilege) documents related to

which we found using the agreed-to methods of searching for the documents (i.e. the State Board's queries) and the quality control efforts we undertook to make sure, to the best extent we reasonably could, that all responsive documents were found.

Let me know if you have any other questions.

Thanks,

John

#### John E. Branch III | Partner



128 E. Hargett Street | Third Floor Raleigh, NC 27601

Phone: (919) 856-9494

Email: jbranch@shanahanmcdougal.com

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From: Wakely, Lindsey <Lindsev.Wakely@ncsbe.gov>

Sent: Sunday, February 17, 2019 11:57 AM

To: Nate Pencook <a href="mailto:NPencook@shanahanmcdougal.com">Nate Pencook <a href="mailto:NPencook@shanahanmcdougal.com">Nate Pencook <a href="mailto:NPencook@shanahanmcdougal.com">Nate Pencook@shanahanmcdougal.com</a>; Lawson, Joshua <a href="mailto:sjoshua.lawson@ncsbe.gov">Nate Pencook@shanahanmcdougal.com</a>; Lawson, Joshua <a href="mailto:sjoshua.lawson@ncsbe.gov">Nate Pencook@shanahanmcdougal.com</a>; Alex C. Dale <a href="mailto:shanahanmcdougal.com">Nate Pencook@shanahanmcdougal.com</a>; David Freedman <a href="mailto:shanahanmcdougal.com">Nate Pencook@shanahanmcdouga

Good afternoon,

Your last production showed

Sincerely,

From: Nate Pencook [mailto:NPencook@shanahanmcdougal.com]

Sent: Friday, February 8, 2019 3:02 PM

To: Lawson, Joshua <ioshua.lawson@ncsbe.gov>

Cc: Love, Katelyn <a href="mailto:Katelyn.Love@ncsbe.gov">Kakely, Lindsey <a href="Lindsey.Wakely@ncsbe.gov">Lindsey.Wakely@ncsbe.gov</a>; John Branch <a href="Lindsey.Wakely@ncsbe.gov</a>; John Branch <a href="Lindsey.Wakely@ncsbe.gov">Lindsey.Wakely@ncsbe.gov</a>; John Branch <a href="Lindsey.Wakely@ncsbe.gov</a>; John Branch <a href="Lindsey.Wakely@ncsbe.gov">Lindsey.Wakely@ncsbe.gov</a>; John Branch <a href="Lindsey.Wakely@ncsbe.gov</a>; John Branch <a href="Lindsey.Wakely@

Subject: [External] Harris Committee - Supplemental Production

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Josh,

This email is in response to your previous request for records

In looking back at records prior to

the Harris Committee's formation on July 4, 2017, we identified

Based on the initial proposal and relatively recent initial text conversations between we reviewed all emails between the dates of March 23, 2017 through July 3, 2017. We chose this timeframe because it appears to be slightly overinclusive of a time period in which responsive documents may be found, while also expediting and avoiding undue burden in our review. We also ran searches for

We also reviewed text messages exchanged between the following individuals during the following timeframes:



The production link below includes the documents responsive to your request for supplementation that we found pursuant to the foregoing searches.

The password for

The password for

This production is subject to, and without waiving, all prior objections raised to the subpoenas.

Please let us know if you have any trouble accessing these documents or if you have any questions.

Thanks,

Nate Pencook | Associate



128 E. Hargett Street | Third Floor Raleigh, NC 27601

Phone: (919) 856-9494

Email: npencook@shanahanmcdougal.com

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From:

Cc:

Subject:

Fw: [External] Harris Committee - Production of Emails

Date:

Friday, January 25, 2019 4:55:48 PM

Attachments:

image006.png

From: "Lawson, Joshua" <joshua.lawson@ncsbe.gov>

Sent: Friday, January 25, 2019 4:53 PM

**To:** John Branch **Cc:** Love, Katelyn

Subject: RE: [External] Harris Committee - Production of Emails

John,

I spoke with your co-counsel earlier this week, and after conferring more fully with investigative staff, our principal interest at this point is be to confirm whether any record exists referencing, discussing, or establishing

Thank you in advance for your review of the above.

Very best,

Josh Lawson General Counsel o: 919-814-0755 f: 919-715-0135



From: John Branch [mailto:JBranch@shanahanmcdougal.com]

Sent: Friday, January 18, 2019 4:22 PM

To: Lawson, Joshua <joshua.lawson@ncsbe.gov>

Subject: RE: [External] Harris Committee - Production of Emails

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Josh,

Checking in from our call on Wednesday - were you able to talk with Kim or the

EX56 SUPPLEMENT investigator about the documents you all are looking for? I wanted to make sure you got what you needed prior to the hearing.

Thanks,

John

## John E. Branch III | Partner



128 E. Hargett Street | Third Floor Raleigh, NC 27601

Phone: (919) 856-9494

Email: jbranch@shanahanmcdougal.com

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From: Lawson, Joshua [mailto:joshua.lawson@ncsbe.gov]

Sent: Tuesday, January 15, 2019 5:33 PM

To: John Branch

Cc: Steven B. Long; roger@rogerknightlaw.com; Alex C. Dale; Nate Pencook; Andrew Brown; Love,

Katelvn

Subject: RE: [External] Harris Committee - Production of Emails

John,

Attached, please find a follow-up question regarding Committee records production. Thanks in advance for your review.

Sincerely,

Josh Lawson | General Counsel o: 919-814-0755 | f: 919-715-0135



From: Lawson, Joshua

Sent: Thursday, January 10, 2019 11:39 AM

To: 'John Branch' <a href="mailto:shanahanmcdougal.com">JBranch@shanahanmcdougal.com</a>

Cc: Steven B. Long <SBLong@wardandsmith.com>; roger@rogerknightlaw.com; Alex C. Dale

<a href="mailto:scale-2"><a href="mailto:scale

<a href="mailto:</a> <a href="mailto:ABrown@shanahanmcdougal.com"><a href="mailto:Katelyn.Love@ncsbe.gov"><a href="mailto:Kate

Subject: RE: [External] Harris Committee - Production of Emails

Thank you for your confirmation, John.

Best,

Josh Lawson | General Counsel o: 919-814-0755 | f: 919-715-0135



From: John Branch [mailto:JBranch@shanahanmcdougal.com]

Sent: Thursday, January 10, 2019 10:41 AM

To: Lawson, Joshua <a href="mailto:joshua.lawson@ncsbe.gov">joshua.lawson@ncsbe.gov</a>

**Cc:** Steven B. Long <a href="mailto:SBLong@wardandsmith.com">SBLong@wardandsmith.com</a>; roger@rogerknightlaw.com; Alex C. Dale

<a href="mailto:square;"><a href="mailto:squar

<ABrown@shanahanmcdougal.com>; Love, Katelyn <Katelyn.Love@ncsbe.gov>

Subject: RE: [External] Harris Committee - Production of Emails

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Thanks Josh. Per our email, we've run the queries and believe that we have complied with the subpoena. Thus, we don't anticipate another production.

Best regards,

John

# John E. Branch III | Partner



128 E. Hargett Street | Third Floor

Raleigh, NC 27601

Phone: (919) 856-9494

Email: jbranch@shanahanmcdougal.com

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From: Lawson, Joshua [mailto:joshua.lawson@ncsbe.gov]

Sent: Thursday, January 10, 2019 9:04 AM

To: John Branch

Cc: Steven B. Long; roger@rogerknightlaw.com; Alex C. Dale; Nate Pencook; Andrew Brown; Love,

Katelyn

Subject: RE: [External] Harris Committee - Production of Emails

Good morning, John.

We appreciate your team's efforts this week. I am seeking to confirm whether Tuesday's production did in fact contain the balance of responsive text messages, based on the Committee's review. (Your email indicated this may be the case).

Additionally, are you able to confirm whether the Committee anticipates any further productions under the subpoena, or do the three productions conclude things?

Thank you in advance for your review.

Sincerely,

Josh Lawson | General Counsel o: 919-814-0755 | f: 919-715-0135



From: John Branch [mailto:JBranch@shanahanmcdougal.com]

Sent: Tuesday, January 08, 2019 5:00 PM

To: Lawson, Joshua <joshua.lawson@ncsbe.gov>

**Cc:** Steven B. Long <a href="mailto:SBLong@wardandsmith.com">SBLong@wardandsmith.com</a>; roger@rogerknightlaw.com; Alex C. Dale <a href="mailto:ACD@wardandsmith.com">ACD@wardandsmith.com</a>; Nate Pencook <a href="mailto:Nencondshanahanmcdougal.com">Nencondshanahanmcdougal.com</a>; Andrew Brown <a href="mailto:ABrown@shanahanmcdougal.com">ABrown@shanahanmcdougal.com</a>; Love, Katelyn <a href="mailto:Katelyn.Love@ncsbe.gov">Katelyn.Love@ncsbe.gov</a>

Subject: RE: [External] Harris Committee - Production of Emails

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Thanks Josh. Similar to our production on Sunday, please find below information that will allow you to download approximately 3,850 documents. These should be the balance of text messages in the Committee's possession, custody, or control which are responsive to the Subpoena. Per our earlier conversations, since the Committee was not formed until July 4, 2017, the dates of the documents we are producing are from July 4, 2017 until December 1, 2018 (the date of the Subpoena).

File link:

Password:

Please note that we have no redacted any information from these documents.

Let me know if you have any questions.

Best regards,

John Branch

John E. Branch III | Partner



128 E. Hargett Street | Third Floor Raleigh, NC 27601

Phone: (919) 856-9494

Email: jbranch@shanahanmcdougal.com

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From: Lawson, Joshua [mailto:joshua.lawson@ncsbe.gov]

Sent: Tuesday, January 08, 2019 9:57 AM

To: John Branch

**Cc:** Steven B. Long; <a href="mailto:roger@rogerknightlaw.com">roger@rogerknightlaw.com</a>; Alex C. Dale; Nate Pencook; Andrew Brown; Love,

Katelyn

**Subject:** RE: [External] Harris Committee - Production of Emails

John,

This email confirms our phone discussion yesterday evening: Staff understands text productions may include sensitive telephone numbers, and staff does not intent to release same publicly. Assurances are, of course, subject to the clarifications listed in my email yesterday (below), given the absence of seated board members.

We appreciate your ongoing efforts to produce responsive records for review by our investigators.

Sincerely,

Josh Lawson | General Counsel o: 919-814-0755 | f: 919-715-0135



From: Lawson, Joshua

**Sent:** Monday, January 07, 2019 11:08 AM

To: 'John Branch' <<u>JBranch@shanahanmcdougal.com</u>>

**Cc:** Steven B. Long <a href="mailto:s8blong@wardandsmith.com">SBlong@wardandsmith.com</a>; roger@rogerknightlaw.com; Alex C. Dale <a href="mailto:ACD@wardandsmith.com">ACD@wardandsmith.com</a>; Nate Pencook <a href="mailto:sNPencook@shanahanmcdougal.com">SNPencook@shanahanmcdougal.com</a>; Andrew Brown <a href="mailto:ABrown@shanahanmcdougal.com">ABrown@shanahanmcdougal.com</a>; Katelyn R. Love (<a href="mailto:Katelyn.Love@ncsbe.gov">Katelyn.Love@ncsbe.gov</a>) <a href="mailto:Katelyn.Love@ncsbe.gov">Katelyn.Love@ncsbe.gov</a>)

Subject: RE: [External] Harris Committee - Production of Emails

John,

This email confirms receipt of your email of yesterday evening (Jan. 6). Thank you for describing your collection and review efforts associated with the subpoena. Agency staff believes it necessary to clarify the characterization in your email regarding attempts to constrain this agency's use of responsive documents.

The agency has not accessed the linked files but will do so at 1 p.m. today.

It is not necessarily true that the "documents are not subject to disclosure under the Public Records Act, or for any other reason, unless staff or the Board seeks to utilize them at the hearing of this matter." For some time, this agency has relied on a 2013 memorandum from counsel at the Attorney General's Office permitting our withholding of records under the so-called "criminal investigation" exception of the Public Records Act. The exception is permissive—allowing but not requiring the agency to withhold documents—not compulsory. As to "any other reason" for disclosure of documents, an array of scenarios could trigger the agency's release, including efforts to comply with a subpoena, court order, or the request of Congress, for example. The agency will evaluate scenarios as they may arise, but it is not authorized to guarantee a Board hearing is the exclusive venue for possible release.

Director Strach noted Thursday (Jan. 3) that staff is unable to bind a Board regarding use of the documents. While constituted, the Board chair directed disclosure under processes distinct from ordinary practice. *See, e.g.,* Letter to Strach, Dec. 3, 2018. A Board could announce procedures to govern the disposition of objections. *See* Order of Proceedings at ¶ 5 ("written objections shall be deemed under the State Board's advisement once filed, and any objection not specifically sustained shall be deemed denied"). Staff cannot, therefore, guarantee that the Board will not disclose documents, nor can staff guarantee that a future chair or members will call a meeting. As indicated by Director Strach, staff will make the Board aware of any particular objections to documents.

Thank you for maintaining open channels of communication on this and other issues.

Josh Lawson | General Counsel o: 919-814-0755 | f: 919-715-0135



From: John Branch [mailto:JBranch@shanahanmcdougal.com]

Sent: Sunday, January 06, 2019 10:04 PM

**To:** Lawson, Joshua <u><ioshua.lawson@ncsbe.gov></u>

**Cc:** Steven B. Long <a href="mailto:SBLong@wardandsmith.com">SBLong@wardandsmith.com</a>; roger@rogerknightlaw.com; Alex C. Dale <a href="mailto:ACD@wardandsmith.com">ACD@wardandsmith.com</a>; Nate Pencook <a href="mailto:SNPencook@shanahanmcdougal.com">SNPencook@shanahanmcdougal.com</a>; Andrew Brown <a href="mailto:ABrown@shanahanmcdougal.com">ABrown@shanahanmcdougal.com</a>;

Subject: [External] Harris Committee - Production of Emails

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Josh,

This follows up on our previous letter dated December 4, 2018 and our
numerous discussions regarding the December 1, 2018 Subpoena (the "Subpoena"
issued by the N.C. Bipartisan State Board of Elections and Ethics Enforcement (the
"Board") to
our December 4, 2018 letter, the intends to comply with the investigation
and to produce responsive documents as timely as possible. To that end, the
engaged in the following efforts to identify and produce responsive, non
privileged documents:

• On December 5, 2018, after discussions between your office and mine about concerns we had with regard to the scope of the Subpoena, you provided a list of

more than a hundred search terms (the "Queries") your office suggested that we run against the documents. We sought to do so in house, but ultimately due to the time constraints the Board sought to impose on us we utilized the third-party eDiscovery firm to run the Queries against the documents and do an initial review of the hits for, e.g., responsiveness and privilege. We thereafter conducted quality control on the responsive documents and prepared this batch for production.

Accordingly, please find below information that will allow you to download approximately 1,837 documents. These should be the balance of possession, custody, or control which are responsive to the Subpoena. Per our earlier conversations, since the Committee was not formed until July 4, 2017, the dates of the documents we are producing are from July 4, 2017 until December 1, 2018 (the date of the Subpoena).

These documents are confidential and are being produced solely in connection with the Board's investigation of purported 2018 election irregularities, which we understand has a criminal aspect to it. These documents are responsive to the Subpoena, and we are producing them without waiving our right to contest, e.g., the validity Subpoena itself, its scope, and the time constraints which the Board sought to impose on the Committee. As such, it is our understanding that these documents are not subject to disclosure under the Public Records Act, or for any other reason, unless staff or the Board seeks to utilize them at the hearing of this matter. Per the conversation between David Freedman and Kim Strach last week, it is our understanding that, prior to the Board or staff seeking to publicly disclose any of the documents we have produced, are producing, or will produce pursuant to the investigation, the Committee will be given notice and an opportunity to be heard on any objections to the disclosure of the documents since, once documents are made public, it is not something that can be undone.

The information for the document production is below. Let me know if you have any questions.

Please click on the following link to download the attachments:

Password:	
Best regards,	
John Branch	



128 E. Hargett Street | Third Floor Raleigh, NC 27601

Phone: (919) 856-9494

Email: jbranch@shanahanmcdougal.com

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE January 2, 2019

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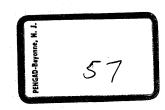
Jason Williams

Jason@markharrisforcongress.com

As a result of the announcement that the January 11 hearing of the State Board of Elections cannot go forward, a Petition for a Writ of Mandamus will be filed tomorrow morning in Wake County Superior Court by Congressman-Elect Mark Harris. The Petition asks the Wake County Superior Court to certify the results of the 9th Congressional District election immediately, while still allowing for a full and thorough investigation of any concerns or irregularities that the new State Board taking office under Session Law 2018-146 may have.

The State Board of Elections has not disclosed any information to suggest that the votes in question in the Board staff's investigation are sufficient in number to change the outcome of the 9th Congressional District election. The prior State Board had been operating with a number of votes in mind based on the fact that certification was not allowed for races with margins of victory of 572 or less, but races with margins of victory equal to or above 1,388 were certified. Either the prior State Board was not being transparent by failing to affirmatively state the number of votes in question to show that there are, in fact, enough votes in question to change the outcome of the 9th Congressional District election, or the votes in question are not sufficient to change the outcome and the prior State Board did not want to acknowledge this fact. A full investigation of any voting irregularities uncovered by the State Board staff can be conducted, but when the number of votes in question is not enough to change the outcome of the 9th Congressional District election, the results of the 9th Congressional District election should be certified immediately.

"We had no choice but to take this action at this time," David Freedman, attorney for Mark Harris, said. "There is uncertainty of when a new State Board of Elections will be operational, when a new State Board of Elections may act, and whether a new State Board of Elections will continue to drag this out unnecessarily and outside of any statutory procedure, as the prior State Board had done."



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week had become frustrated beyond measure with the prior leadership of the unconstitutional and now-enjoined prior State Board. The prior State Board was not following the timetable for continued operation by the three-judge panel, so the three-judge panel stopped them. Now, we are in limbo, with no one able to act at this time."

Harris filed an Emergency Petition to Certify Election on December 28 before the prior State Board was enjoined from acting. By letter from the outgoing Chairman of the State Board, the State Board indicated that the Emergency Petition was not being considered before the noon deadline that enjoined the prior State Board from acting.

Prior Wake County Superior Court decisions have provided that the inability of the State Board of Elections to act can be viewed as "effectively denials" of prior petitions. Appeals of denials must be taken to Wake County Superior Court within 10 days. This explains why the matter is filed now and why the matter is filed in state court instead of federal court.

"We do not view the inability of the State Board to act as a denial of Dr. Harris' pending petition for certification of the results of the 9th Congressional District election because a new State Board is established by Session Law 2018-146. We hope, and expect, the new State Board to certify the results of the 9th Congressional District election as soon as the new State Board is able to act. However, we do not want to waive any rights by not filing this action at this time." Freedman said.

Until Mark Harris is certified as the winner of the 9th Congressional District election and sworn-in to the United States House of Representatives, the citizens of the 9th Congressional District are without a congressional representative. No field offices can be operational to assist citizens, no new staff can be hired to resolve citizen concerns, and constituent services are effectively halted. These unfortunate outcomes are the result of the prior State Board's delay in acting.

"Congressman-Elect Harris is deeply concerned that the citizens of the 9th District get the support they need, and he asks the constituents to contact Senator Tillis' office or Senator Burr's office until Congressman-Elect Harris is sworn into office," Jason Williams, campaign manager for the Mark Harris for Congress Committee, said.

"Citizens in the 9th Congressional District should not be without a sitting Congressman," Williams added. "Congress re-convenes on January 3, and Dr. Harris should be sworn-in immediately."

No candidate or voter filed any protest in the 9th District Congressional election. The prior, unconstitutionally-formed State Board, on its own initiative,

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with a schedule allowed by a three-judge panel of Superior Court judges. The State Board must certify election results within the time established by statute, but the State Board is authorized to conduct investigations at any time.

"Dr. Harris still supports a full and complete investigation of everything that transpired in the 2018 election," Williams concluded. "Any issues in these same counties from the 2016 election also can be part of this investigation. However, Governor Cooper's election certification from the 2016 election was not delayed into the new year when issues arose in 2016, and it should not delay Dr. Harris' election certification any longer either."

For further information, please contact David Freedman at (336) 725-1304 or David@CFPWlaw.com

###

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE January 3, 2019

CONTACT:

Jason Williams

Jason@markharrisforcongress.com

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**RSS** 

## Congressman-Elect Mark Harris Issues Statement on Meeting with the Staff from the State Board of Elections

Earlier today Congressman-Elect Mark Harris met with staff from the State Board of Elections to assist with their review of the 9th Congressional district election results.

Congressman-Elect Harris said of the interview, "I appreciate the courtesy of the staff at the State Board of Elections and support their efforts in getting the answers we all deserve. I look forward to a resolution soon so I can do what I was elected to do in Congress and be a voice for the People of the 9th District."

"Congressman-Elect Harris continues to be completely transparent and fully cooperative with the State Board of Elections," said Harris' attorney David Freedman.

###

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE January 22, 2019

CONTACT:

Jason Williams

Jason@markharrisforcongress.com

## Congressman-Elect Mark Harris Issues Statement on Court Ruling on Certification

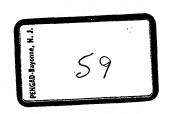
Congressman-Elect Mark Harris issued the following statement today following the court ruling on certification:

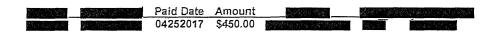
"Since this whole experience began with the State Board of Elections, we have been committed to seeing the process followed and concluded. The hearing today in NC Superior Court was a place to turn when we found no place to turn but for their authority to grant a writ of mandamus.

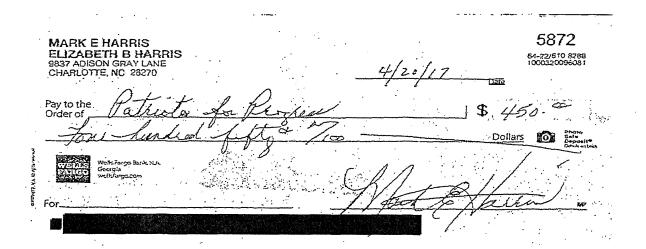
While we continue to maintain a 905 vote lead and the role of Congressman-Elect for the 9th district of NC, the decision of the court today has extended the process even longer. While we have cooperated fully with the state's investigation of alleged ballot irregularities, no evidence has been supplied that suggests the outcome of the race is in question. Nevertheless, by the decision today, we will continue to cooperate with the investigation and hope for a speedy resolution."

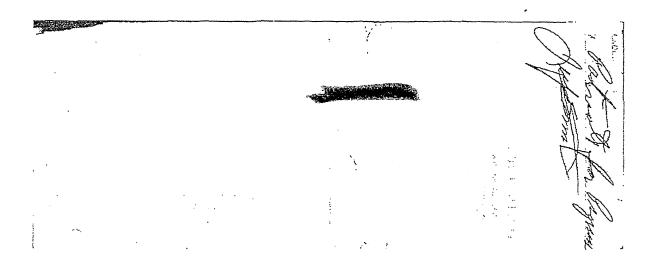
###

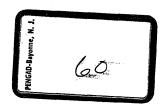
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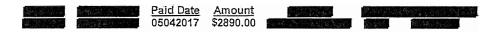


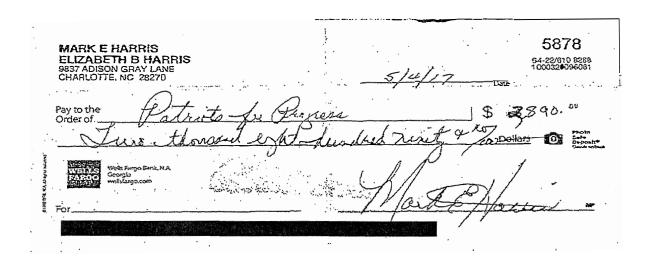






12/7/2018







From: "Mark Harris" <+117046191156>
To: "Marion Warren" <+19105230472>

**Sent:** 08 Mar 2017 17:44:32

Subject: No Subject

Hey Bro Marion....it's Mark Harris....hope you are well! I wanted to circle back with you per our phone conversation last week. On the HB186 front, I have had several really good conversations with several legislators and with some folks lobbying on this issue.. I am still trying to feel my way as to what the conclusion will be, but sense it is really bogged down at the moment.

On the other issue of your gracious offer to meet me in Bladen County and spend a day connecting me to the "key people" that can help me carry that part of the county in a future US House NC-9 race.....I wanted to see if you would be able to spend the day on Friday, March 25 with me down there. You know the political and financial connections better than anyone else I would know, including the guy whose absentee ballot project for Johnson could have put me in the US House this term, had I known, and he had been helping us. Anyway, let me know your thoughts and if that date would work for you. Thanks so much Marion for all your prayers and support as Beth and I come to some major decisions in our journey!

Mark

## Robeson County Board of Elections Absentee Request Form Return Log

DATE	NAME	ORGANIZATION /ADDRESS	CONTACT INFORMATION	VR FORMS (QUANTITY)	SIGNATURE
	Please Print		<b>建工艺的</b> 类型		
9-10-18	Jennifer Boyd	3251 NC HWY40 Bladenboro, NC 28320	Jennifer Boyd 910-850-1450	224 /2	Annique Boyl
924-18	Jennifer Boyd	3251 NC HWY 410 Bladen boro, NC 28350	Jennifer Boyd	1	
9-27-18	Jennifer Boyd	3251 NC HWY 410 Bladenboro, NC 28320	Jennifer Boyd	3	Jannique Berg
	•		,		

A voter or the voter's legal guardian or near relative must use the State Absentee Ballot Request form to request a mail-in absentee ballot. The request form may only be signed by the voter, a near-relative or legal guardian. (North Carolina law defines "near relative" in this context as a spouse, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter in-law, son in-law, stepparent, or stepchild.)

The deadline for county boards of elections to receive civilian absentee ballot request is by 5:00 pm on the Tuesday before Election Day. Any request received after this time are late, even if the request is received by mail and postmarked on or before the deadline. (GS § 163A-1308)



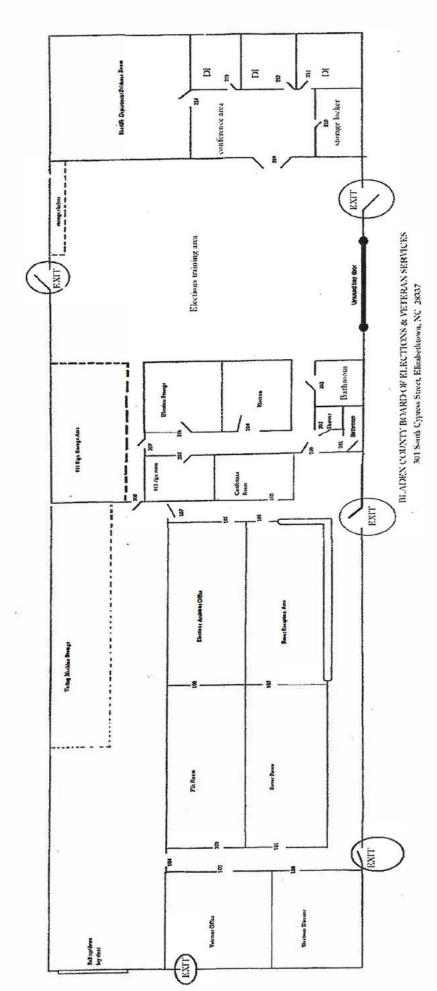
# Will do

Tue, Nov 6, 12:15 PM



Same spot they have always been.



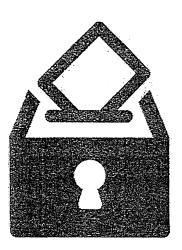








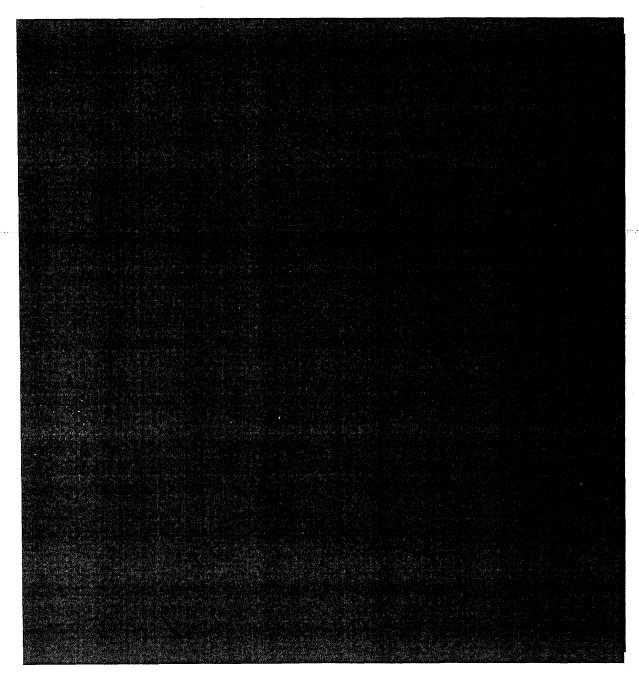




Election Infrastructure Outreach Security Checklist

Bladen County Board of Elections Elizabethtown, NC

PENGAD-Bayonne, N. J.



The security checklist and the following options for consideration provide an opportunity for the facility to mitigate vulnerabilities, increase resilience, and implement protective measures. This process involves an assessment of risk tailored to the facility that takes into consideration the threat, assets to be protected, facility characteristics, and capital expenditures planning. The options for consideration are not prescriptive endorsements of specific protective measures to be installed and/or used at the facility. The critical infrastructure owner or operator determines for the facility whether the options for consideration provide the desired enhancements in light of the facility's current security and resilience posture, anticipated growth or organizational changes, budgetary outlook, etc.

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### **Options for Consideration**

- Time permitting, conduct just in time training for all staff members on key topics to include Surveillance Awareness (If You See Something, Say Something®), Bomb Threat Management and Active Shooter Preparedness.
- Routinely invite local law enforcement and emergency services personnel to tour your facility. This
  measure will enhance law enforcement response by providing the potential initial incident commander with
  insight to facility operations and layout.
- The Bladen County Veterans Services has an office in the Bladen County Board of Elections facility. The office has a private exterior door and it has an interior door that provides access to the Board of Elections area. This arrangement creates several potential security and safety risks for elections facility personnel and sensitive voting materials are vulnerable. Currently, there is only one restroom on site and it is in the elections office. Veteran's office personnel and visitors must go outside and in the front door of the elections office or through the interior door and into the elections office space to access the restroom. That said, this is a gap in the facilities security posture. The Veteran Services office should be relocated to an area that will accommodate the veterans, or the current building should be reconfigured so that only authorized elections office personnel have access to the interior office space.
- The interior door from the Veterans Service office should be eliminated.
- New locks or card access should be considered for this facility. At a minimum all keys should be accounted
  for and extra keys should be secured within locked cabinets.
- Currently, individuals entering the facility have access to the restrooms and there is no separation between sensitive office and storage space. Consideration should be given to building a divider wall with a door that would maintain a secure environment for employees and access to sensitive areas would be eliminated.
- There are two front entrance doors to the facility and the door to the left, facing the facility is normally secured during the day. When the left front side door is unlocked, it allows direct access to the sensitive office space. There is an interior half door and a bell on the front door to alert office personnel that someone has entered but there is direct access. The low cost option is to keep the door secured at all times. A more costly option would be to install a wall and a full door to secure the area.
- Currently, there is a sign at the Board of Elections front counter that directs veterans to the interior hallway where there is an access door to the Veterans Service office. This process should be reconsidered since it is directing individuals to the interior elections space. At a minimum if there are no other options, all interior office doors should be secured at all times and card access should be installed with CCTV that can be monitored by authorized personnel.
- Currently the facility has an interior camera system that is inoperative. Consider installing a new CCTV system that will cover interior hallways, assets and critical storage areas. Exterior access points should be considered in the overall CCTV plan.
- There are three panic buttons that are connected to 911. Consider periodic tests of the buttons to make sure that they are operational.
- Install interior CCTV camera coverage in voting machine storage and ballot areas. This enhancement would allow quick assessment of activity in case of building break in.
- An alarm system should be considered to enhance the overall security of the facility and individual alarm codes should be issued. The system should include motion sensors since there are roof skylights.
- Consider adding electronic key pads to critical internal doors and restrict the number of personnel with access to key internal areas.
- When the CCTV system is completed, post "No Trespassing/Recorded Video Surveillance in Use". This measure works to deter malicious activity.

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- Develop long-term plan to enhance protection of main reception area to include segmentation between the staff member(s) and members of the public with unfettered access to the entrance area. Provide reception area staff member(s) with capability to immediately initiate emergency procedures to include building-wide notifications. Install CCTV monitor with exterior camera views in reception desk area to enhance surveillance of exterior areas.
- Add CCTV monitors displaying priority camera views in key staff offices to increase viewing of system.
- Consider having CCTV recording capability capture minimum of 30 days of activity. Configure CCTV cameras covering key areas such as critical utilities to record motion during after business hours and provide alerts to key staff. Routinely review recorded motion activities of exterior cameras.
- In the identified safe room, consider installing a CCTV monitor in the room to allow observation of suspicious/hostile activity around the facility and allow informed notifications to local law enforcement. Ensure the room doors are outfitted with door stop devices to prevent forced entry. Include your Safe Room use in an Active Shooter Response Plan and conduct recurring drills using the room.
- Consider increasing security measures in days prior to election event based on recovery needs listed in the Continuity of Operations Plan (COOP). An example would be the amount of time it would take to replace key equipment just prior to an election if an incident occurred such as a theft or destruction.
- Provide responsible law enforcement jurisdiction capability to view exterior CCTV system cameras during major election events or during periods of increased threat.
- Consider removing any items that could provide an opportunity to hide incendiary/explosive devices.
- Explore feasibility of "quick connect" infrastructure for mobile generator to support power requirements for core election operations. Consider developing long-term plan to install permanent generator in secure location.
- In the security plan, develop mail handling and response procedures for suspicious packages.
- Incorporate the DHS NTAS (National Terrorism Advisory System) into the security plan.
- Explore the feasibility of employing and implementing additional protective measures to increase the overall security posture of the facility as threat levels increase. Options may include additional access controls; barriers; increased communications and notification; enhanced cyber security; additional infrastructure upgrades and redundancy; enhanced incident response; additional monitoring and surveillance detection; and planning and preparedness.
- Consider using Protected Critical Infrastructure Information (PCII) Electronic Submission process to provide protection of vulnerability information related to election infrastructure.
- In the absence of a security force, pursue a policy in which facility employees are empowered to report any suspicious vehicles or activity in parking lots or structures.
- Install anti-shatter film on all door windows leading from public areas to staff only work areas. The film should also restrict viewing of internal work spaces not mandated to have public viewing.
- Consider testing the building intercom system periodically for functionality.

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- Electric utilities and communications are vulnerable to tampering and damage, they are located on the northwest wall next to the Veterans Services entrance. Review the importance of the utilities and consider hardening the communications cables.
- Commendable The Bladen County Board of Elections has produced an "Emergency Action Plan & Evacuation Procedures guide for their employees that provides good guidance for a variety of potential hazards.
- Commendable During conversations with the director and the board chairman they have identified several security deficiencies and have requested the upgrades through their county.

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## **BLADEN COUNTY BOARD OF ELECTIONS**

PO Box 512 - Elizabethtown, NC 28337 - (910) 862-6951 - fax (910) 862-7820

E-mail elections@bladenco.org

Jens Lutz, Chairman Bobby Ludhum, Vice Chair Al Daniel, Secretary Rob Davis, Member

Regular Meeting Tuesday, June 12, 2018 2:00 p.m.

Following are brief notes of the above Board Meeting. Detailed are on Video/CD filed at the Board of Election Office.

- 1. Secretary, Daniel made motion to accept notes from prior meeting seconded by Member, Davis.
- 2. No old or new Business.
- Director update board of Soil/Water and Judicial filing openings.
- 4. Director updated board of News Release from Patrick
  Gannon of new Constitution Party now in place in North
  Carolina.
- 5. Director updated board that some of the election material from 2016 and 2018 was now in procession of SBOE as of June 7, 2018.
- 6. Member, Davis made motion seconded by Secretary, Daniel to send letter of Phase I/Permanent fix to County Manger, Greg Martin for installation of Camera's and Buzz Door to the Board of Election office.
- 7. Vice Chair, Ludlum made motion seconded by Member, Davis to have door locks rekeyed or replaced at the Board of Election Office.
- 8. Motion made by Member, Davis seconded by Vice Chair, Ludhum to have VA office relocated to a different government building within the county. This would be dealt with on later date as availably takes place. County Commissioner, Michael Cogdell called County Manger, Greg Martin to ask about availably of this matter.
- 9. No public wishing to address the board.
- 10. No reason for closed session.
- 11. Chairman, Lutz made motion to adjourn seconded by Vice Chair, Ludlum.
- 12. Adjourn
  Cynthia P. Shaw, Director



From: Andy Yates [andy@reddomegroup.com]

Sent: 9/24/2018 10:10:25 AM

To: Elizabeth.anne.bates.harris [elizabeth.anne.bates.harris@gmail.com]

Subject: Re: absentee data

Of the absentees that have been sent out in Robeson so far, after reviewing them with McCrare, we believe that 181 of them are from his list. They have more yet turn into the BofE in Robeson. McCrae's team has generated a total of 449 requests in Robeson and will be generating more.

Andy Yates
Senior Partner, Red Dome Group
(704) 727-8092 (office)
(704) 467-0795 (cell)
andy@reddomegroup.com
www.reddomegroup.com

On Sep 24, 2018, at 7:45 AM, Andy Yates <a href="mailto:sandy@reddomegroup.com"><a href="mailto:sandy@reddomegroup.com"><a href="mailto:sandy@reddomegroup.com">sandy@reddomegroup.com</a>> wrote:

Awesome...McCrae is supposed to be at my office this morning so I will review with him as well. From first glance I agree at McCrae's analysis that someone is working absentees in Meck.

Andy Yates Senior Partner, Red Dome Group (704) 727-8092 (office) (704) 467-0795 (cell) andy@reddomegroup.com www.reddomegroup.com

On Sep 24, 2018, at 7:37 AM, Elizabeth anne bates harris <u><elizabeth anne bates harris@gmail.com></u> wrote:

As always I am so comforted by this response!

I tried to send McRae the master list Saturday but it bounced back. We went over the numbers by phone. The only one he was worried about was the huge number inMeck added in last few weeks. He said someone is working. We are not sending to Bladen as he does have that totally covered. I will sort Robeson as indicated.

Sent from my iPhone

On Sep 24, 2018, at 7:17 AM, Andy Yates <andy@reddomegroup.com> wrote:

I am on top of it. We definitely have a mailer going East this week as well as digital starting in the East. I am revising the mail plan slightly (based on losing last week and the first 1/2 of this week), but if we hit our budget there will be a lot more than 3 pieces of mail going east. The current budget for mail is \$250,000. Right now per the projections Jordan and I have put together we will hit the budget. We are checking that at least twice week so we can adjust quickly if we notice anything different.

District Attorney

Proudly serving the citizens of three great counties

Bladen 910-872-7300 PO Box 2619 Iizabathtown, NC 28337 Brunswick 910-253-3910 310 Government Center Drive, Unit 2 Bolivia, NC 28422 Columbus 910-641-4410 110 Courbouse Square Whiteville, NC 28472

## Jon David—District Attorney

Emmil: jou.david@necourts.org

January 26, 2018

Interim Assistant Director Dirk German NCSBI Special Investigations Unit 3320 Garner Road Raleigh, NC 27610

Dear Special Agent German,

Greetings! The purpose of this letter is to address the investigation, and prosecution if necessary, of several matters originally handled by the North Carolina State Board of Elections and Ethics Enforcement Team (hereinafter NCSBE) and now under your review. Specifically, the NCSBE has opened up three investigations: Case number 2016–141, concerning possible absentee ballot fraud committed by Patriots for Progress IE PAC; Case number 2016–142, concerning possible absentee ballot fraud committed by the Bladen County Improvement Association PAC; and Case number 2016-166, voter fraud allegations and possible false statements to affect election outcome allegedly perpetrated by McCrae Dowless. The above cases are related investigations originating in Bladen County and opened by the NCSBE in November 2016.

Bladen County has a troubled history of political groups exploiting the use of absentee ballots in an effort to skew support for a specific candidate or group of candidates. Indeed, as a local elected official myself, I have had numerous encounters with various such groups, some of whom are the subject of the above stated cases. These groups package the anticipated ability to garner absentee ballots as a commodity to be brokered. As a candidate, I have never engaged the services of any group to get out the vote (GOTV) and as District Attorney I have been outspoken in my criticism of their efforts. In fact, I sponsored a voter information meeting at the Bladen County Courthouse in 2012, together with Gary Bartlett, then Executive Director of the NCSBE. The purpose of the meeting was to educate the public about the appropriate procedures to follow in the collection of absentee ballots. At that time, representatives from both of the above named groups were in attendance. Sadly, it appears that these groups have failed to heed our advice.

During my election run for District Attorney in 2010, a local media outlet WWAY ran a story featuring Mr. McCrae Dowless' effort to get out the vote for the benefit of my opponent, Harold (Butch) Pope. Moreover, on the other side of the political eisle, the Bladen Improvement Society was runored to have packaged a considerable number of votes in favor of my opponent Rex Gore, in the 2006 election for District Attorney. In short, given my personal history with both of these groups in general, and Mr. Dowless in particular, I perceive a conflict of interest in my office handling this perspective litigation.

## Exhibit 2.2.2.1

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information contained in these protests was presented as if it represented facts known to the person who had signed the protest. In reality, the signers had not conducted their own research regarding the voters, did not know how the facts were established or how voter's names were chosen, and had no documentation or evidence to back up their claims of voter fraud. Rather the protestors appear to have been used as a "proxy" to allege violations based upon evidence of unknown origin, most of which was never presented at the hearings.

Interviews have determined that protestors selected by the attorneys were promised that they would be provided with evidence to present at the protest hearing at their local county BOE, and were led to believe that the attorneys would assist them and/or be physically present at the hearing(s). The protest forms were typically electronically transmitted from the law firm in Virginia, to the selected protestors in North Carolina via email-and/or facsimile. The protestors were asked to sign and electronically transmit their signed protest forms back to the law firm. The law firm would thereafter transmit the protest forms from the law firm in Virginia to the appropriate North Carolina county board of elections on behalf of the protestor which gave the appearance that they represented the protestor. [It is noted, that in Dowless' testimony before the State Board, attorneys representing the McCrory campaign claimed that they also represented Dowless.] Interviews of protestors have revealed that they were not furnished with the evidence they were promised and that despite their efforts to obtain the evidence needed to support their protest, the attorneys failed to respond to their requests and did not appear at the hearings. The county BOEs were nevertheless required to hold hearings and to send notices to the affected voters to appear.

The effort to have numerous ballots disqualified through the above described protests was abruptly abandoned by the attorneys in late November 2016. The accusations of voter fraud against the affected voters were covered in public media reports. Interviews of the voters have established that they felt harmed by the false accusations of voter fraud and were concerned about damage to their reputation in the community. As a result, a civil suit has been filed by some of the victims.

#### Summary

The facts developed in the above interrelated investigations demonstrate efforts to impact the process by which ballots in a federal and state election were obtained, cast, and counted. Therefore, the results of the investigation to date are being presented for review by appropriate prosecutors. Please contact NCSBE Chief Investigator Joan M. Fleming with any questions or for additional information at 919-814-0750 or joan.fleming@ncsbe.gov.

#### Message

From:

+17046192156 [+17046192156]

Sent:

5/6/2018 5:36:56 PM

To:

John Harris [+1704 6577]

Subject:

No Subject

Cumberland has a 3 way GOP sheriff primary. Pitt has worked hard there and we have not. Robeson and . Bladen are GOTV for us and should help us. We had some GOTV in Cumberland via McCrae but not as successful. He says we have 988 of the votes in Bladen.



# All Contests | Federal | Council of State | NC Senate | NC House | Judicial | Referenda | All Local

Text Size: A A

# 05/08/2018 OFFICIAL PRIMARY ELECTION RESULTS - BLADEN

## **US HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES DISTRICT 09 - REP (VOTE FOR 1)**

12 of 12 Precincts Reporting

Contest Details	Results b	y Voting Method	Results by Pre	cinct
Choice	Total Votes Percent	Election A	Absentee Absen One-Stop By-M	ree Provisional
Mark Harris	1,427 69.31%	538	452.	137 0
Robert Pittenger	572 27.78%	356	198	17
Clarence W. Goins, Jr.	60 2.91%		11	2. 0



Affidavit of Dr. Stephen Ansolabehere, Ph. D.

Report on Absentee Ballots in the 2018 North Carolina Congressional District 9
General Election

#### December 21, 2018

#### **Statement of Inquiry**

1. I have been asked to examine patterns of absentee voting in the state of North Carolina in the 2018 General Election, especially in Bladen and Robeson counties. Specifically, I have been asked whether these patterns in Bladen and Robeson counties are anomalous within Congressional District (CD) 9 and within the state of North Carolina.

#### **Summary of Findings**

- 2. First, the rates at which voters who requested absentee mail ballots in Bladen¹ and Robeson counties did not return their absentee ballots are extreme statistical outliers. For example, the rate at which voters did not return their absentee mail ballots in Bladen county is 2.5 times the rate elsewhere in CD 9 and elsewhere in the state of North Carolina. Similarly, the rate at which voters did not return their absentee mail ballots in Robeson County is three times the rate elsewhere in CD 9 and elsewhere in the state of North Carolina. The rates at which voters did not return their absentee ballots and did not otherwise vote in these counties is also much higher than elsewhere in CD 9 and North Carolina. Statistical tests show that these deviations are extremely unlikely to have arisen by chance.
- 3. These high non-return rates are not explained by the presence of new voters who may be unfamiliar with absentee voting or less likely to participate. Rather, the non-return rates for both frequent and occasional voters are much higher than similar voters elsewhere in CD 9 and North Carolina. For example, only 9.7% of frequent voters (i.e. voters who voted in more than four of the last six elections) elsewhere in CD 9 did not return their absentee ballots or vote; by contrast, in Bladen and Robeson Counties, 41.7% of frequent voters did not return their absentee ballots or otherwise attempt to vote.
- 4. Nor are these high non-return rates explained by other factors, such as the demographic or political composition of these counties. Rather, the

¹ Bladen County is split between CD 9 and CD 7. Throughout my report, when I refer to "Bladen County," I am referring to the portion of Bladen County in CD 9 unless I state otherwise.

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### **Summary of Findings**

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- 3. These high non-return rates are not explained by the presence of new voters who may be unfamiliar with absentee voting or less likely to participate. Rather, the non-return rates for both frequent and occasional voters are much higher than similar voters elsewhere in CD 9 and North Carolina. For example, only 9.7% of frequent voters (i.e. voters who voted in more than four of the last six elections) elsewhere in CD 9 did not return their absentee ballots or vote; by contrast, in Bladen and Robeson Counties, 41.7% of frequent voters did not return their absentee ballots or otherwise attempt to vote.
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EXHIBIT **1** 

¹ Bladen County is split between CD 9 and CD 7. Throughout my report, when I refer to "Bladen County," I am referring to the portion of Bladen County in CD 9 unless I state otherwise.

non-return rate for members of each of the different political parties and each different racial group are much higher in Robeson and Bladen counties than they are for these same groups elsewhere in CD 9 and the rest of the state of North Carolina.

- 5. Second, the vote counts among absentee mail ballots received and accepted are anomalous. Elsewhere in CD 9 and throughout the state of North Carolina, it appears that Democratic and Republican congressional candidates typically receive a total number of absentee mail ballot votes that corresponds to the total number of absentee ballots submitted by registrants of their party, plus some number of absentee votes of unaffiliated registrants. For example, elsewhere in CD 9, excluding Bladen and Robeson counties, Dan McCready's vote totals were 22.4 points higher than the share of Democratic registrants among mail ballots cast, and Mark Harris's vote totals were 9.0 points higher than the share of Republican registrants.
- 6. The absentee vote counts in Bladen and Robeson counties for the Democratic and Republican candidates for CD 9 differ from the rates of absentee mail ballots submitted by Democratic and Republican registrants. The differences break markedly from the rates of absentee ballots of Democrat and Republican registrants and votes for Democratic and Republican candidates. The differences do not reflect the pattern exhibited elsewhere in CD 9 or elsewhere in the state of North Carolina.
- 7. In Bladen and Robeson counties, Mark Harris's absentee mail vote totals significantly outperformed the number of Republican registrants who submitted absentee mail ballots. In Bladen County, Harris's vote totals were 41 points higher than the percentage of Republican registrants who cast absentee mail ballots; in Robeson County, Harris's vote totals were 23 points higher. By contrast, McCready's absentee mail vote totals were either lower than or about equal to the number of Democratic registrants who submitted absentee ballots in Bladen and Robeson counties.
- 8. In short, absentee mail voting patterns in Bladen and Robeson counties differed significantly from the remainder of CD 9 and from elsewhere in the State of North Carolina in two ways. First, there were exceedingly high rates at which absentee mail ballots were not returned in these counties, and with which people neither returned an absentee mail ballot, nor managed to vote in some other way. Second, among the ballots that were actually returned in these counties, the patterns of absentee mail votes deviated greatly from the absentee mail vote patterns observed elsewhere in the state. Mark Harris greatly overperformed in these two counties when compared with what one might have expected based on patterns elsewhere in CD 9 and throughout the state, and Dan McCready

greatly underperformed given the patterns observed elsewhere in CD 9 and throughout the state.

### Qualifications

- 9. I am the Frank G. Thompson Professor of Government in the Department of Government at Harvard University in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Formerly, I was an Assistant Professor at the University of California, Los Angeles, and I was Professor of Political Science at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, where I held the Elting R. Morison Chair and served as Associate Head of the Department of Political Science. I am the Principal Investigator of the Cooperative Congressional Election Study (CCES), a survey research consortium of over 250 faculty and student researchers at more than 50 universities, directed the Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project from its inception in 2000 through 2004, and served on the Board of Overseers of the American National Election Study from 1999 to 2013. I am a consultant to CBS News' Election Night Decision Desk. I am a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences (inducted in 2007). My curriculum vitae is attached to this report.
- 10. I have testified before the U.S. Senate Committee on Rules, the U.S. Senate Committee on Commerce, the U.S. House Committee on Science, Space, and Technology, the U.S. House Committee on House Administration, and the Congressional Black Caucus on matters of election administration in the United States. I filed an amicus brief with Professors Nathaniel Persily and Charles Stewart on behalf of neither party to the U.S. Supreme Court in the case of Northwest Austin Municipal Utility District Number One v. Holder, 557 U.S. 193 (2009) and an amicus brief with Professor Nathaniel Persily and others in the case of *Evenwel v. Abbott* 578 US ___ (2015). I have worked as a consultant to the Brennan Center in the case of McConnell v. FEC, 540 U.S. 93 (2003). I have served as a testifying expert for the Gonzales intervenors in *State of Texas v. United States* before the U.S. District Court in the District of Columbia (No. 1:11-cv-01303); the Rodriguez plaintiffs in *Perez v. Perry*, before the U. S. District Court in the Western District of Texas (No. 5:11-cv-00360), for the San Antonio Water District intervenor in LULAC v. Edwards Aguifer Authority in the U.S. District Court for the Western District of Texas, San Antonio Division (No. 5:12cv620-OLG,) for the Department of Justice in *State of* Texas v. Holder, before the U.S. District Court in the District of Columbia (No. 1:12-cv-00128); for the Guy plaintiffs in Guy v. Miller in U.S. District Court for Nevada (No. 11-OC-00042-1B); for the Florida Democratic Party in *In re Senate Joint Resolution of Legislative Apportionment* in the Florida Supreme Court (Nos. 2012-CA-412, 2012-CA-490); for the Romo plaintiffs in Romo v. Detzner in the Circuit Court of the Second Judicial Circuit in Florida (No. 2012 CA 412); for the Department of Justice in Veasey v.

Perry, before the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of Texas, Corpus Christi Division (No. 2:13cv00193); for the Harris plaintiffs in Harris v. McCrory in the U.S. District Court for the Middle District of North Carolina (No. 1:2013cv00949); for the Bethune-Hill plaintiffs in Bethune-Hill v. Virginia State Board of Elections in the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia (No. 3: 2014cv00852); and for the Fish plaintiffs in Fish v. Kobach in the U.S. District Court for the District of Kansas (No. 2:16-cv-02105-JAR).

11. My areas of expertise include American government, with particular expertise in electoral politics, representation, and public opinion, as well as statistical methods in social sciences and survey research methods. I have authored numerous scholarly works on voting behavior and elections, the application of statistical methods in social sciences, legislative politics and representation, and distributive politics. This scholarship includes articles in such academic journals as the Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, American Political Science Review, American Economic Review, the American Journal of Political Science, Legislative Studies Quarterly, Quarterly Journal of Political Science, Electoral Studies, and Political Analysis. I have published articles on issues of election law in the Harvard Law Review, Texas Law Review, Columbia Law Review, New York University Annual Survey of Law, and Election Law Journal, for which I am a member of the editorial board. I have coauthored three scholarly books on electoral politics in the United States, The End of Inequality: Baker v. Carr and the Transformation of American Politics, Going Negative: How Political Advertising Shrinks and Polarizes the Electorate, and The Media Game: American Politics in the Media Age. I am coauthor with Benjamin Ginsberg, and Ken Shepsle of American Government: Power and Purpose. My curriculum vita with publications list is attached to this report.

#### **Data and Sources**

- 12. I relied on databases accessed through the website of the North Carolina State Board of Elections. Three primary databases in this analysis are:
- Database of Absentee requests in the November 6, 2018 election. This is the database absentee_20181106.csv.
- Database of Vote History of Records on the North Carolina state vote files. This is the file ncvhis_Statewide.txt.
- Database of election results for the November 6, 2018 election. This is the file results_pct 20181106.txt.
- 13. The North Carolina State Board of Elections and Ethics Enforcement posted a document titled Exhibit 4.2.5.1.1.1, with a link to a dataset of

unreturned ballots in CD 9. These data are compiled in the database CIV_ABS_CONG 09 BALLOT NOT RETURNED EXPT_PUBLIC 20181204.c sv. Analyses of these data showed somewhat higher numbers of cases without a returned ballot than are evident in absentee 20181106. However, these data do not appear to be a complete accounting of all absentee requests. For example, they only cover the counties in CD 9.

14. I merged the data in the file CIV ABS_CONG_09 BALLOT_NOT RETURNED_EXPT PUBLIC 20181204.c sv into the file absentee_20181106. I discovered a small number of discrepancies in the number of people who did were indicated as not having returned an absentee mail ballot in CD 9. These discrepancies were on the order of a couple of dozen cases, and not sufficient to alter substantively any of the results or conclusions drawn with the analysis of absentee_20181106. I discuss the data from Exhibit 4.2.5.1.1.1 in my appendix.

#### Results

- 15. The absentee mail ballot process has six steps.²
- 16. First, a registered voter or a near relative requests that an absentee mail ballot be sent. The form must be signed by the voter or a near relative, and the requestor must provide the address where the ballot is to be sent.
- 17. Second, the County Election Office verifies the request and sends the voter a mail ballot.
- 18. Third, after receiving the ballot from the County Election Office, the voter fills out the ballot in the presence of two witnesses (or one if the witness is a notary public). The voter must seal the ballot in the return envelope and, then, complete and sign the Absentee Application and Certificate on the back of the envelope. The witness or witnesses also sign the envelope.
- 19. Fourth, the registrant returns the absentee ballot to the County Election Office. Under North Carolina law, to be counted an absentee ballot must be (i) delivered in-person to the County Election Office no later than 5:00 p.m. on Election Day, or (ii) postmarked no later than Election Day and received by the County Election Office no later than 3 days after Election Day.³

² The website of the North Carolina State Board of Elections provides a more detailed discussion of these steps. <a href="https://www.ncsbe.gov/absentee-voting-mail.">https://www.ncsbe.gov/absentee-voting-mail.</a>
³ For the 2018 general election, due to Hurricane Florence, the State Board of Elections ordered all hurricane-affected counties, including Bladen and Robeson, to

- 20. Fifth, the County Election Office receives the ballots, records the receipt, and determines whether the ballot is valid (e.g., was signed and witnessed).
- 21. Sixth, the County Election Office determines how each individual voted, resolves all instances where an individual may have voted twice (say, absentee mail and in-person on election day) and counts all votes for offices and ballot measures. If an individual sent a mail ballot and later voted at the polling places in-person, curbside, or one-stop, the mail ballot is considered invalid and the other method of voting is accepted.
- 22. Following the November 6, 2018 general election in North Carolina, there were reports of irregularities in absentee mail ballots in Bladen, Columbus, and Robeson Counties. ⁴ At least two types of activities are alleged to have occurred.
- 23. There are allegations that people collected or intercepted marked absentee ballots and did not return them. That would interfere with Step 4. If this type of activity was occurring and widespread in a particular area, we would expect to see unusually large numbers of non-returned ballots in that area.
- 24. There are also allegations that people collected absentee mail ballots from the individuals who requested them, and, then, completed or altered the ballots to benefit one or more candidates, and returned them to the county election office. This type activity would affect Steps 3 and 6 of the process. If this type of activity was occurring and widespread, we would expect to see unusual deviations of the partisan division of the absentee

count all absentee ballots postmarked no later than Election Day and received by the County Election Office no later than 9 days after Election Day.

Ann McAdams, "NC election fraud: Concerning number of absentee ballots not returned in Columbus CO." WECT News, December 12, 2018 <a href="http://www.wect.com/2018/12/12/concerning-number-absentee-ballots-not-returned-columbus-co/">http://www.wect.com/2018/12/12/concerning-number-absentee-ballots-not-returned-columbus-co/</a>.

⁴ Greg Re, "Dems threaten not to seat GOP House winner amid ballot harvesting accusations in North Carolina" <a href="https://www.foxnews.com/politics/alleged-ballot-harvesting-in-north-carolina-house-race-may-wipe-out-gop-win;">https://www.foxnews.com/politics/alleged-ballot-harvesting-in-north-carolina-house-race-may-wipe-out-gop-win;</a> Matt Volz "Disputed House race puts spotlight on 'ballot harvesting." Washington Post, December 6, 2018, <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/national/north-carolina-race-shines-light-on-ballot-harvesting/2018/12/06/919d1a8c-f996-11e8-8642-c9718a256cbd story.html?utm term=.3b1a1484553f.

vote from the partisan division of the absentee ballot requests. The latter would emerge because voters have a strong tendency to vote in line with their party registration and party identification. This type of activity, then, could result in unusually large numbers of non-returned absentee ballots and discrepancies between the partisanship of the absentee mail registrations and the party division of the absentee mail vote.

25. Parts A, B, C and D of this Section of my report examine the rates of non-returned ballots. Section E examines the discrepancy between requests and votes in absentee mail ballots that were returned and accepted.

## A. Requests for and Return of Absentee Mail Ballots in the State of North Carolina

#### A.1. Statewide

- 26. There are at least four different categories of data in the NCSBE Voter File relevant to this inquiry.
- 27. <u>Requests for Absentee Mail Ballots ("Requests")</u>. This is the number of absentee mail ballots requests received by county elections departments.
- 28. <u>Voters who Requested an Absentee Mail Ballot ("Requestors")</u>. This is the number of individual voters who submitted at least one request for an absentee mail ballot (as indicated by unique NCIDs). One individual may submit multiple requests for an absentee mail ballot; as a result, there are more requests than there are requestors.
- 29. Voters who Requested an Absentee Mail Ballot but Did Not Return the Absentee Mail Ballot ("Non-Mailing Requestors"). These are the voters who requested an absentee mail ballot but did not return it. Because an individual who does not return their absentee ballot can vote another way, such as through a one-stop early voting site or at the polling place on election day, this group includes both people who voted and people who did not vote.
- 30. Voters who Requested an Absentee Mail Ballot, Did Not Return the Absentee Mail Ballot, and Did Not Otherwise Vote ("Non-Voting Requestors"). These are the voters who requested an absentee mail ballot, did not return it, and did not otherwise vote during one-stop early voting or at the polling place on election day. I used the vote history data from the state of North Carolina to determine whether and how each individual in the absentee voter file ultimately voted.

31. Across the state of North Carolina, counties received 137,234 Requests for absentee mail ballots in the 2018 general election,⁵ and there were 132,188 Requestors.⁶



TABLE 1. REQUESTORS' VOTING OUTCOMES AND OUTCOMES OF REQUESTORS' MAIL						
BALLOTS IN 20	BALLOTS IN 2018 GENERAL ELECTION (ALL REQUESTORS STATEWIDE)					
		-	<u>Outcomes of Requestors' Mail Ballots</u>			
	Requestors	Requestors whose Mail Ballot was Returned and Accepted	Requestors whose Mail Ballot was Returned but Not Accepted	Requestors whose Mail Ballot was Not Returned	Requestors whose Mail. Ballot was Never Sent by County	
Requestors' Voting Outcomes		Accepted	Not Accepted		by County	
Requestors who Did Not Vote in Election (any method - mail, early, election day)	19,967	13	5,301	14,527 (10.9%) ["Non-Voting Requestors"]	126	
Requestors who Voted in Election (any method - mail, early, election day)	112,221 (84.8%)	107,541	478	4,167	35	
TOTAL	132,188	107,554	5,779	18,694 (14.1%) ["Non- Mailing Requestors"]	161	

32. In general, a large majority of Requestors in North Carolina in 2018 succeeded in voting, either using their mail ballot or through some other

⁵ This figure equals the number of records (or rows) in the file absentee_20181106.csv for which the field ballot_req_type equals MAIL.

⁶ The file absentee_20181106.csv contains 15,066 records for which an individual (unique NCID) tried to obtain an absentee mail ballot at least once.

- means. In total, 112,221 Requestors (or 85 percent of the 132,188 Requestors) eventually voted in the North Carolina general election in 2018. See Table 1.
- 33. Out of the 132,188 Requestors statewide, there were 18,694 Non-Returning Requestors (individuals who did not return their absentee mail ballot). Of these Non-Returning Requestors, 4,167 attempted to vote some other way. Hence, 14,527 individuals (or 10.9 percent of the 132,188 requestors) were Non-Voting Requestors (who did not return a mail ballot and did not vote another way). See Table 1.
- 34. Finally, 5,779 Requestors statewide returned an absentee mail ballot but the election office did not accept their ballots. This amounts to 5 percent of Requestors who returned their mail ballot. A voter's mail ballot might be rejected for a variety of reasons. The most common reason listed in the data are "VOTER SIGNATURE MISSING," "WITNESS INFO INCOMPLETE," and "SPOILED." These cases can be further divided into those individuals who managed to vote some other way and those who did not.
- 35. The rest of my report primarily focuses on Non-Voting Requestors: those who requested and were sent an absentee mail ballot, did not return their absentee ballot, and did not vote in any other way.

# A.2. Congressional District 9

- 36. To begin with, contrast the rates of non-returned ballots in CD 9 with the rest of the state. CD 9 has a much higher rate of Non-Mailing Requestors and Non-Voting Requestors than the rest of the state of North Carolina. As will become clear, this deviation is driven primarily by the results in two counties, Bladen and Robeson.
- 37. In CD 9, there were 17,005 requests for absentee mail ballots. Resolving duplicates, there were 16,299 Requestors.
- 38. CD 9 had the highest rate of Non-Mailing Requestors in the state of North Carolina in the 2018 General Election.
- 39. Of the 16,299 Requestors in CD 9, 3,397 (21 percent) were Non-Mailing Requestors. The rates of Non-Mailing Requestors in the other 12 CDs ranged from 11 percent (in CDs 5 and 11) to 16 percent (in CDs 1 and 8). The rate of Non-Mailing Requestors in CD 9 is 50 percent higher than the rate of absentee mail ballots across all CDs in 2018. The overall rate of Non-Mailing Requestors assigned to a CD throughout the state of North

- Carolina is 14.1 percent.⁷ Excluding CD 9 from this calculation, the rate of Non-Mailing Requestors outside of CD 9 is 13.2 percent.
- 40. CD 9 also had the highest rate of Non-Voting Requestors in the state of North Carolina in the 2018 General Election. Of the 16,299 Requestors in CD 9, 2,484 (15.2 percent) were Non-Voting Requestors. Across the other 12 CDs in North Carolina (excluding CD 9) the rate of Non-Voting Requestors is 10.3 percent.
- 41. In sum, these data reveal an unusually large number of voters in CD 9 who did not return their absentee mail ballots and did not vote compared with the rest of the State of North Carolina. Examination of specific counties reveals where those problems are most highly concentrated in Bladen and Robeson Counties.

### A.3. North Carolina Counties

#### A.3.1. Overall Patterns

42. In the average county in North Carolina, 1 out of 7 Requestors were Non-Mailing Requestors. Specifically, the average rate of Non-Mailing Requestors among the counties is 14.6 percent and the median county has a rate of Non-Mailing Requestors of 13.7 percent. However, certain counties in the state have rates of Non-Mailing Requestors significantly above those averages.

Table 2. Number of Non-Mailing Requestors, Top 5 Counties				
Number				
County Name	Number of	of Non-Mailing	Percent of Non-	
	Requestors	Requestors	Mailing Requestors	
ROBESON	2313	1213	52.4%	
BLADEN	1644	575	35.0%	
COLUMBUS	558	150	27.9%	
RICHMOND	472	131	27.8%	
MONTGOMERY	286	76	26.6%	
HALIFAX	337	85	25.2%	
STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA	132,188	14,527	10.9%	

NOTE: Number of Individuals for whom at least one Record in absentee_20181106.csv with ballot_req_type equal "MAIL" and for whom ballot_rtn_status equal blank.

⁷ A small number of registered voters in the file absentee_20181106 are not assigned to a CD.

⁸ This calculation is for the average county. The overall rate of Non-Return Registrants is 10.9 percent. See Table 2.

43. The counties with the five highest rates of unreturned absentee mail ballots are Robeson County, Bladen County, 9 Richmond County, Columbus County, and Montgomery County. See Table 2. That is, Robeson's rate of unreturned ballots is three times the average county, Bladen's rate is two times larger than the average county, and the rates of unreturned ballots in Richmond, Columbus, and Montgomery are 66 percent higher the rate of unreturned ballots in the average county.

#### A.3.2. CD 9 Counties

Table 3. Number of Non-Mailing Requestors, Counties and Portions of Counties in					
CD 9					
		Number			
		of Non-	Percent of Non-		
County Name	Number of	Mailing	Mailing		
	Requestors	Requestors	Requestors		
ROBESON	2,313	1,184	51%		
BLADEN (CD 9 Portion)	1,366	45 <u>5</u>	33%		
RICHMOND	468	116	25%		
ANSON	257	59	23%		
CUMBERLAND (CD 9 Portion)	955	221	23%		
SCOTLAND	369	<b>7</b> 9	21%		
UNION	3,557	535	15%		
MECKLENBURG (CD 9 Portion)	7,012	753	11%		
STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA	132,188	14,527	10.9%		

NOTE: Number of Individuals for whom at least one Record in absentee_20181106.csv with ballot_req_type equal "MAIL" and for whom ballot_rtn_status equal blank.

- 44. The counties of NC CD 9 exhibit a wide range of rates of Non-Mailing Requestors, from 11 percent in Mecklenburg County (CD 9 portion) and 15 percent in Union County, to 33 percent in Bladen County (CD 9 portion) and 51 percent in Robeson.
- 45. Bladen and Robeson counties exhibit very high rates of unreturned ballots relative to the rest of CD 9 and other the rest of the state. To be sure, Bladen and Robeson counties are not the only counties in CD 9 or surrounding area with elevated rates of unreturned absentee ballots. For

⁹ The figures in this paragraph and Table 2 refer to Bladen County as a whole, including both CD 9 and CD 7.

example, Columbus (in CD 7), and Richmond, Anson, and Cumberland (in CD 9) also have rates of unreturned ballots at least 50 percent higher than the state as a whole.

46. These high rates of unreturned ballots are not, however, the rule. Mecklenburg accounts for the largest number of absentee mail ballots in CD 9 (approximately 40 percent) and it has a lower than average rate of unreturned mail ballots. That is true in the portion of Mecklenburg in CD 9 and the portion in CD 12. Brunswick and Moore counties also have below average rate of unreturned ballots. Union, Cabarrus, Cumberland (CD 8 portion), Sampson and Stanly all have rates of unreturned mail ballots around the state average. And even compared with the counties with elevated rates of unreturned ballots in this area, Bladen and Robeson stand out as having by far the highest rates. ¹⁰

#### B. Non-Returned Absentee Mail Ballots in Bladen and Robeson Counties

47. As discussed above, Bladen and Robeson counties exhibit unusually high rates of non-returned absentee ballots. In this section I look more closely at these counties and provide statistical evidence that they are indeed statistical outliers.

# B.1. Rates of Non-Returned Ballots in Bladen County

48. 1,366 individuals requested absentee mail ballots in the portion of Bladen County that is in CD 9. See Table 4.

¹⁰ The rates of Non-Mailing Requestors in other surrounding counties includes 11 percent in Brunswick, 27 percent in Bladen (CD 7 portion), 12 percent in Mecklenburg (CD 12 portion), 14 percent in Cabarrus (CD 8), 27 percent in Columbus (CD 7), 17 percent in Cumberland (CD 8 part), 21 percent in Hoke (CD 8), 12 percent in Mecklenburg (CD 12 part), 25 percent in Montgomery (CD 8), 13 percent in Moore (CD 8), 18 percent in Sampson (CD 7), and 16 percent in Stanly (CD 8).

TABLE 4. DISPO CONGRESSIONA ELECTION				-	
BBBGTTOTY	Outcomes of Requestors' Mail Ballots				
	Requestors	Requestors whose Mail Ballot was Returned and Accepted	Requestors whose Mail Ballot was Returned but Not Accepted	Requestors whose Mail Ballot was Not Returned	Requestors whose Mail Ballot was Never Sent by County
Requestors' Voting Outcomes					
Requestors who Did Not Vote in Election (any method - mail, early, election day)	424	0	67	337 (25.9%) ["Non-Voting Requestors"]	0
Requestors who Voted in Election (any method - mail, early, election day)	942	808	3	118	1
TOTAL	1,366	808	70	455 (33.3%) ["Non- Mailing Requestors"]	1

- 49. Of these 1,366 requestors in Bladen County, 455 (33 percent) were Non-Mailing Requestors.
- 50. Of these 455 people, 118 voted some other way, such as one-stop or inperson on Election Day. Hence, of the 1,366 requestors in Bladen County, 337 (or 25.9 percent) were Non-Voting Requestors.

# B.2. Rates of Non-Returned Ballots in Robeson County

51. 2,314 individuals requested absentee mail ballots in Robeson County, which lies entirely in CD 9. See Table 5.

TABLE 5. DISPOSITION OF MAIL BALLOTS IN THE ROBESON COUNTY IN
CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT 9 IN THE STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA IN 2018 GENERAL
ELECTION

ELECTION	1				
		Outcomes of R	<u>equestors' Mail</u>	<u>Ballots</u>	
	Requestors	Requestors whose Mail	Requestors whose Mail	Requestors whose Mail	Requestors whose Mail
		Ballot was	Ballot was	Ballot was	Ballot was
		Returned	Returned but	Not	Never Sent
		and	Not Accepted	Returned	by County
		Accepted			
Requestors' Voting					
Outcomes					
Requestors who	856	0	24	832	0
Election (any method - mail, early, election day)				(35.9%) ["Non- Voting Requestors"]	
Requestors who Voted in	1,458	1,096	9	352	1
Election (any method - mail, early, election day)					(
TOTAL	2,314	1,096	33	1,184 (51.2%) ["Non- Mailing Requestors"]	1

- 52. Of these 2,314 requestors, 1,184 (51 percent) were Non-Mailing Requestors.
- 53. Of these 1,184 Non-Mailing Requestors, 352 voted some other way, such as one-stop or in-person on Election Day. Hence, of the 2,314 Requestors in Robeson County, 832 Requestors (or 36.0 percent) were Non-Voting Requestors. See Table 4.

## B.3 Rates of Non-Returned Ballots Elsewhere in CD 9

54. 12,619 individuals requested absentee mail ballots in the portions of CD 9 other than Bladen and Robeson Counties. See Table 6.

TABLE 6. DISPOSITION OF MAIL BALLOTS IN THE PORTIONS OF CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT 9 EXCEPTING BLADEN AND ROBESON COUNTIES IN 2018 GENERAL ELECTION					
LAGEI TING BE	IDEN MAD RODE			Outcomes of Requestors' Mail Ballots	
	Requestors	Requestors whose Mail Ballot.was Returned and Accepted	Requestors whose Mail Ballot was Returned but Not Accepted	Requestors whose Mail Ballot was Not Returned	Requestors whose Mail Ballot was Never Sent by County
Requestors' Vot Requestors who Did Not Vote in Election (any method - mail, early, election day)	1,733	0	396	1,315 (10.2%) ["Non-Voting Requestors"]	21
Requestors who Voted in Election (any method - mail, early, election day)	10,886	10,404	38	443	1
TOTAL	12,619	10,404	434	1,758 (13.9%) ["Non-Mailing Requestors"]	22

- 55. Of these 12,619 requestors, 1,758 (13.9 percent) were Non-Mailing Requestors.
- 56. Of these 1,758 Non-Mailing Requestors, 443 voted some other way, such as one-stop or in-person on Election Day. Hence, of the 12,619 requestors in the portions of CD 9 other than Bladen and Robeson Counties, 1,315 requestors (or 10.2 percent) were Non-Voting Requestors. See Table 4.

## **B.3.** Bladen and Robeson are Statistical Outliers

- 57. Bladen and Robeson counties have rates of unreturned absentee mail ballots that are exceptional and statistical outliers compared with the other counties in CD 9 and with the remainder of the state of North Carolina.
- As demonstrated in Tables 4, 5, and 6 above, the rates of Non-Voting Requestors in Bladen and Robeson counties, 25.9% and 34.9% respectively, are significantly higher than elsewhere in CD 9 (10.2%) and in the state as a whole (10.9%).
- 59. To test for the possibility that these counties are outliers, I measured the probability that the results in Bladen and Robeson could have emerged by chance if the absentee balloting had followed the same patterns that existed elsewhere in the state. The idea behind this statistical test is that the return rates statewide follow a similar pattern. While not every county is identical, and there is variation in non-return rates based on particular characteristics of the counties, they vary closely around the overall statewide rate of non-returned ballots. I, then, measure the deviation of the non-return rates in Bladen and Robeson counties from the statewide rate to see if these counties deviate from the statewide rate, if so by how much, and then calculate how likely those counties' deviations are to have arisen by chance, given the variation among the other 98 counties.
- 60. I measured the average and variation of the rate of Non-Mailing Requestors among all counties except for Bladen and Robeson in the entire state of North Carolina. Then, using a standard statistical test, I measured the probability of observing Non-Return rates as large as those in Bladen or in Robeson given the variation in Non-Return rates observed throughout the rest of the state.¹¹
- 61. For both Bladen and Robeson counties, the probability of observing a Non-Return rate that high or higher is essentially zero. Specifically, the probability of observing a Non-Return rate as high as observed in Bladen County is less than 0.0001. Likewise, the probability of observing a Non-Return rate as high as in Robeson County is less than 0.0001. The Non-Return rates in both counties, then, are highly unlikely to have arisen from the same processes and patterns that exist throughout the rest of the state.

¹¹ Specifically, I calculated the t-statistic for the test that the results in Bladen or Robeson could have come from the same distribution of Non-Return states exhibited across the other 98 counties in North Carolina. The t-statistic for the difference between the rate of non-returned ballots in Bladen and the 98 counties in North Carolina is 7.64. The t-statistic for the difference between the rate of non-returned ballots in Robeson and the other 98 counties in North Carolina is 15.52.

- 62. In sum, the Non-Return rates in Bladen and Robeson are extremely different from that observed in the rest of the state, and those differences are extremely unlikely to have arisen by chance. Bladen and Robeson are extreme outliers compared to the rest of the counties in North Carolina.
- 63. This does not mean that any interference that took place in Bladen and Robeson did not also occur in other counties. For example, there are allegations of potential interference in Columbus County. Rather, this analysis shows that Bladen and Robeson are highly unusual within the state and show deviations in Non-Returned ballots well above what happened elsewhere.

### **B.4. Specific Examples in Bladen and Robeson**

- 64. Looking more closely at Bladen and Robeson counties reveals even more pronounced patterns in certain towns, and exposes other potential issues with absentee mail ballots that were returned but not accepted by the counties.
- 65. In Robeson County, half of all Requestors did not return an absentee ballot. Even within Robeson, though, several towns stood out for their extremely high rates of Non-Mailing Requestors. In the town of Rowland, 64 percent of requestors were Non-Mailing Requestors; in Parkton, 61 percent; in Pembroke, 59 percent; in Lumber Bridge, 59 percent; in Maxton, 53 percent; in Lumberton 51 percent and in Saint Pauls 49. The lowest rate of Non-Mailing Requestors in Robeson County is in Red Springs, at 35 percent. Each of these towns is well above the statewide average and the average rate of returns elsewhere in CD 9.
- 66. These towns have substantial African American and Native American populations. According to the American Community Survey of the US Census Bureau, Robeson County is 25 percent non-Hispanic White; it is 24 percent African American, and it is 41 percent Native American. The town of Pembroke is particularly notable, as it has a significant concentration of members of the Lumbee Tribe. According to the 2013-2017 American Community Survey, conducted by the US Census Bureau, Pembroke is a town of 3,056 people, and there are 1,689 people who are American Indian alone (i.e., that is their sole ethnic or racial identity) in the town of Pembroke. Of 184 requestors who identify as Native American in Pembroke, 104 (57 percent) were Non-Mailing Requestors. That is a very high non-return rate.
- 67. In the rest of the state of North Carolina (outside of Bladen and Robeson counties), 536 Requestors were Native American. Of these, 115 (21 percent) were Non-Mailing Requestors. The problems in the town of

Pembroke, whatever they were, resulted in a non-mailing rate of the Native Americans in this town that were 3 times the state average for that group. As discussed in the next section, Pembroke was not an exception in Robeson and Bladen counties.

- 68. Closer examination of the towns suggests some other potential issues as well. Red Springs had the lowest non-return rate for Robeson County of 35 percent. However, the rate of ballots that were returned but not accepted by the county election office was a whopping 28 percent in Red Springs. Fairmont also had an unusually high rate of unaccepted ballots of 30%. These results may suggest other potential interference with absentee mail ballots in the county.
- 69. The portion of Bladen County in CD 9 had 33 percent rate of Non-Mailing Requestors. In the towns of Bladenboro and Elizabethtown, the rates of Non-Mailing Requestors were 38 and 34 percent respectively. These are the two most populous towns in Bladen County. Bladenboro had over 700 requests for absentee mail ballots; Elizabethtown had almost 500 requests for absentee mail ballots. These anomalies were not limited to those more populous communities. In the less populous town of Harrells, the rate of Non-Mailing Requestors was 25; in Dublin, 46 percent; in Clarkton, 42 percent; in White Oak, 35 percent.
- 70. Elizabethtown also exhibited a high rate of mail ballots that were not accepted by the county. Of the 463 requests, 71 (15 percent) resulted in the County Election Office not accepting the absentee mail ballot. As a result, only 48 percent of absentee mail ballot requests in Elizabeth Town resulted in an accepted mail ballot. Bladenboro was nearly the same. Of 709 requests for absentee mail ballots, 84 (12 percent) resulted in ballots that were not accepted by the County Election Office. And, only 46 percent of absentee mail ballot requests in Bladenboro resulted in an accepted mail ballot.
- 71. Closer examination of the towns in Bladen and Robeson counties, then, reveals that the high rates of non-returned absentee ballots were widespread in these counties. This potential interference hit minority communities, such as the American Indian community in Pembroke, particularly hard. And many towns also provided evidence of other potential issues with absentee ballots that were returned but not accepted by the county.

## C. Results in Bladen and Robeson Are Atypical for Specific Groups of Voters

72. A possible explanation for the very high rate of non-returned absentee mail ballots in Bladen and Robeson counties is that it reflects the composition of these counties. First, it might be the case that the

requestors included many new registrants, who tend to vote at lower rates, even after requesting a mail ballot. Second, it might be that a demographic or partisan group that has a lower propensity to vote is more heavily represented in these counties. In either instance, the groups would have voted largely consistently with expected patterns seen elsewhere in the state, and there just happened to be many members of these groups among requestors in Robeson and Bladen counties. Were that the case, the low return rate, then, would be a spurious consequence of the heavy concentration of such a group in these counties.

73. But these theories, it turns out, are not supported by the data and therefore do not explain what happened in Bladen and Robeson counties. For example, the rate of non-voting among new voter requestors in Bladen and Robeson is 30 percentage points higher than that of new voters elsewhere in CD 9 or in the state. More striking still, the rate of non-voting among requestors who have voted in many elections in the past is also 30 percentage points higher than similarly experienced voters elsewhere in CD 9 or in the state. Comparing the return rates of racial and partisan groups inside and outside of Bladen and Robeson counties also shows striking differences. The non-voting rates of requestors of all racial and all partisan groups in these counties are much higher than their counterparts elsewhere in CD 9 and in the state. These differences suggest that the patterns of absentee mail voting in these counties are not a product of the voting experience of registrants or of the racial and partisan composition of the counties. Rather, then non-voting rates among requestors within these counties are extremely high compared to the rest of the state. That is true for the population as a whole, and for every one of the groups (experience, race, and party) that I examined.

## **C.1.** Experience Voting in Past Elections

- 74. One plausible explanation for the patterns observed in Bladen and Robeson counties might be that there had been a registration and get-out-the-vote effort that attempted to mobilize many new voters by getting them to vote absentee mail ballots. Because new voters tend to vote at lower rates than experienced voters, and more new voters were signed up to vote by mail absentee ballot, this might account for higher non-return rates in the two counties.
- 75. To test this conjecture, I compared the rate of non-voting in Bladen and Robeson counties with the non-voting rate elsewhere in CD 9 and elsewhere in the state for each of three groups of requestors. Group 1 are New Voters, or requestors who had not voted in prior elections according to the North Carolina State Board of Elections vote history data. Group 2 are Occasional Voters, or requestors who had voted in one, two, or three

prior elections over the past 6 years. This group would include relatively new registrants as well as those who only voted occasionally over the past 6 years. Group 3 are Frequent Voters, or requestors who had voted at least 4 times in the past 6 years. For example, someone who voted in every federal general election (2012, 2014, 2016, and 2018) would be a Frequent Voter in Group 3. These are displayed in Table 7 below. For simplicity, I combined Bladen and Robeson counties; the results are qualitatively the same treating them separately.

TABLE 7. NON-VOTING REQUESTORS BY FREQUENCY OF VOTING IN PAST ELECTIONS				
	Location o	f Non-Voting Re	equestor	
	Bladen (CD 9 part) and Robeson Counties [Num. of Requestors]	Rest of CD 9	Rest of State of North Carolina	
Non-Voting Requestors' Experience Voting in Prior Elections				
New Voter (2018 is first election in Voter History)	48.7 % [469]	14.4% [1,944]	15.8% [17,325]	
Occasional Voter: Voted 2 – 4 Prior Elections	40.5% [432]	14.8% [1,894]	15.0% [18.298]	
Frequent Voter: Voted 4+ Prior Elections	41.7% [352]	9.7% [1,683]	11.7% [16,934]	

76. New voter requestors in Bladen and Robeson counties, shown in the first cell of Table 9 above, indeed have very high rates of non-voting – almost half of the total overall. Specifically, 49 percent of New Voter requestors in Bladen and Robeson counties had no returned mail ballot and recorded no vote through other means. Comparing across the first row of the table, however, there is a striking difference between New Voter requestors in Bladen and Robeson counties compared with New Voter requestors elsewhere in CD 9 and elsewhere in the state. For example, in the remainder of CD 9, 14 percent of New Voter requestors were Non-

Voting Requestors. In the remainder of the state, the rate is 16 percent. Hence, New Voter requestors in Bladen and Robeson had a non-voting rate of 49 percent, which is more than 30 points higher than the non-voting rate of New Voters elsewhere in the state.

- 77. I also examined the non-voting rates of Occasional and Frequent voter requestors. In Bladen and Robeson counties, the non-voting rates of those two groups of requestors exceed 40 percent, which is nearly as high as the non-voting rate for New Voter requestors in the two counties.
- As with New Voters, the non-voting rate is 30 points higher for Occasional and Frequent Voter requestors in Bladen and Robeson counties than it is in the rest of CD 9 or in the rest of North Carolina. The rate of non-voting for Occasional voter requestors is 15 percent in the rest of CD 9 and 15 percent in the rest of the state, compared with 41 percent in Bladen and Robeson counties. The rate of non-voting for Frequent Voter requestors is 10 percent in the rest of CD 9 and 12 percent in the rest of the state, compared with 42 percent in Bladen and Robeson counties.
- 79. This pattern squarely contradicts the notion that the results in Bladen and Robeson are the result of a high number of New Voters. Whatever happened in Bladen and Robeson counties affected the ability of New Voters, Occasional Voters, and Frequent Voters to cast absentee ballots by mail alike.

#### C.2. Race

- 80. A somewhat different possibility is that Bladen and Robeson counties differ from the rest of CD 9 or from the rest of the state in their racial composition, and that groups overrepresented in these counties might have low propensities to vote. As noted earlier, these counties do have high minority populations. Robeson has an especially large Native American population, and both counties have large African American populations.
- 81. The unreturned rates among racial groups reveal three patterns.
- 82. First, Bladen and Robeson counties are distinctive in that African American voters and Native American voters combined make up the majority of individuals who requested absentee mail ballots. Elsewhere in the state, Whites voters comprised 75 to 80 percent of the individuals who made such requests. In Bladen and Robeson counties combined, however, 36 percent of all people who requested absentee mail ballots were African American; 18 percent, Native American; and 42 percent, White. In the part of Bladen County that is in CD 9, 31 percent of absentee mail ballot requests came from African Americans, 1 percent from Native

- Americans, and 67 percent from whites. In Robeson County, 40 percent of absentee mail ballot requests came from African Americans; 28 percent, from Native Americans, and 26 percent from Whites.
- 83. Second, in the rest of NC 9 and the rest of the state, White voters, African American votes, and Native American requestors have similar rates non-voting: about 9 percent for White requestors, and about 13 to 15 percent for African American and Native American requestors.
- 84. Third, in Bladen and Robeson counties, White requestors and Black requestors also have similar rates of non-voting, but those rates are much higher than the rest of the state: the rate at which African American individuals did not return ballots and did not vote in any other way is 21 percent in Bladen and 33 percent in Robeson. The rate at which white individuals did not return ballots and did not vote in any other way is 26 percent in Bladen and 31 percent in Robeson. The rate of non-voting among Native American requestors is particularly high in Robeson County, at 43%. See Table 8 below.

TABLE 8. NON-VOTING REQUESTORS BY RACE				
	Race of Non-V	oting Requestors		
	White	African-	Native	
		American	American	
Location of Non-Voting				
Requestors				
BLADEN	240	89	5	
	(26.2%)	(21.1%)	(38.5%)	
	191	298	277	
ROBESON	(31.2%)	(32.5%)	(43.0%)	
	873	235	14	
REST OF NC9	(9.3%)	(14.3%)	(14.4%)	
REST OF THE STATE OF	7,946	2,510	66	
NORTH CAROLINA	(9.4%)	(13.3%)	.(15.2%)	

85. These three patterns indicate that high non-return rates in Bladen and Robeson counties are not a consequence of the racial composition of CD 9. Even though the request rate of minority groups is very large in Bladen and Robeson counties compared with the rest of the state, it is the particularly high non-non-return rate of each group – African American, Native American, and White – as compared to their counterparts elsewhere in the state that produces the high overall non-return rate in the two counties.

## C.3. Party Registration.

- 86. Party registration shows a similar story to race. Every partisan group in Bladen and Robeson counties has an elevated rate of unreturned ballots as compared to the same partisan groups in the rest of the state. However, owing to the relatively low number of Republican absentee mail ballot requests in the area, Democratic and Unaffiliated registrants were affected disproportionately.
- 87. First, in Bladen and Robeson combined, Democrats accounted for almost 60 percent of absentee ballot requests and Republicans only 13 percent. In the two counties combined, 3,680 individuals requested absentee mail ballots. Of these, 2,102 were from Democratic registrants; 501 were from Republican registrants; and 1,069 were from Unaffiliated registrants.
- 88. Second, the rates of non-returned ballots in Bladen and Robeson counties are much higher for each group than for their counterparts elsewhere in the state. See Table 9 below.

TABLE 9. NON-VOTING REQUESTORS BY PARTY				
	Party Affiliati	ion of Non-Votin	g Requestor	
	Republican	Democratic	Unaffiliated	
Location of Non-Voting Requestor				
BLADEN	96	102	139	
	(31.7%)	(19.1%)	(26.4%)	
•	-		pr	
	65	527	239	
ROBESON	(32.3%)	(33.6%)	(44.1%)	
	289	588	432	
REST OF NC9	(9.2%)	(10.1%)	(10.1%)	
REST OF THE STATE OF NORTH	2,784	5,221	3,972	
CAROLINA	(9.2%)	(10.4%)	(11.2%)	

89. As shown above, the non-voting rate for Democratic requestors elsewhere in the state is 10 percent, but it is 19 percent in Bladen and 34 percent in Robeson. The non-voting rate for Unaffiliated requestors elsewhere in the state is 11 percent, but it is 26 percent in Bladen and 44 percent in Robeson. The non-voting rate for Republican requestors is 9 percent, but it is 32 percent in Bladen and 32 percent in Robeson.

- 90. Hence, the high rates of unreturned ballots do not result from having one group that has an unusually high rate of unreturned ballots being over represented in the area. Rather, every partisan group has highly elevated rates of unreturned ballots in these counties when compared with the rest of CD 9 and the rest of the state.
- 91. Owing to the higher rate of requests, Democrats and Unaffiliated registrants make up a much larger percent of individuals who requested mail ballots, did not return them, and did not cast a vote in any other way. In Bladen and Robeson combined, there are 161 Republican registrants who did not return their mail ballots and did not vote any other way. There are 378 such cases of Unaffiliated registrants. And, there are 629 such cases of Democratic registrants. Thus, in Bladen and Robeson counties, Democratic registrants account for 54 percent of individuals who requested mail ballots but did not return them and did not vote in any other way. Republicans accounted for just 14 percent of such cases.
- 92. In sum, the unusually high rates of unreturned absentee mail ballots in Bladen and Robeson are extreme statistical outliers compared to the rest of the state. These anomalies are not explained by the demographic or partisan composition of the counties; nor are these patterns explained by an unusually high rate of new registrants who did not return their absentee ballots. Rather, the rates of unreturned ballots are elevated for all groups based on voting experience, race, and party registration in Bladen and Robeson counties when contrasted with the compatriots of each group elsewhere in the state.

#### D. Conclusion

- 93. CD 9 is an outlier in the rate of unreturned absentee mail ballots compared with the rest of the state. Bladen and Robeson Counties are outliers in the rate of unreturned absentee ballots compared with the rest of CD 9 and with the rest of the state. The observed deviations are extremely unlikely to have arisen by chance, and plausible alternative explanations having to do with the nature of the electorate in these counties cannot account for the extremely high non-return rates in Bladen and Robeson counties. Rather, every group of voters who requested absentee mail ballots seems to have encountered substantial obstacles to submitting an Accepted absentee mail ballot. These patterns are consistent with allegations of interference with the absentee mail ballot process.
- 94. Finally, the data indicates that hundreds of votes may have been affected by these irregularities. 3,680 individuals in Bladen and Robeson Counties requested absentee ballots. The mail ballots of 1,639 individuals in Bladen and Robeson Counties combined were never returned to county elections offices. And 1,169 of these individuals never ended up casting a ballot in the election.

95. Further, these figures likely understate the magnitude of any potential interference with absentee mail ballots, as they do not incorporate other potential irregularities, such as relatively high rates of absentee mail ballots that were received by the county elections offices but were not accepted and counted.

# E. Partisan Affiliation of Absentee Mail Requests compared with Partisan Outcomes of Absentee Mail Votes

- 96. This section of my report examines the allegation that an organized group collected absentee mail ballots from voters, completed or altered the ballots to favor one or more candidates, and then submitted them. As discussed above, such actions could result in differences between the partisan affiliation of the voters whose absentee ballots are returned and the partisan outcome of the contests on the ballot. It is well established in Political Science research that people who identify with or register with a political party have a very high probability of voting for that party in general elections. In order to attempt to fraudulently alter election outcomes in favor of a candidate from one party, a perpetrator who intercepted the absentee ballot of a member of another party would cast a vote contrary to how that voter would have normally voted.
- 97. Consider a somewhat extreme example to clarify the logic. Suppose, for instance, that half the ballots are requested by individuals registered with party A and half are from party B. Suppose further, that all Party A registrants would vote for party A and all Party B registrants vote for Party B. Suppose, finally, that half of all ballots are intercepted and voted by an individual who sides with party B, and that individual marks all of the intercepted ballots for party B. In such a situation, party A would win one-fourth of the votes even though one half of the votes came from party A registrants. The reason is that half of the ballots of Party A registrants are intercepted and changed to votes for party B. Party A would win those votes of Party A registrants that were not intercepted; that is one half of one half of the ballots, or one quarter of the ballots. Party B, on the other hand, would win three quarters of the votes, even though only half of the registrants are from party B. The reason is that the person who intercepted the ballots would choose party B for the ballots. Hence, party B would win all of the votes of those people registered with Party B, and party B would additionally win the intercepted ballots of party A registrants whose votes were cast for party B.
- 98. This hypothetical example merely demonstrates the consequences of such interference if it occurred, but it does describe the general pattern of absentee votes and absentee ballot requests that would be consistent with such behavior. Specifically, if such interference occurred on behalf of, say, the Republican candidate, then the Republican candidate would receive disproportionately many absentee votes compared to absentee

ballot requests from Republican registrants, and the Democratic candidate would receive disproportionately few absentee votes compared to absentee ballot requests from Democratic registrants. To gauge whether the data are consistent with such behavior, I measure the proportion of Democratic, Republican, and Unaffiliated registrants who cast absentee mail ballots in Bladen and Robeson Counties, and compare those figures to the proportion of absentee votes received by Democratic and Republican candidates. I further compare those figures to the rest of CD 9 and the rest of the state of North Carolina to see if the patterns are unusual. This analysis is presented in Table 10.

- 99. Table 10 compares the partisan breakdown of registrants whose mail ballots were accepted by the county elections offices and the absentee mail vote cast for the Democratic and Republican candidates for US House of Representatives. The analysis is performed for Bladen County (part in CD 9), Robeson County, CD 9, and the State of North Carolina. Table 11 distills the essential facts from this analysis and compares the percent of absentee votes and absentee ballot request for each area.
- 100. Throughout the State of North Carolina 41 percent of accepted absentee mail ballots came from Democratic registrants, 23 percent of accepted absentee mail ballot requests came from Republican registrants, and 31 percent of accepted mail absentee ballot requests came from Unaffiliated registrants. Democratic candidates for US House won 58 percent of absentee mail votes statewide. That is, Democratic candidates won the absentee mail vote by 17 percentage points more than the percent of accepted absentee ballots that came from Democratic registrants. Republican candidates for US House won 41 percent of absentee mail votes for US House statewide. That is, Republican candidates won the absentee mail vote by 13 percentage points more than the percent of accepted absentee mail ballots that came from Republican registrants. This pattern is consistent with an accounting of votes in which almost all Democratic registrants voted Democratic, almost all Republican registrants voted Republican, and Unaffiliated registrants split their votes.
- 101. In the non-Bladen and Robeson portions of CD 9, absentee mail ballots and absentee mail votes follow the same pattern as the rest of the state. The last panel of Table 10 compares the partisan breakdown of absentee ballots and mail votes in the remainder of CD 9 (excluding Bladen and Robeson Counties). Specifically, Democratic registrants had 3,770 absentee mail ballots accepted; Republican registrants had 2,536 vote by mail ballots accepted, and Unaffiliated registrants had 3,007 mail ballots accepted. Democratic registrants were the plurality of accepted absentee mail ballots, and the Democratic candidate won the majority of the absentee mail votes.

# Exhibit 7.1.2.2

_				ATION OF VOTE	CRS
			CAST FOR US H		
		STATE	OF NORTH CA	ROLINA	
	Democratic	Republican	Unaffiliated	Other Party	
	Registrants	Registrants	Registrants	Registrants	TOTAL
Mail Ballots	40,251	26,790	30,162	368	97,571
Accepted	(41.3 %)	(27.5 %)	(30.9 %)	(0.4 %)	
	Democratic	Republican		Other Party	
	Candidate	Candidate		Candidate	
Mail Votes	54,898	38,678		1,181	94,757
for US	(57.9%)	(40.8%)		(1.2%)	
House					
		CONGR	ESSIONAL DIS'	TRICT 9	
			Bladen County	7	
	Democratic	Republican	Unaffiliated	Other Party	
	Registrants	Registrants	Registrants	Registrants	TOTAL
Mail Ballots	286	130	262	1	679
Accepted	(42.1%)	(19.1%)	(38.6%)	(0.1%)	
	Democratic	Republican		Other Party	
	Candidate	Candidate		Candidate	
Mail Votes	258	420		6	684
for US	(37.7%)	(61.4%)		(0.9%)	
House		(======================================		(-11 /0)	
		I	Robeson Count	y	
	Democratic	Republican	Unaffiliated	Other Party	
	Registrants	Registrants	Registrants	Registrants	TOTAL
Mail Ballots	405	104	180	2	691
Accepted	(58.6%)	(15.1%)	(26.1%)	(0.2%)	
-	Democratic	Republican		Other Party	
	Candidate	Candidate		Candidate	
Mail Votes	403	259		18	680
for US	(59.2%)	(38.1%)		(2.6%)	
House					
		Re	emainder of CD	9	
	Democratic	Republican	Unaffiliated	Other Party	
	Registrants	Registrants	Registrants	Registrants	TOTAL
Mail Ballots	3,770	2,536	3,008	30	9,343
Accepted	(40.4%)	(27.1%)	(32.2%)	(0.3%)	
•	Democratic	Republican		Other Party	
	Candidate	Candidate		Candidate	
Mail Votes	5,810	3,348		129	9,287
for US	1	· -			
House	,				
	1	1			1
for US House	(62.6%)	(36.1%)	06.csv, results_	(1.4%)	9,28

As shown in Table 10, Dan McCready won 5,810 absentee mail votes. That is, McCready won 2,040 more votes than there were Democratic votes by mail. In counties other than Bladen and Robeson in CD 9, Mark Harris won 3,348 absentee mail votes. That is 812 more votes than there were accepted absentee mail ballots from Republican registrants.

- 102. Bladen and Robeson Counties break from this pattern. In Bladen and Robeson Counties, the Democratic candidate received slightly fewer absentee mail votes than there were accepted absentee mail ballots from Democratic registrants, and the Republican candidate for US House in CD 9 received disproportionately more votes than there were absentee mail ballot requests from Republican registrants.
- 103. In Bladen county, the county election office accepted 286 absentee mail ballots from Democrats, 116 absentee mail ballots from Republicans, and 262 absentee mail ballots from voters with Unaffiliated registration. Dan McCready received 258 absentee mail votes 18 less than the number of mail ballots from Democratic voters. Mark Harris received 420 absentee mail ballots 294 more than the number of mail ballots from Republican voters.
- 104. In Robeson county, the election office accepted 405 absentee mail ballots from Democrats, 104 absentee mail ballots from Republicans, and 180 absentee mail ballots from voters with Unaffiliated registration. Dan McCready received 403 absentee mail votes 2 less than the number of mail ballots from Democratic voters. Mark Harris received 259 absentee mail ballots 147 more than the number of mail ballots from Republican voters.
- 105. These results are highly unusual compared with the patterns elsewhere in CD 9 and in the state of North Carolina as a whole.
- 106. To put this in perspective, assume, as above, that McCready and Harris won all of their own partisans' mail ballots in CD 9 (except in Bladen and Robeson Counties). Under this assumption, McCready would have won 67.8 percent of the Unaffiliated and Harris would have won 27.0 percent of the Unaffiliated throughout CD 9 (except in Bladen and Robeson Counties). But Bladen and Robeson are completely the opposite. Again, assume that the candidates won their own partisans' absentee mail ballots. Then, McCready would win none of the Unaffiliated ballots, and Harris would win almost all of the Unaffiliated ballots (a small percent would go to a third-party candidate or not vote). Under this assumption McCready won approximately two-thirds of the Unaffiliated vote in CD 9 and none of the Unaffiliated vote in Bladen and Robeson.

TABLE 11. DIFFERENCES BETWEEN PARTISAN AFFILIATION OF VOTERS WHOSE ABSENTEE MAIL BALLOTS WERE ACCEPTED AND PARTISAN OUTCOMES OF ABSENTEE MAIL VOTES CAST FOR US HOUSE

	Percent of Mail Votes For Democrats (US House)	Percent of Mail Votes for Republican. (US House)  Minus
	Minus	
	Percent of Mail Ballots from Democratic Registrants	Percent of Mail Ballots from Republican Registrants
State of North Carolina	+ 16.6 (57.9 % - 41.3 %)	+13.3 (40.8 % - 27.5 %)
CD 9 (except Bladen and Robeson Counties)	+22.4 (62.6 % - 40.4 %)	+9.0 (36.1 % - 27.1 %)
Bladen County (part in CD 9)	-4.4 (37.7 % - 42.1 %)	+42.3 (61.4 % - 19.1 %)
Robeson County	+0.6 (59.2 % - 58.6 %)	+23.0 (38.1 % - 15.1 %)

- 107. Table 11 presents another way to appreciate the peculiarity of the absentee vote patterns in Bladen and Robeson. This table presents the difference between the share of the absentee mail votes won by each candidate and the share of absentee mail ballots requested by members of the partisan groups. Statewide, Democrats won 16.6 points higher vote percentage than their party's registrants' percentage of the absentee ballots, and Republicans won 13.3 points higher vote percentage than their registrants' percentage of absent mail ballots. For example, Democrats were 41.3 percent of registered voters whose ballots were accepted, and Democratic candidates won 57.9 percent of mail ballots statewide. That is a difference of 16.6 points.
- 108. In CD 9, except for Bladen and Robeson counties, Dan McCready won 22.4 points higher percentage of votes than of Democratic registrants among

mail ballots cast. Mark Harris won 9.0 points higher vote percentage than Republican registrants among mail ballots cast.

- 109. In Bladen county, however Mark Harris' percentage of votes won was 41 points higher than the percentage of Republicans among registrants who cast mail ballots. And, in Robeson county, the difference for Harris was 23 points. By comparison, the percentage of votes that Dan McCready won in Bladen county was 4 points *lower* than the percentage of Democrats among registrants who cast mail ballots. In Robeson county, that difference was essentially 0.
- 110. This unusual pattern is highly different from the rest of CD 9 and patterns of absentee voting in the state as a whole.

l declare that to the best of my knowledge and belief, the information herein is true, correct, and complete.

Name: Stephen Ansolabahere

Date: December 21, 2018

Sworn to (or affirmed) and subscribed before me this the 21 day of December, 20 18.

The Commonwealth of Massachusetts

On this 2 1 day of December 20 18
before me, the undersigned notary public, Stephen Ansiala behale personally appeared, proved to me through satisfactory evidence of identification, which were Dever's Cicese 1, to be the person whose name is signed on the preceding or attached document, and acknowledged to me that he/she signed it voluntarily for its stated ournose.

to me that he/she signed it voluntarily for its stated purpose.

KALAN CHANG, Notary Public My Commission Expires September 27, 2024

Notary Public

My commission expires <u>September</u> 27, 2024.

## Appendix A. Alternative Data

Data in the file

CIV_ABS_CONG 09 BALLOT_NOT RETURNED EXPT_PUBLIC 20181204. csv. show slightly higher numbers of unreturned ballots in Bladen and Robeson Counties. They do not substantively alter my conclusions that CD 9 has an unusually high rate of unreturned absentee ballots in the state, and Bladen and Robeson Counties have extremely high rates of unreturned mail ballots.

According to these data there are 483 individuals with unreturned absentee mail ballots in Bladen County, 18 more cases than in the file absentee_20181106.csv. They account for 33 percent of individuals who requested absentee ballots.

In Robeson County, these alternative data contain 1,197 individuals with unreturned absentee mail ballots in Robeson County, 13 more cases than in the file absentee_20181106.csv. See Tables xx. These data indicate that 63 percent of all individuals who requested absentee mail ballots in Robeson County did not return one.

According to these data, the rate of unreturned ballots is 23 percent in CD 9 overall, approximately 2 points higher than in the file absentee_20181106.csv. And, the rate of unreturned ballots in the CD 9 except for Bladen and Robeson Counties is 15 percent.

These data are broadly consistent with the findings from the file absentee_20181106.csv. Though they suggest that the numbers might be slightly higher.

I do not do further analyses of these data because they cover only the counties in CD 9. Also, I do not know the methodology for generating these data.

This does not include the analysis looking at how many of their identified cases voted in person later.

Appendix B. Curriculum Vitae

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## **EDUCATION**

Harvard University	Ph.D., Political Science	1989
University of Minnesota	B.A., Political Science	1984
	B.S., Economics	

# PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

# **ACADEMIC POSITIONS**

2016-present	Frank G. Thompson Professor of Government, Harvard University
2008-present	Professor, Department of Government, Harvard University
2015-present	Director, Center for American Politics, Harvard University
1998-2009	Elting Morison Professor, Department of Political Science, MIT
	(Associate Head, 2001-2005)
1995-1998	Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, MIT
1993-1994	National Fellow, The Hoover Institution
1989-1993	Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science,
	University of California, Los Angeles

## FELLOWSHIPS AND HONORS

American Academy of Arts and Sciences	2007
Carnegie Scholar	2000-02
National Fellow, The Hoover Institution	1993-94
Harry S. Truman Fellowship	1982-86

# **PUBLICATIONS**

Books	
2019	American Government, 15 th edition. With Ted Lowi, Benjamin Ginsberg and Kenneth Shepsle. W.W. Norton.
2014	Cheap and Clean: How Americans Think About Energy in the Age of Global Warming. With David Konisky. MIT Press. Recipient of the Donald K. Price book award.
2008	The End of Inequality: One Person, One Vote and the Transformation of American Politics. With James M. Snyder, Jr., W. W. Norton.
1996	Going Negative: How Political Advertising Divides and Shrinks the American Electorate. With Shanto Iyengar. The Free Press. Recipient of the Goldsmith book award.
1993	Media Game: American Politics in the Television Age. With Roy Behr and Shanto Iyengar. Macmillan.
Journa	l Articles
2018	"Policy, Politics, and Public Attitudes Toward the Supreme Court" American Politics Research (with Ariel White and Nathaniel Persily). <a href="https://doi.org/10.1177/1532673X18765189">https://doi.org/10.1177/1532673X18765189</a>
2018	"Measuring Issue-Salience in Voters' Preferences" <i>Electoral Studies</i> (with Maria Socorro Puy) 51 (February): 103-114.
2018	"Divided Government and Significant Legislation: A History of Congress," <i>Social Science History</i> (with Maxwell Palmer and Benjamin Schneer).42 (1).
2017	"ADGN: An Algorithm for Record Linkage Using Address, Date of Birth Gender and Name," Statistics and Public Policy (with Eitan Hersh)
2017	"Identity Politics" (with Socorro Puy) <i>Public Choice</i> . 168: 1-19. DOI 10.1007/s11127-016-0371-2
2016	"A 200-Year Statistical History of the Gerrymander" (with Maxwell Palmer) <i>The Ohio State University Law Journal</i>

2016	"Do Americans Prefer Co-Ethnic Representation? The Impact of Race on House Incumbent Evaluations" (with Bernard Fraga) <i>Stanford University Law Review</i> 68: 1553-1594
2016	Revisiting Public Opinion on Voter Identification and Voter Fraud in an Era of Increasing Partisan Polarization" (with Nathaniel Persily) <i>Stanford Law Review</i> 68: 1455-1489
2015	"The Perils of Cherry Picking Low Frequency Events in Large Sample Surveys" (with Brian Schaffner and Samantha Luks) <i>Electoral Studies</i> 40 (December): 409-410.
2015	"Testing Shaw v. Reno: Do Majority-Minority Districts Cause Expressive Harms?" (with Nathaniel Persily) New York University Law Review 90
2015	"A Brief Yet Practical Guide to Reforming U.S. Voter Registration, <i>Election Law Journal</i> , (with Daron Shaw and Charles Stewart) 14: 26-31.
2015	"Waiting to Vote," Election Law Journal, (with Charles Stewart) 14: 47-53.
2014	"Mecro-economic Voting: Local Information and Micro-Perceptions of the Macro-Economy" (With Marc Meredith and Erik Snowberg), <i>Economics and Politics</i> 26 (November): 380-410.
2014	"Does Survey Mode Still Matter?" <i>Political Analysis</i> (with Brian Schaffner) 22: 285-303
2013	"Race, Gender, Age, and Voting" <i>Politics and Governance</i> , vol. 1, issue 2. (with Eitan Hersh) <a href="http://www.librelloph.com/politicsandgovernance/article/view/PaG-1.2.132">http://www.librelloph.com/politicsandgovernance/article/view/PaG-1.2.132</a>
2013	"Regional Differences in Racially Polarized Voting: Implications for the Constitutionality of Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act" (with Nathaniel Persily and Charles Stewart) 126 <i>Harvard Law Review</i> F 205 (2013) http://www.harvardlawreview.org/issues/126/april13/forum_1005.php
2013	"Cooperative Survey Research" Annual Review of Political Science (with Douglas Rivers)
2013	"Social Sciences and the Alternative Energy Future" Daedalus (with Bob Fri)
2013	"The Effects of Redistricting on Incumbents," <i>Election Law Journal</i> (with James Snyder)

2012	"Asking About Numbers: How and Why" <i>Political Analysis</i> (with Erik Snowberg and Marc Meredith). doi:10.1093/pan/mps031.
2012	"Movers, Stayers, and Registration" Quarterly Journal of Political Science (with Eitan Hersh and Ken Shepsle)
2012	"Validation: What Big Data Reveals About Survey Misreporting and the Real Electorate" <i>Political Analysis</i> (with Eitan Hersh)
2012	"Arizona Free Enterprise v. Bennett and the Problem of Campaign Finance" Supreme Court Review 2011 (1):39-79
2012	"The American Public's Energy Choice" Daedalus (with David Konisky)
2012	"Challenges for Technology Change" Daedalus (with Robert Fri)
2011	"When Parties Are Not Teams: Party positions in single-member district and proportional representation systems" <i>Economic Theory</i> 49 (March) DOI: 10.1007/s00199-011-0610-1 (with James M. Snyder Jr. and William Leblanc)
2011	"Profiling Originalism" <i>Columbia Law Review</i> (with Jamal Greene and Nathaniel Persily).
2010	"Partisanship, Public Opinion, and Redistricting" <i>Election Law Journal</i> (with Joshua Fougere and Nathaniel Persily).
2010	"Primary Elections and Party Polarization" <i>Quarterly Journal of Political Science</i> (with Shigeo Hirano, James Snyder, and Mark Hansen)
2010	"Constituents' Responses to Congressional Roll Call Voting," American Journal of Political Science (with Phil Jones)
2010	"Race, Region, and Vote Choice in the 2008 Election: Implications for the Future of the Voting Rights Act" <i>Harvard Law Review</i> April, 2010. (with Nathaniel Persily, and Charles H. Stewart III)
2010	"Residential Mobility and the Cell Only Population," <i>Public Opinion Quarterly</i> (with Brian Schaffner)
2009	"Explaining Attitudes Toward Power Plant Location," <i>Public Opinion Quarterly</i> (with David Konisky)

2009	"Public risk perspectives on the geologic storage of carbon dioxide," <i>International Journal of Greenhouse Gas Control</i> (with Gregory Singleton and Howard Herzog) 3(1): 100-107.
2008	"A Spatial Model of the Relationship Between Seats and Votes" (with William Leblanc) <i>Mathematical and Computer Modeling</i> (November).
2008	"The Strength of Issues: Using Multiple Measures to Gauge Preference Stability, Ideological Constraint, and Issue Voting" (with Jonathan Rodden and James M. Snyder, Jr.) <i>American Political Science Review</i> (May).
2008	"Access versus Integrity in Voter Identification Requirements." New York University Annual Survey of American Law, vol 63.
2008	"Voter Fraud in the Eye of the Beholder" (with Nathaniel Persily) <i>Harvard Law Review</i> (May)
2007	"Incumbency Advantages in U. S. Primary Elections," (with John Mark Hansen, Shigeo Hirano, and James M. Snyder, Jr.) <i>Electoral Studies</i> (September)
2007	"Television and the Incumbency Advantage" (with Erik C. Snowberg and James M. Snyder, Jr). <i>Legislative Studies Quarterly</i> .
2006	"The Political Orientation of Newspaper Endorsements" (with Rebecca Lessem and James M. Snyder, Jr.). <i>Quarterly Journal of Political Science</i> vol. 1, issue 3.
2006	"Voting Cues and the Incumbency Advantage: A Critical Test" (with Shigeo Hirano, James M. Snyder, Jr., and Michiko Ueda) <i>Quarterly Journal of Political Science</i> vol. 1, issue 2.
2006	"American Exceptionalism? Similarities and Differences in National Attitudes Toward Energy Policies and Global Warming" (with David Reiner, Howard Herzog, K. Itaoka, M. Odenberger, and Fillip Johanssen) <i>Environmental Science and Technology</i> (February 22, 2006), http://pubs3.acs.org/acs/journals/doilookup?in_doi=10.1021/es052010b
2006	"Purple America" (with Jonathan Rodden and James M. Snyder, Jr.) <i>Journal of Economic Perspectives</i> (Winter).
2005	"Did the Introduction of Voter Registration Decrease Turnout?" (with David Konisky). <i>Political Analysis</i> .
2005	"Statistical Bias in Newspaper Reporting: The Case of Campaign Finance"

	Public Opinion Quarterly (with James M. Snyder, Jr., and Erik Snowberg).
2005	"Studying Elections" <i>Policy Studies Journal</i> (with Charles H. Stewart III and R. Michael Alvarez).
2005	"Legislative Bargaining under Weighted Voting" American Economic Review (with James M. Snyder, Jr., and Michael Ting)
2005	"Voting Weights and Formateur Advantages in Coalition Formation: Evidence from Parliamentary Coalitions, 1946 to 2002" (with James M. Snyder, Jr., Aaron B. Strauss, and Michael M. Ting) <i>American Journal of Political Science</i> .
2005	"Reapportionment and Party Realignment in the American States" <i>Pennsylvania Law Review</i> (with James M. Snyder, Jr.)
2004	"Residual Votes Attributable to Voting Technologies" (with Charles Stewart)  Journal of Politics
2004	"Using Term Limits to Estimate Incumbency Advantages When Office Holders Retire Strategically" (with James M. Snyder, Jr.). <i>Legislative Studies Quarterly</i> vol. 29, November 2004, pages 487-516.
2004	"Did Firms Profit From Soft Money?" (with James M. Snyder, Jr., and Michiko Ueda) <i>Election Law Journal</i> vol. 3, April 2004.
2003	"Bargaining in Bicameral Legislatures" (with James M. Snyder, Jr. and Mike Ting) American Political Science Review, August, 2003.
2003	"Why Is There So Little Money in U.S. Politics?" (with James M. Snyder, Jr.) <i>Journal of Economic Perspectives</i> , Winter, 2003.
2002	"Equal Votes, Equal Money: Court-Ordered Redistricting and the Public Spending in the American States" (with Alan Gerber and James M. Snyder, Jr.) <i>American Political Science Review</i> , December, 2002.  Paper awarded the Heinz Eulau award for the best paper in the American Political Science Review.
2002	"Are PAC Contributions and Lobbying Linked?" (with James M. Snyder, Jr. and Micky Tripathi) <i>Business and Politics</i> 4, no. 2.
2002	"The Incumbency Advantage in U.S. Elections: An Analysis of State and Federal Offices, 1942-2000" (with James Snyder) <i>Election Law Journal</i> , 1, no. 3.
2001	"Voting Machines, Race, and Equal Protection." Election Law Journal, vol. 1,

no. 1

2001	"Models, assumptions, and model checking in ecological regressions" (with Andrew Gelman, David Park, Phillip Price, and Larraine Minnite) <i>Journal of the Royal Statistical Society</i> , series A, 164: 101-118.
2001	"The Effects of Party and Preferences on Congressional Roll Call Voting." (with James Snyder and Charles Stewart) <i>Legislative Studies Quarterly</i> (forthcoming).  Paper awarded the <i>Jewell-Lowenberg Award</i> for the best paper published on legislative politics in 2001. Paper awarded the <i>Jack Walker Award</i> for the best paper published on party politics in 2001.
2001	"Candidate Positions in Congressional Elections," (with James Snyder and Charles Stewart). <i>American Journal of Political Science</i> 45 (November).
2000	"Old Voters, New Voters, and the Personal Vote," (with James Snyder and Charles Stewart) <i>American Journal of Political Science</i> 44 (February).
2000	"Soft Money, Hard Money, Strong Parties," (with James Snyder) Columbia Law Review 100 (April):598 - 619.
2000	"Campaign War Chests and Congressional Elections," (with James Snyder) Business and Politics. 2 (April): 9-34.
1999	"Replicating Experiments Using Surveys and Aggregate Data: The Case of Negative Advertising." (with Shanto Iyengar and Adam Simon) <i>American Political Science Review_93</i> (December).
1999	"Valence Politics and Equilibrium in Spatial Models," (with James Snyder), <i>Public Choice</i> .
1999	"Money and Institutional Power," (with James Snyder), <i>Texas Law Review 77</i> (June, 1999): 1673-1704.
1997	"Incumbency Advantage and the Persistence of Legislative Majorities," (with Alan Gerber), <i>Legislative Studies Quarterly</i> 22 (May 1997).
1996	"The Effects of Ballot Access Rules on U.S. House Elections," (with Alan Gerber), <i>Legislative Studies Quarterly</i> 21 (May 1996).
1994	"Riding the Wave and Issue Ownership: The Importance of Issues in Political Advertising and News," (with Shanto Iyengar) <i>Public Opinion Quarterly</i> 58: 335-357.

1994 "Horseshoes and Horseraces: Experimental Evidence of the Effects of Polls on Campaigns," (with Shanto Iyengar) Political Communications 11/4 (October-December): 413-429. 1994 "Does Attack Advertising Demobilize the Electorate?" (with Shanto Iyengar), American Political Science Review 89 (December). 1994 "The Mismeasure of Campaign Spending: Evidence from the 1990 U.S. House Elections," (with Alan Gerber) Journal of Politics 56 (September). 1993 "Poll Faulting," (with Thomas R. Belin) Chance 6 (Winter): 22-28. 1991 "The Vanishing Marginals and Electoral Responsiveness," (with David Brady and Morris Fiorina) British Journal of Political Science 22 (November): 21-38. 1991 "Mass Media and Elections: An Overview," (with Roy Behr and Shanto Iyengar) American Politics Quarterly 19/1 (January): 109-139. 1990 "The Limits of Unraveling in Interest Groups," *Rationality and Society* 2: 394-400. 1990 "Measuring the Consequences of Delegate Selection Rules in Presidential Nominations," (with Gary King) Journal of Politics 52: 609-621. "The Nature of Utility Functions in Mass Publics," (with Henry Brady) American 1989 Political Science Review 83: 143-164.

#### Special Reports and Policy Studies

- 2010 The Future of Nuclear Power, Revised.
- The Future of Coal. MIT Press. Continued reliance on coal as a primary power source will lead to very high concentrations of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere, resulting in global warming. This cross-disciplinary study drawing on faculty from Physics, Economics, Chemistry, Nuclear Engineering, and Political Science develop a road map for technology research and development policy in order to address the challenges of carbon emissions from expanding use of coal for electricity and heating throughout the world.
- 2003 The Future of Nuclear Power. MIT Press. This cross-disciplinary study drawing on faculty from Physics, Economics, Chemistry, Nuclear Engineering, and Political Science examines the what contribution nuclear power can make to

# Exhibit 7.1.2.2

meet growing electricity demand, especially in a world with increasing carbon
dioxide emissions from fossil fuel power plants.

- "Election Day Registration." A report prepared for DEMOS. This report analyzes the possible effects of Proposition 52 in California based on the experiences of 6 states with election day registration.
- Voting: What Is, What Could Be. A report of the Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project. This report examines the voting system, especially technologies for casting and counting votes, registration systems, and polling place operations, in the United States. It was widely used by state and national governments in formulating election reforms following the 2000 election.
- 2001 "An Assessment of the Reliability of Voting Technologies." A report of the Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project. This report provided the first nationwide assessment of voting equipment performance in the United States. It was prepared for the Governor's Select Task Force on Election Reform in Florida.

#### Chapters in Edited Volumes

- "Taking the Study of Public Opinion Online" (with Brian Schaffner) Oxford Handbook of Public Opinion, R. Michael Alvarez, ed. Oxford University Press: New York, NY.
- "Voter Registration: The Process and Quality of Lists" *The Measure of American Elections*, Barry Burden, ed..
- "Using Recounts to Measure the Accuracy of Vote Tabulations: Evidence from New Hampshire Elections, 1946-2002" in Confirming Elections, R. Michael Alvarez, Lonna Atkeson, and Thad Hall, eds. New York: Palgrave, Macmillan.
- 2010 "Dyadic Representation" in Oxford Handbook on Congress, Eric Schickler, ed., Oxford University Press.
- 2008 "Voting Technology and Election Law" in *America Votes!*, Benjamin Griffith, editor, Washington, DC: American Bar Association.
- 2007 "What Did the Direct Primary Do to Party Loyalty in Congress" (with Shigeo Hirano and James M. Snyder Jr.) in *Process, Party and Policy Making: Further New Perspectives on the History of Congress*, David Brady and Matthew D. McCubbins (eds.), Stanford University Press, 2007.
- 2007 "Election Administration and Voting Rights" in Renewal of the Voting

	Rights Act, David Epstein and Sharyn O'Hallaran, eds. Russell Sage Foundation.
2006	"The Decline of Competition in Primary Elections," (with John Mark Hansen, Shigeo Hirano, and James M. Snyder, Jr.) <i>The Marketplace of Democracy</i> , Michael P. McDonald and John Samples, eds. Washington, DC: Brookings.
2005	"Voters, Candidates and Parties" in <i>Handbook of Political Economy</i> , Barry Weingast and Donald Wittman, eds. New York: Oxford University Press.
2003	"Baker v. Carr in Context, 1946 1964" (with Samuel Isaacharoff) in <i>Constitutional Cases in Context</i> , Michael Dorf, editor. New York: Foundation Press.
2002	"Corruption and the Growth of Campaign Spending" (with Alan Gerber and James Snyder). <i>A User's Guide to Campaign Finance</i> , Jerry Lubenow, editor. Rowman and Littlefield.
2001	"The Paradox of Minimal Effects," in Henry Brady and Richard Johnston, eds., Do Campaigns Matter? University of Michigan Press.
2001	"Campaigns as Experiments," in Henry Brady and Richard Johnson, eds., Do <i>Campaigns Matter?</i> University of Michigan Press.
2000	"Money and Office," (with James Snyder) in David Brady and John Cogan, eds., Congressional Elections: Continuity and Change. Stanford University Press.
1996	"The Science of Political Advertising," (with Shanto Iyengar) in <i>Political Persuasion and Attitude Change</i> , Richard Brody, Diana Mutz, and Paul Sniderman, eds. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
1995	"Evolving Perspectives on the Effects of Campaign Communication," in Philo Warburn, ed., <i>Research in Political Sociology</i> , vol. 7, JAI.
1995	"The Effectiveness of Campaign Advertising: It's All in the Context," (with Shanto Iyengar) in <i>Campaigns and Elections American Style</i> , Candice Nelson and James A. Thurber, eds. Westview Press.
1993	"Information and Electoral Attitudes: A Case of Judgment Under Uncertainty," (with Shanto Iyengar), in <i>Explorations in Political Psychology</i> , Shanto Iyengar and William McGuire, eds. Durham: Duke University Press.

## **Working Papers**

2009 "Sociotropic Voting and the Media" (with Marc Meredith and Erik Snowberg), American National Election Study Pilot Study Reports, John Aldrich editor.

2007	"Public Attitudes Toward America's Energy Options: Report of the 2007 N Energy Survey" CEEPR Working Paper 07-002 and CANES working paper		
2006	"Constituents' Policy Perceptions and Approval of Members' of Congress" CCES Working Paper 06-01 (with Phil Jones).		
2004	"Using Recounts to Measure the Accuracy of Vote Tabulations: Evidence from New Hampshire Elections, 1946 to 2002" (with Andrew Reeves).		
2002	"Evidence of Virtual Representation: Reapportionment in California," (with Ruimin He and James M. Snyder).		
1999	"Why did a majority of Californians vote to lower their own power?" (with James Snyder and Jonathan Woon). Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Atlanta, GA, September, 1999. Paper received the award for the best paper on Representation at the 1999 Annual Meeting of the APSA.		
1999	"Has Television Increased the Cost of Campaigns?" (with Alan Gerber and James Snyder).		
1996	"Money, Elections, and Candidate Quality," (with James Snyder).		
1996	"Party Platform Choice - Single- Member District and Party-List Systems," (with James Snyder).		
1995	"Messages Forgotten" (with Shanto Iyengar).		
1994	"Consumer Contributors and the Returns to Fundraising: A Microeconomic Analysis," (with Alan Gerber), presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September.		
1992	"Biases in Ecological Regression," (with R. Douglas Rivers) August, (revised February 1994). Presented at the Midwest Political Science Association Meetings April 1994, Chicago, IL.		
1992	"Using Aggregate Data to Correct Nonresponse and Misreporting in Surveys" (with R. Douglas Rivers). Presented at the annual meeting of the Political Methodology Group, Cambridge, Massachusetts, July.		
1991	"The Electoral Effects of Issues and Attacks in Campaign Advertising" (with Shanto Iyengar). Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC.		

1991	"Television Advertising as Campaign Strategy: Some Experimental Evidence" (with Shanto Iyengar). Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Association for Public Opinion Research, Phoenix.				
1991	"Why Candidates Attack: Effects of Televised Advertising in the 1990 California Gubernatorial Campaign," (with Shanto Iyengar). Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Western Political Science Association, Seattle, March.				
1990	"Winning is Easy, But It Sure Ain't Cheap." Working Paper #90-4, Center for the American Politics and Public Policy, UCLA. Presented at the Political Science Departments at Rochester University and the University of Chicago.				
Research G	rants				
1989-1990	Markle Foundation. "A Study of the Effects of Advertising in the 1990 California Gubernatorial Campaign." Amount: \$50,000				
1991-1993	Markle Foundation. "An Experimental Study of the Effects of Campaign Advertising." Amount: \$150,000				
1991-1993	NSF. "An Experimental Study of the Effects of Advertising in the 1992 California Senate Electoral." Amount: \$100,000				
1994-1995	MIT Provost Fund. "Money in Elections: A Study of the Effects of Money on Electoral Competition." Amount: \$40,000				
1996-1997	National Science Foundation. "Campaign Finance and Political Representation." Amount: \$50,000				
1997	National Science Foundation. "Party Platforms: A Theoretical Investigation of Party Competition Through Platform Choice." Amount: \$40,000				
1997-1998	National Science Foundation. "The Legislative Connection in Congressional Campaign Finance. Amount: \$150,000				
1999-2000	MIT Provost Fund. "Districting and Representation." Amount: \$20,000.				
1999-2002	Sloan Foundation. "Congressional Staff Seminar." Amount: \$156,000.				
2000-2001	Carnegie Corporation. "The Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project."				

Carnegie Corporation. "Dissemination of Voting Technology Information."

Amount: \$253,000.

2001-2002

Amount: \$200,000.

2003-2005	National Science Foundation. "State Elections Data Project." Amount: \$256,000.
2003-2004	Carnegie Corporation. "Internet Voting." Amount: \$279,000.
2003-2005	Knight Foundation. "Accessibility and Security of Voting Systems." Amount: \$450,000.
2006-2008	National Science Foundation, "Primary Election Data Project," \$186,000
2008-2009	Pew/JEHT. "Measuring Voting Problems in Primary Elections, A National Survey." Amount: \$300,000
2008-2009	Pew/JEHT. "Comprehensive Assessment of the Quality of Voter Registration Lists in the United States: A pilot study proposal" (with Alan Gerber). Amount: \$100,000.
2010-2011	National Science Foundation, "Cooperative Congressional Election Study," \$360,000
2010-2012	Sloan Foundation, "Precinct-Level U. S. Election Data," \$240,000.
2012-2014	National Science Foundation, "Cooperative Congressional Election Study, 2010-2012 Panel Study" \$425,000
2012-2014	National Science Foundation, "2012 Cooperative Congressional Election Study," \$475,000
2014-2016	National Science Foundation, "Cooperative Congressional Election Study, 2010-2014 Panel Study" \$510,000
2014-2016	National Science Foundation, "2014 Cooperative Congressional Election Study," \$400,000
2016-2018	National Science Foundation, "2016 Cooperative Congressional Election Study," \$485,000
2018-2020	National Science Foundation, "2018 Cooperative Congressional Election Study," \$844,784.

### **Professional Boards**

Editor, Cambridge University Press Book Series, Political Economy of Institutions and Decisions, 2006-present

Member, Board of the Reuters International School of Journalism, Oxford University, 2007 to present.

Member, Academic Advisory Board, Electoral Integrity Project, 2012 to present.

Contributing Editor, *Boston Review*, The State of the Nation.

Member, Board of Overseers, American National Election Studies, 1999 - 2013.

Associate Editor, Public Opinion Quarterly, 2012 to 2013.

Editorial Board of American Journal of Political Science, 2005 to present.

Editorial Board of Legislative Studies Quarterly, 2005 to present.

Editorial Board of Public Opinion Quarterly, 2006 to present.

Editorial Board of the Election Law Journal, 2002 to present.

Editorial Board of the Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics, 1996 to 2008.

Editorial Board of Business and Politics, 2002 to Present.

Scientific Advisory Board, Polimetrix, 2004 to 2006.

### Special Projects and Task Forces

Principal Investigator, Cooperative Congressional Election Study, 2005 present.

CBS News Election Decision Desk, 2006-present

Co-Director, Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, 2000-2004.

Co-Organizer, MIT Seminar for Senior Congressional and Executive Staff, 1996-2007.

MIT Energy Innovation Study, 2009-2010.

MIT Energy Initiative, Steering Council, 2007-2008

MIT Coal Study, 2004-2006.

MIT Energy Research Council, 2005-2006.

MIT Nuclear Study, 2002-2004.

Harvard University Center on the Environment, Council, 2009-present

### **Expert Witness, Consultation, and Testimony**

Testimony on Election Administration, U. S. Senate Committee on Commerce.

2001	Testimony on Voting Equipment, U.S. House Committee on Science, Space,
2001	and Technology Testimony on Voting Equipment, U.S. House Committee on House
2001	Administration Testimony on Voting Equipment, Congressional Black Caucus
2002-2003 2009	McConnell v. FEC, 540 U.S. 93 (2003), consultant to the Brennan Center. Amicus curiae brief with Professors Nathaniel Persily and Charles Stewart on behalf of neither party to the U.S. Supreme Court in the case of Northwest Austin Municipal Utility District Number One v. Holder, 557 U.S. 193 (2009).
2009	Testimony on Voter Registration, U. S. Senate Committee on Rules.
2011-2015	Perez v. Perry, U. S. District Court in the Western District of Texas (No. 5:11-cv-00360). Exert witness on behalf of Rodriguez intervenors.
2011-2013	State of Texas v. United States, the U.S. District Court in the District of Columbia (No. 1:11-cv-01303), expert witness on behalf of the Gonzales intervenors.
2012-2013	State of Texas v. Holder, U.S. District Court in the District of Columbia (No. 1:12-cv-00128), expert witness on behalf of the United States.
2011-2012	Guy v. Miller in U.S. District Court for Nevada (No. 11-OC-00042-1B), expert witness on behalf of the Guy plaintiffs.
2012	In re Senate Joint Resolution of Legislative Apportionment, Florida Supreme Court (Nos. 2012-CA-412, 2012-CA-490), consultant for the Florida Democratic Party.
2012-2014	Romo v. Detzner, Circuit Court of the Second Judicial Circuit in Florida (No. 2012 CA 412), expert witness on behalf of Romo plaintiffs.
2013-2014	LULAC v. Edwards Aquifer Authority, U.S. District Court for the Western District of Texas, San Antonio Division (No. 5:12cv620-OLG,), consultant and expert witness on behalf of the City of San Antonio and San Antonio Water District
2013-2014	Veasey v. Perry, U. S. District Court for the Southern District of Texas, Corpus Christi Division (No. 2:13-cv-00193), consultant and expert witness on behalf of the United States Department of Justice.
2013-2015	Harris v. McCrory, U. S. District Court for the Middle District of North Carolina (No. 1:2013cv00949), consultant and expert witness on behalf of the Harris plaintiffs. (later named Cooper v. Harris)
2014	Amicus curiae brief, on behalf of neither party, Supreme Court of the United States, Alabama Democratic Conference v. State of Alabama.
2014- 2016	Bethune-Hill v. Virginia State Board of Elections, U. S. District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia (No. 3:2014cv00852), consultant and expert on behalf of the Bethune-Hill plaintiffs.
2015	Amicus curiae brief in support of Appellees, Supreme Court of the United States, <i>Evenwell v. Abbott</i>
2016-2017	Perez v. Abbott, U. S. District Court in the Western District of Texas (No. 5:11-cv-00360). Exert witness on behalf of Rodriguez intervenors.
2017-2018	Fish v. Kobach, U. S. District Court in the District of Kansas (No. 2:16-cv-02105-JAR). Expert witness of behalf of the Fish plaintiffs.

Exhibit KK

# Allegations of fraud and mail-in absentee ballot anomalies in North Carolina's 9th Congressional District¹

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February 6, 2019

¹The author thanks Katherine Clayton, Martha Kropf, and Simon Herron for comments on an earlier draft and Addison Dick and Jacqueline McInerney for research assistance.

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### Abstract

The aftermath of the 2018 Midterm Election has been marred by allegations of absentee ballot fraud in North Carolina's 9th Congressional District, most notably in Bladen County, one of eight counties in North Carolina that intersects this district. We show with a difference-in-difference design that Bladen County's election returns in 2018 are indeed highly anomalous: compared to Congressional candidates in other North Carolina counties, the 9th District's Republican candidate for the United States House of Representatives had in Bladen County a mail-in absentee vote share inconsistent with his level of election day support. Bladen County's 2018 Congressional election results are also anomalous when compared with North Carolina Congressional elections in 2010, 2012, 2014, and 2016, and they are likewise anomalous when compared with recent Congressional elections in Arkansas, Georgia, and Oklahoma, three states that tabulate election results in a way that facilitates comparisons with North Carolina's. Congressional election returns in Bladen County also exhibited anomalous mail-in absentee voting patterns in the 2016 General Election and in the 2018 Republican Primary. Finally, rates of requested and returned mail-in absentee ballots in 2018 were anomalous in both Bladen and neighboring Robeson counties. In short, either the 9th Congressional District in North Carolina is idiosyncratic in a heretofore unexplored fashion, or the recent mail-in absentee ballot fraud allegations involving this district merit serious attention.

# Introduction

In the aftermath of the 2018 Midterm Election in North Carolina, fraud allegations have been leveled in one of the state's 13 Congressional Districts. In particular, investigators have voiced concerns that absentee ballots were tampered with and/or inappropriately collected in Bladen County, one of the southern-most counties in North Carolina. Bladen County is a small unit in the state, containing only 23,295 registered voters as of the 2018 Midterm. A neighboring county to the west, Robeson, with 77,306 registered voters, has also figured in recent fraud allegations.¹

In 2018, Congressional District 9 featured a competitive race between Republican Mark Harris and Democrat Dan McCready. According to what are currently non-certified results, Harris won his race with 139,246 votes to McCready's 138,341; Jeff Scott, a Libertarian candidate, received 5,130 votes.² There was no incumbent in the 9th Congressional District race in November 2018 as Harris had previously defeated the district's sitting member of Congress, Robert Pittenger, in North Carolina's May 2018 Republican primary.

The Harris-McCready margin is small, 905 votes out of a total of 282,717 ballots cast. As there were 10,651 mail-in absentee votes cast in the Harris-McCready contest, the mail-in absentee ballot fraud alleged to have contaminated the race was conceivably pivotal to 

1 Based on the 2013-2017 American Community Survey, Bladen County had a population of 34,130 and Robeson, a population of 134,187. Registered voter counts are based on the file titled "voter_stats_20181106.zip," downloaded from https://dl.ncsbe.gov/index.html?prefix=ENRS/2018 11 06/ (last accessed January 5, 2019).

2 Election results on the website of the North Carolina State Board of Elections are available at https://er.ncsbe.gov/?election dt=11/06/2018&county id=0&office=FED&contest=1183 (last accessed December 20, 2018).

its outcome.³

The fraud alleged to have been carried out in the 9th Congressional District involves an individual said to have orchestrated a plot wherein others gathered mail-in absentee ballots and using these ballots generated votes for Republican Mark Harris. According to press reporting,

McCrae Dowless, an elected official and political operative in Bladen County, has been accused of paying people to collect mail-in absentee ballots, including unsealed ones. Dowless was paid by Red Dome Group as a contractor to work on the [Mark] Harris campaign. Harris paid Red Dome Group more than \$430,000 during the campaign.⁴

Per one report, Dowless "turned in nearly half of the requests for absentee ballots in [Bladen] county" in the period surrounding the 2018 Midterm Election.⁵ Dowless has

³In this paragraph, 10,651, refers to the number of valid mail-in absentee votes cast in the 9th Congressional District in the 2018 Midterm Election in North Carolina. Any eligible voter residing in this district who turned out to vote in the 2018 Midterm could have abstained from the Congressional contest, yielding what is called an *undervote* in the race. Or, such a voter could have voted for more than one 9th District Congressional candidate, yielding what is called an *overvote*. Neither undervotes nor overvotes constitute valid votes, and they do not contribute to the aforementioned count of 10,651.

⁴See "'An innocent victim': Amid election fraud claims, NC GOP defends Mark Harris," *The News & Observer*, December 6, 2018, available at https://www.newsobserver.com/news/politics-government/article222751275.html (last accessed December 20, 2018)

⁵See "Man at center of North Carolina election fraud probe turned in hundreds of absentee ballot requests," *CNN.com*, December 5, 2018, available at https://www.cnn.com/2018/12/04/politics/north-carolina-house-race-mccrae-dowless-absentee-ballots/index.html (last

also been connected with allegations of mail-in absentee ballot fraud in 2014 and 2016.⁶ Moreover, questions relating to mail-in absentee ballot integrity have been raised about Mark Harris's narrow victory—828 votes of 35,643 cast—over Robert Pittenger in North Carolina's May 2018 Republican Congressional Primary.⁷

Allegations of fraud in American elections are not new (Minnite 2010; Hasen 2018), and the subject of fraud featured prominently in the aftermath of the 2016 General Election (Cottrell, Herron and Westwood 2018). Although many Americans profess to believe otherwise (Ansolabehere and Persily 2008), there is no evidence that fraud is a widespread accessed December 20, 2018).

6On 2014 and 2016, see "Shadowy 9th District figure says he took cash in 2014 election," *WRAL.com*, December 19, 2018, available at https://www.wral.com/shadowy-9th-district-figure-says-he-took-cash-in-2014-election (last accessed December 20, 2018) and "N.C. election board's warnings to local and federal prosecutors about alleged election fraud drew little action," *The Washington Post*, December 21, 2018, available at https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/nc-election-officials-sounded-alarm-about-alleged-election-fraud-to-federal-prosecutors-in-january-2017/ (last accessed December 26, 2018).

⁷On the primary, see "North Carolina Republican Says He Would Support New Election if Fraud Occurred," *The New York Times*, December 7, 2018, available at https://www.nytimes.com/2018/12/07/us/politics/north-carolina-absentee-ballots-fec-payment.html (last accessed December 20, 2018). 2018 Republican primary election results are available at https://er.ncsbe.gov/?election_dt=05/08/2018&county id=0&office=FED&contest=0 (last accessed December 24, 2018).

and serious problem in American elections. For example, see Goel et al. (2017) for a discussion of the literature on voter fraud and a statistical analysis showing that the rate of double-voting in American elections is minuscule. On voter impersonation, see Ahlquist, Mayer and Jackman (2014). Evidence notwithstanding, beliefs in voter fraud are associated with support for voter identification laws (Wilson and Brewer 2013) and with feelings of resentment against immigrants (Udani and Kimball 2018).

Regular and fair elections are fundamental to modern democracies (Katz 1997), and serious allegations of improprieties deserve formal investigations. Such investigations can take many forms, ranging from detailed studies of individuals who may be perpetrators to statistical analyses of vote patterns. Here we offer an analysis of the latter type, and the primary intuition behind this study is as follows.

The 9th Congressional District touches eight counties in North Carolina: Anson, Bladen, Cumberland, Mecklenburg, Richmond, Robeson, Scotland, and Union. Bladen County itself is split between two Congressional Districts, the 7th and 9th. If mail-in absentee ballot fraud in 2018 benefited the Republican candidate in the 9th Congressional District race in Bladen County, then this individual, the aforementioned Mark Harris, can be said to have received an excessive number of absentee votes in this county. What the "correct" number of absentee votes that Harris should have received in the absence of any potential fraud that affected his race is not observable. We thus compare the rate at which Harris received support among mail-in absentee voters in Bladen County to the rate at which David Rouzer, the Republican candidate in the 7th Congressional District in North Carolina, was supported by voters who cast mail-in absentee ballots in Bladen County. Such a comparison is useful because the 7th and 9th Congressional Districts in North Carolina both intersect Bladen County, and yet the alleged mail-in absentee ballot fraud in the country involves only the 9th.

To ensure that our pairwise comparison of Harris's and Rouzer's mail-in absentee bal-

lot vote shares in Bladen County is not confounded by the two Congressional candidates' overall levels of support in Bladen, our analysis of their mail-in absentee ballot vote shares is adjusted, or normalized, based on their levels of election day support. The result of this exercise, as we detail below, is a difference-in-difference measure of the extent to which Mark Harris was supported by mail-in absentee voters in Bladen County compared to the rate at which Rouzer was similarly supported. If allegations of mail-in absentee ballot fraud in the 9th Congressional District are credible, then we should expect to find that Harris's level of support among mail-in absentee voters in Bladen County is much greater than Rouzer's in this county, controlling for these two candidates' levels of election day support.

To foreshadow our results, Mark Harris received in Bladen County an anomalously large number of mail-in absentee votes compared to his vote share on election day. Moreover, when we look across North Carolina at all 2018 Congressional candidates who competed in counties, like Bladen, that are split between Congressional Districts, we see that the 9th Congressional District race in Bladen County is associated with the largest mailin absentee vote share advantage for a Republican Congressional candidate in the entire state. We show as well that Harris's 2018 mail-in absentee vote share advantage in Bladen County is the greatest among North Carolina Congressional candidates across the Midterm and General Elections of 2010, 2012, 2014, and 2016. Bladen County's mail-in absentee vote share for 2016 District 9 Republican Congressional candidate Robert Pittenger was also anomalous compared to Pittenger's election day support that year—albeit not as high as Mark Harris's corresponding mail-in absentee rate in 2018. We compare mail-in absentee and election day support rates for North Carolina Congressional candidates to corresponding support rates for Congressional candidates in Arkansas, Georgia, and Oklahoma, three states whose election returns tabulating practices facilitate comparisons with North Carolina. In recent elections in all four states in our purview, Mark Harris's 2018 mailin absentee support rate in the 9th Congressional District in Bladen County is the most anomalous of all Republican candidates.

Finally, we analyze mail-in absentee ballot request and return rates in North Carolina in the period surrounding the 2018 Midterm Election. We show that Robeson County had an extremely large mail-in absentee request rate in this election in conjunction with an extremely low return rate. Bladen County and other counties in the 9th Congressional District had anomalously high request rates as well, rates that were among the greatest across North Carolina.

The results outlined above lend credibility to the allegations of mail-in absentee ballot fraud that have been leveled in North Carolina's 9th Congressional District in the aftermath of November 2018. Insofar as concerns about mail-in absentee ballot integrity have been raised in recent North Carolina primary elections as well, notably in the most recent Republican primary, we also analyze election returns from the 2016 and 2018 North Carolina Democratic and Republican primaries. Among Republican primary candidates and in a way consistent with the 2018 Midterm Election, the mail-in absentee vote share for Mark Harris was anomalous compared to his election day vote share. Our 2018 Republican Primary analysis does not itself show that allegations of fraud surrounding the 2018 Midterm Election are themselves credible, but they nonetheless provide some context for these allegations.

In short, our results imply that either the 9th Congressional District in North Carolina is idiosyncratic in a heretofore unexplored fashion or that the absentee ballot fraud allegations currently under investigation merit serious attention. More broadly, our conclusions contribute to academic literature on election abnormalities in the United States and to literature on election fraud in particular. We return to this point in the last section of the study, but for the moment it suffices to note that the sort of absentee ballot fraud presently being investigated in North Carolina differs from the types of fraud—ineligible individual

voting, double-voting, voter impersonation—somewhat regularly bandied about in public discourse in the United States.

We want to emphasize at the outset what the statistical analysis described here does not do. Namely, it does not—and can not—directly substantiate or confirm details in the allegations that have been made about mail-in absentee ballot fraud in North Carolina. At the time of this study's writing, some of these allegations involve an individual named McCrae Dowless, whom we have already mentioned. None of our results speak to details about any role that Dowless personally may have had in North Carolina's 9th Congres sional District in the context of the 2018 Midterm Election. Similarly, the results reported here do not identify what Mark Harris, the beneficiary of the alleged absentee ballot fraud perpetrated in the 9th Congressional District, his Democratic competitor, or anyone else in North Carolina may have known prior to the 2018 Midterm about potential absentee ballot anomalies.

In what follows we situate this study in literature on election forensics. Thereafter we discuss the 2018 Midterm Election in North Carolina, focusing attention on Congres sional races and associated candidates' mail-in absentee and election day vote shares. We describe a simple difference-in-difference statistic that compares the mail-in absentee and election day vote shares of two Congressional candidates whose districts intersect the same county. After showing with this statistic that Bladen County had anomalous results among Congressional candidates in 2018, we then place this result in the context of recent elections in North Carolina. The next section incorporates election returns from several other states, and following our analysis of these states we consider mail-in absentee and election day returns from two recent primary elections in North Carolina. Lastly, we present an analysis of mail-in absentee ballot return and request rates in the 2018 Midterm Election. Our last section concludes.

# Election forensics and the 2018 North Carolina Midterm

Broadly construed, the motivating question of this study is as follows: is there evidence in data from North Carolina's 2018 Midterm Election, and from other elections as well, that the mail-in absentee fraud allegations presently associated with the state's 9th Congressional District are credible? A statistical exercise that seeks to offer an answer to this question is an exercise in the field known as *election forensics*.

A typical election forensics analysis involves assessing whether a set of election outcomes is standard or is in some sense anomalous. Not all potential anomalies involve fraud. For example, an anomalous election outcome could be one influenced by a confusing ballot format that led some voters to vote accidentally for an unintended candidate (Wand et al. 2001). An anomalous election outcome could also be a high undervote rate in an election, a rate induced by an electronic ballot format that led to unintentional abstention (Frisina et al. 2008). Insofar as overvotes are invalid votes, a plethora of overvotes in an election would also constitute an anomalous election outcome, one that could be studied as part of an election forensics exercise (Mebane, Jr. 2004).

Some election forensic analyses are aimed specifically at fraud detection, and much of the literature in this area turns on the frequencies of digits in election returns. For example, Beber and Scacco (2012) study a set of elections held in Nigeria (2003), Senegal (2000 and 2007), and Sweden (2002) and conclude that there was election manipulation in elections in the two former countries. See Medzihorsky (2015) for a discussion of digit based tests, Kalinin and Hicken (2017) for a recent application to Philippine elections, Kalinin and Mebane, Jr. (2017) for a study of Russian elections, and Deckert, Myagkov and Ordeshook (2011) for a critique of these tests (with Mebane, Jr. (2011) as a response). A related approach to digit-based tests is described by Rozenas (2017), who uses frequencies of "coarse" numbers, e.g., 50, 60, or 70 percent, in election outcomes as tests for election

fraud.

The case of the 2018 Midterm Election in North Carolina is notable for the specificity of associated fraud allegations, which we earlier noted in the introduction. These allegations do not consist of assertions that there was widespread fraud in all Congressional District races in North Carolina in 2018—nor that there was fraud in races beyond Congressional contests. Rather, the allegations we consider here are precise about the area of North Carolina that they may have affected, and this means that testing for their presence can rely on a focused analysis.

The approach taken here shares an important characteristic with the digit-based fraud analyses noted above. In particular, the analysis that follows does not incorporate a model of Congressional candidate vote share that relies on the standard covariates used by scholars to predict individual vote choices. This is a strength of the approach advocated here: the conclusions that we draw from our statistical results do not depend on our having specified how eligible voters in North Carolina might have made choices over sets of competing Congressional candidates.

# The 2018 Midterm Election in North Carolina

There are 13 Congressional Districts in North Carolina. The 2018 Midterm Election in the state featured 12 races as District 3 had only one official candidate, a Republican; this district is not part of the analysis that follows. Of the 12 contested Congressional races in 2018, three were won by Democrats and nine by Republicans. This latter group includes the 9th Congressional District, whose results have not been certified as of mid-December 2018.8

⁸See "North Carolina elections board delays certification of congressional election results again," *CNN.com*, December 3, 2018, available at https://www.cnn.com/

North Carolina voters have three methods of casting ballots: mail-in absentee, "one-stop" voting, and election day voting. One-stop voting is North Carolina's version of what in other states is often called early voting, and in North Carolina this form of voting is often referred to as "absentee one-stop." In the interests of clarity, throughout this study we refer explicitly to "mail-in absentee" voting, as opposed simply to "absentee" voting, to emphasize that the sort of absentee voting of interest in this study is the type in which, in principle, a voting-eligible resident of North Carolina fills out a paper ballot in a location of his or her choosing, returning the ballot to a local elections office prior to 5:00pm on election day.⁹

For the purposes of this study, we focus on mail-in absentee and election day voting, and there are three reasons for this. First, the rules for one-stop voting in North Carolina have been in flux, as discussed in Walker, Herron and Smith (2018), and later we make comparisons of North Carolina election returns across years. To minimize the extent to which our results are confounded by changes to North Carolina's early voting rules, we study only mail-in absentee and election day voting. Second, beyond temporal comparisons within North Carolina, we also engage in comparisons of North Carolina to other states. Early voting rules vary across states, and this can confound across-state comparisons of early voting electorates. Third, the allegations involving North Carolina Congressional District 9 concern mail-in absentee voting, and this is perhaps the most important reason why we isolate mail-in absentee votes in particular.

2018/11/30/politics/north-carolina-election-results-delay (last accessed December 21, 2018).

⁹For North Carolina's rules on mail-in absentee voting, see https://www.ncsbe.gov/absentee-voting-mail (last accessed December 21, 2018.

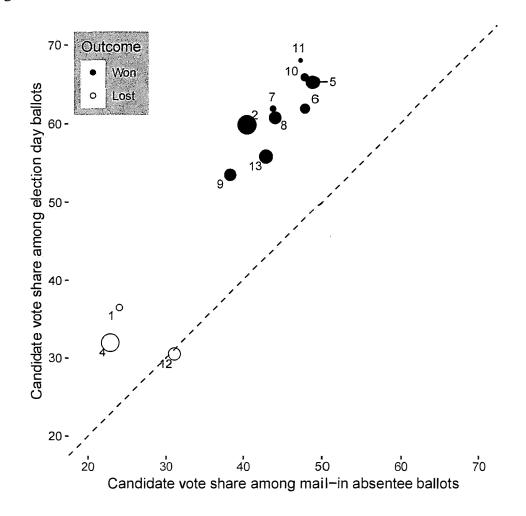
## Allegations of fraud in Congressional District 9

We have already briefly reviewed allegations of fraud made in Congressional District 9 in North Carolina. These allegations are specific to mail-in absentee voting, and in particular it has been alleged that Republican Congressional candidate Mark Harris received fraudulent mail-in absentee ballot support in the 2018 Midterm Election. Who, if anyone, may have coordinated or known about this potential fraud, which is said to have taken place in Bladen County and possibly in other counties that intersect the 9th Congressional District, is immaterial here. What we care about is that the fraud allegation is restricted to mail-in absentee voting.

If the alleged fraud, or some version of it, actually took place, then the observed vote share for Mark Harris among mail-in absentee voters in North Carolina District 9 is presumably higher than it should be. There were 10,651 mail-in absentee votes cast in this district in 2018, and Harris was selected on 4,027 of them, leading to a mail-in absentee vote share of approximately 38 percent. Insofar as we do not have compelling prior information on the level of mail-in absentee support Harris would have received in the absence of fraud, we propose comparing Harris's mail-in absentee support to his election day support.

To this end, Figure 1 displays mail-in absentee and election day vote shares for the Republican candidates who contested Congressional races in North Carolina in 2018. There are 12 points in the figure, one per contested Congressional rate (District 3 is omitted). The figure also contains a dashed 45-degree line. District 12, whose dot falls almost directly on this line, had approximately equal mail-in absentee and election day vote shares for its Republican candidate, Paul Wright. Like all districts, Mark Harris's District 9 is labeled in Figure 1, and Harris's absentee mail-in support rate approximately 38 percent can

Figure 1: Election day and mail-in absentee Republican vote shares in North Carolina Congressional Districts, 2018



Note: dots sized proportionally to sum of mail-in absentee and election day votes cast. Does not include District 3, which was uncontested.

be seen by looking downward from dot "9" in this figure. 10

Nothing is particularly remarkable about Figure 1's two clusters of points—one for winning Republican candidates (solid dots), the other for losing candidates (open dots). Beyond this, Figure 1 does show that, across Congressional races in North Carolina, voting method tends to be associated with candidate support. In particular, Republican Congressional candidates in 2018 tended to be more popular among election day voters than among mail-in absentee voters, and this follows from the fact that almost all of Figure 1's dots are above the dashed 45-degree line in the figure. That voters sort themselves by partisanship and method of voting is neither new nor problematic (e.g., Herron and Smith 2012).

Across North Carolina, Congressional District 9 is the least pro-Republican of Republican-winning Congressional Districts in 2018. In this district, Mark Harris received approximately 54 percent support among election day voters in the district, and 54 is certainly much greater than 38, Harris's vote share among mail-in absentee voters. Recall that a 54 versus 38 comparison is potentially useful insofar as an elevated mail-in absentee rate in favor of Harris could be problematic in light of fraud allegations. Overall, though, 38 percent is much lower than 54, and one would not on the basis of Figure 1 think that the 9th Congressional District in North Carolina is particularly anomalous.

Because it displays Congressional District results, Figure 1 aggregates over counties,

10 All North Carolina election results used in this study were downloaded from https:

//er.ncsbe.gov/downloads.html (last accessed December 26, 2018). The county-level results reported on were, when necessary, aggregated up from precinct-level return files.

¹¹Here we use the word "winning" to refer to the fact that Mark Harris received more votes than Dan McCready in the 2018 Midterm. As noted in fn. 8, however, there is presently no official winner of the Congressional District 9 race.

of which there are 100 in North Carolina. The reasons that this might be important are threefold. First, counties vary in their social and political makeup, and aggregating over counties might mask variance in candidate support rates by county. Second, election administration in North Carolina is conducted at the county level, as is common across the United States. If there are fraud allegations directed at one race in particular, it is thus natural to examine variance in vote shares at the county level. Third, Figure 1 does not provide a way to normalize or standardize the gap—38 percent versus 54 percent between Mark Harris's mail-in absentee and election day support rates. An election day vote share sufficiently different than 38 percent might be puzzling, but it is not clear from Figure 1 how high 38 would have to go before it would be considered anomalously high.

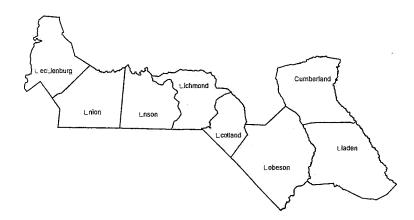
### Mail-in absentee and election day candidate vote shares within counties

In light of potential concerns associated with Figure 1, we now disaggregate our Congressional District results by county. To provide some intuition for what this means, Figure 2 displays a map of North Carolina's 9th Congressional District.

As the map shows, there are eight counties that collectively constitute this district. All of Robeson County lies within the district, and hence we say that there is only one 9th Congressional District/county intersection that includes Robeson. Similar statements apply to Anson, Richmond, Scotland, and Union counties. However, as evidenced by the shading in Figure 2, part of Bladen County is in Congressional District 9 and part is not. In fact, Bladen County intersects both Congressional District 9 and District 7, and thus we say that there are two Congressional District/Bladen county intersections in North Carolina. Similar statements hold for Cumberland and Mecklenburg Counties, two other counties in North Carolina that intersect multiple Congressional Districts in the state.

Ignoring the uncontested District 3, Figure 3 describes 96 Congressional Dis-

Figure 2: Congressional District 9 with its eight intersecting counties

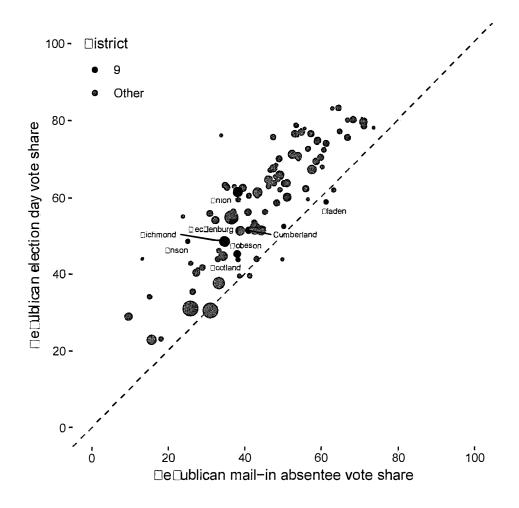


Note: black borders are county boundaries with shading outlining the 9th Congressional District.

trict/county intersections in North Carolina from the 2018 Midterm. The eight black dots in the figure indicate sections of counties (or complete counties, like Robeson as discussed above) that intersect North Carolina's 9th Congressional District. The dots are sized based on mail-in absentee plus election day turnout, and this is useful insofar as larger dots are more informative. Finally, Figure 3's dashed 45-degree line describes the extent to which, in any district/county pair, the Republican mail-in absentee vote share for a Republican candidate differed from the candidate's election day vote share.

The black Bladen County dot (mail-in absentee vote share of 61.4 percent) in Figure 3 lies to the right of the figure's other black dots, and from this it follows that, among counties intersecting the 9th Congressional District, Bladen County's mail-in absentee vote

Figure 3: Election day and mail-in absentee Republican vote shares in North Carolina Congressional District/county intersections, 2018



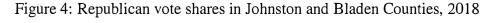
Note: each dot denotes a Congressional District/county intersection, and dots are sized proportionally to sum of mail-in absentee and election day votes cast. Does not include District 3, which was uncontested.

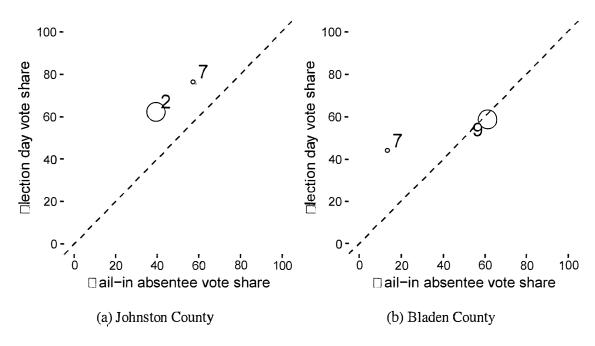
share for Mark Harris is greater than any other county's comparable vote share. However, the black Bladen County dot in Figure 3 is not to the right of all of the other grey dots in the figure. That is, while Figure 3 shows that Mark Harris received a high level of mail-in absentee support in Bladen County compared to how he performed in other counties that intersect the 9th District, Republican Congressional candidates in 12 Congressional District/county intersections in North Carolina in 2018 performed better than Mark Harris in mail-in absentee balloting. The grey dots in Figure 3 connoting these district/county intersections represent the 5th, 6th, 10th, and 11th Congressional Districts in North Carolina.

While Figure 3 suggests that Bladen County may be anomalous vis-a-vis mail-in absentee voting, this conclusion is potentially confounded by its reliance on county-based comparisons in North Carolina. To wit, Mecklenburg County, which like Bladen County also intersects North Carolina's 9th Congressional District, contains Charlotte, the largest city in North Carolina, and as of 2017 is home to slightly more than one million residents. We should hesitate before assuming that voters in Bladen and Mecklenburg have similar preferences for voting methods and/or 9th District Congressional candidates. Union County, another county that intersects District 9 in North Carolina, is also larger and more racially homogeneous than Bladen. Our general point here is that comparisons across counties of mail-in absentee support rates for Congressional candidates risk being confounded by county heterogeneity.

We thus now turn to Figure 4, which for two counties in North Carolina disaggregates our 2018 Midterm results further. In particular, Figure 4a describes the vote shares of two Republican candidates whose Congressional Districts intersect Johnston County, and Figure 4b is similar but conditions on Bladen County instead.

The labeling in the left panel in Figure 4 reflects the fact that Johnston County intersects North Carolina Congressional Districts 2 and 7 with more voters in the former than the latter; note that Figure 4a's District 2 dot is larger than the District 7 dot. The iden-





tities of the Republican candidates in District 2 (George Holding) and 7 (David Rouzer) are not as important as the fact that the absolute value of the difference in the two candidates' mail-in absentee vote shares is approximately 18 percentage points. Moreover, the absolute value of the difference between the candidates' election day vote shares is approximately 14 percentage points. The difference between these two differences is approximately four percentage points.

Overall in Johnston County, Republican Congressional candidate David Rouzer in District 7 outperformed fellow Republican George Holding in District 2 among both mail-in absentee voters and election day voters. While Rouzer's advantage over Holding was greater among mail-in absentee voters, it was not appreciably, or anomalously, so

¹²We compute absolute differences here, as opposed to differences, because we do not want to impose any directionality in our comparisons of Holding's and Rouzer's mail-in absentee and election day vote shares. This point applies as well to our extension of the difference-in-difference statistic to other counties in North Carolina and to states beyond.

The same cannot be said about the two Republican Congressional candidates in Bladen County, whose vote shares are depicted in Figure 4b. Here, Mark Harris, the Congressional District 9 candidate about whom we have already written, vastly outperformed David Rouzer among mail-in absentee voters. However, these two candidates were much closer among election day voters in Bladen County. The comparable difference-in-difference for Figure 4b is 33.4 percentage points, more than eight times greater than the Johnston County difference-in-difference of four percentage points.

What can we make of these two difference-in-differences, which henceforth we call AEDID for absentee-election day-differece-in-difference? The value of 33.4 is indeed greater than four, but how much greater? Put another way, is the difference between 33.4 and four large enough to make one concerned that Mark Harris's mail-in absentee vote share in Bladen County was corrupted by fraud? The answer to this question depends on the underlying distribution of AEDID, and ultimately this distribution will reflect, among other things, how North Carolina voters sort themselves into counties and methods of voting. It is possible that a value like 33.4 is a moderate one, but it is also possible that 33.4 is extreme, thus lending credibility to allegations that something untoward regarding mail-in absentee votes occurred in North Carolina's 9th Congressional District in 2018.

It should be clear that AEDID is calculated as a within-county measure. Thus, the interpretation of this statistic relies on a maintained hypothesis that voters are sufficiently homogeneous within county. While this assumption is not foolproof, it is weaker, and thus better, than assuming homogeneity across counties in North Carolina.

It should also be clear from the definition of AEDID that this measure can only be calculated in a county which intersects multiple Congressional Districts. If a county is entirely subsumed in a single Congressional District, which is often the case when a state features many more counties than Congressional Districts, then AEDID cannot be applied in said county. While such a county could of course be the locus of voter fraud allega-

tions, these allegations could not be examined using the difference-in-difference approach described here.

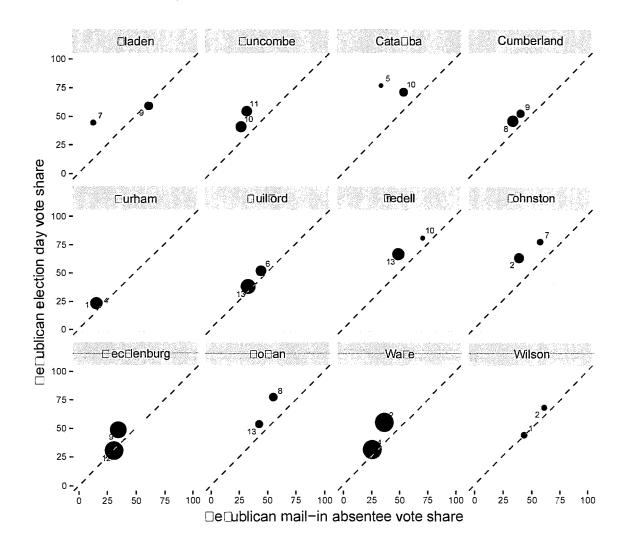
To address the question of whether the value 33.4 of AEDID in Bladen County lies in the tails of the distribution of AEDID or lies in the middle of the support of this statistic, we calculate the empirical distribution of AEDID in the 2018 Midterm Election in North Carolina using the election returns that support Figure 5. This figure contains 12 panels, one for each county in North Carolina that intersected at least two Congressional Districts (ignoring the uncontested Congressional race in District 3). Most of North Carolina's 100 counties are not present in Figure 5. Uncontested Congressional races notwithstanding, this is because some counties in North Carolina are contained within a single Congressional District. We have already noted that one cannot calculate AEDID for a county that intersects only one such district.

With the clear exception of Catawba County, the pictured counties in Figure 5 illustrate a notable regularity: conditional on county, a Republican Congressional candidate who outperforms a competitor candidate via mail-in absentee voting also tends to outperform this individual on election day. It is also apparent from Figure 5 that the points in Bladen County's panel of Figure 5 are aligned differently than the pairs of points in the figure's other 11 panels.

To make this claim precise, we order the 12 values of AEDID based on the points in Figure 5. These values are plotted in Figure 6, and the implication of this figure is as follows: mail-in absentee and election day returns for the Republican Congressional candidates in Bladen County are relatively anomalous in the sense of one candidate—namely, Mark Harris—having unusually strong mail-in absentee support compared to his election day support.

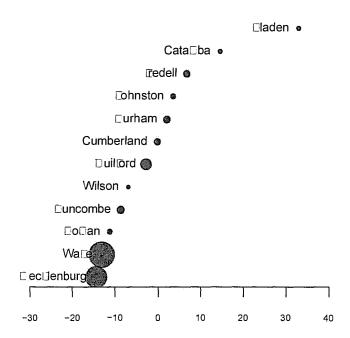
While Bladen County appears anomalous in Figure 6, which is consistent with mail-in absentee fraud allegations reviewed previously, it is possible that 2018 is a typical election

Figure 5: Election day and absentee Republican vote shares in North Carolina in counties intersecting at least two contested Congressional races, 2018



Note: dots are sized proportionally to total absentee and election day turnout. The figure does not include District 3, which was uncontested.

Figure 6: Distribution of AEDID across North Carolina counties, 2018 Midterm Election



Note: dots sized proportionally to total absentee turnout.

year in North Carolina in the sense of featuring at least one county with unusual Congressional election returns. Perhaps, that is, every election in the state contains a county, or even a small set of counties, in which a pair of Congressional candidates whose election day vote shares are roughly similar have mail-in absentee vote shares that diverge. Put another way, Figure 6 could reflect the result of selecting an unusual pair of Congressional rates in a single county for analysis without taking into consideration the fact that every election with enough jurisdictions—here, North Carolina counties—will feature an extreme result or two.

### Comparisons with recent elections in North Carolina

To investigate the possibility that every North Carolina election has a county as extreme as Bladen County was in 2018, Figure 7 plots for the 2010, 2012, 2014, 2016, and 2018 General and Midterm Elections values of AEDID for all counties in North Carolina that intersected at least two contested Congressional Districts.¹³ There are 181 total points in the figure.¹⁴

If a North Carolina county intersected three or more contested Congressional Districts, which did not happen in 2016 but did in 2014, then this county contributes more than one value of AEDID to Figure 7. In particular, a county intersecting k districts with contested Congressional races has  $\binom{k}{2}$  pairs of districts whose mail-in absentee and election day support levels can be compared via AEDID.

Two features of Figure 7 stand out. First, Bladen County's 2018 value of AEDID (green dot) is the most extreme value of this statistic across the North Carolina election cycles of 2010 through the present. In other words, Mark Harris's mail-in absentee vote 

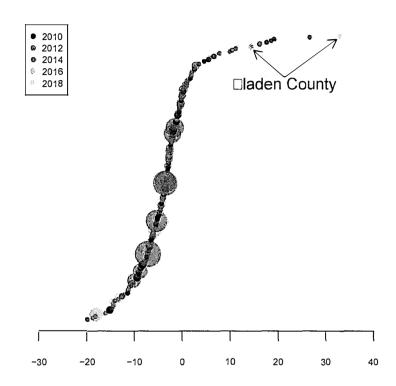
13 We define a Congressional race as contested if it had at least two official candidates.

Some North Carolina Congressional races in our period of analysis had one official candi-

date plus a write-in candidate. We consider such races to be uncontested.

¹⁴Since the post-2010 Census redistricting period, Congressional Districts in North Carolina have been the subject of a variety of legal disputes involving gerrymandering. These legal entanglements are not part of the analysis here. See "North Carolinas gerrymandered map is unconstitutional, judges rule, and may have to be redrawn before midterms," *The Washington Post*, August 27, 2018, available at <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/courts_law/2018/08/27/fc04e066-aa46-11e8-blda-ff7faa680710">https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/courts_law/2018/08/27/fc04e066-aa46-11e8-blda-ff7faa680710</a> story.html (last accessed December 25, 2018).

Figure 7: Values of AEDID across North Carolina elections of 2010, 2012, 2014, 2016, and 2018



Note: dots are sized proportionally to total absentee turnout.

share in 2018 is the greatest such vote share when compared to mail-in absentee and election day vote shares of other Congressional candidates whose districts intersected North Carolina counties. Second, Bladen County's 2016 value of AEDID (orange dot) is extreme albeit not quite as extreme as its 2018 version. Mark Harris was not a candidate in the 9th Congressional District race in 2016, which was contested by Republican Robert Pittenger and Democrat Christian Cano. Our finding that Bladen County appears anomalous in

2016 is notable insofar as the ongoing fraud investigation in the 2018 Midterm Election has raised questions about Bladen County and in particular whether the 2016 Midterm Election in this county was, like its 2018 counterpart, unduly affected by absentee ballot manipulations.

Table 1: Ten most anomalous North Carolina Congressional District/county pairs

Year	County	Districts	Absentee votes	AEDID
2018	Bladen	7, 9	841	33.29
2014	Granville	6, 13	150	26.80
2014	Granville	1, 13	204	19.42
2014	Vance	1, 13	156	18.76
2014	Gates	1, 3	35	17.81
2014	Mecklenburg	8, 12	1,990	16.33
2018	Catawba	5, 10	821	14.87
2016	Bladen	7, 9	899	14.51
2014	Lenoir	3, 7	144	11.36
2014	Alamance	2, 6	1,210	10.62

Table 1 lists the ten most anomalous—meaning large values of AEDID—Congressional District/county pairings that are visually displayed in Figure 7. For each entry, the table lists election year, county, the two involved Congressional Districts, the total number of absentee votes cast in the two districts, and the associated value of AEDID.

Bladen County appears in the table twice, once for 2018 and once for 2016. In both cases, the involved Congressional Districts are the same: the 7th and 9th. Bladen County notwithstanding, the next most extreme entries in Table 1 generally consist of relatively small counties from the 2014 Midterm Election. To the best of our knowledge, there are no fraud allegations associated with mail-in absentee voting in the 2014 counties listed in Table 1. Moreover, four of the counties saw very few mail-in absentee votes, meaning that the values of AEDID from these counties are not particularly meaningful. Mecklenburg County in 2014 appears in Table 1, and there were 1,990 mail-in absentee ballots in the county's 8th and 12th Congressional Districts that year. While this county is relatively

anomalous, its 2014 value of AEDID is half of Bladen County's value in 2018.

# Comparisons with other states

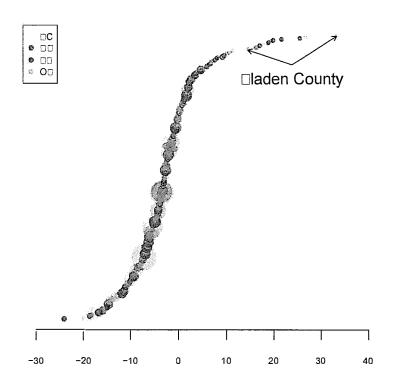
Republican Congressional candidate Mark Harris's 2018 rate of mail-in absentee support in Bladen County was anomalously high, and we have ruled out the possibility this rate is typical among North Carolina Congressional contests. However, selecting on North Carolina is not necessarily ideal insofar as this state may have unique institutional or cultural features that affect the extent to which its voters use mail-in absentee ballots. Moreover, it is possible that each state in the United States contains a puzzling Congressional election every cycle, in which case Bladen County's results in 2018 may simply be North Carolina's contribution to 2018's set of unusual Congressional election outcomes.

With this as background, Figure 8 displays North Carolina values of AEDID across Congressional elections along with values of AEDID for Arkansas, Georgia, and Oklahoma for the General and Midterm elections of 2012, 2014, 2016, and 2018. These three states all maintain publicly-available election records with which one can calculate mailin absentee and election day candidate support rates by Congressional Districts within county. Each of the 264 dots in the figure represents a county in one of the four named states that intersects at least two Congressional Districts with contested races. Dots are colored by state and sized based on absentee votes cast.

¹⁵For Arkansas election data, see https://results.enr. clarityelections.com/AR/; for Georgia data, see http://results.enr. clarityelections.com/GA/; and, for Oklahoma data, see https://www.ok.gov/elections/Election_Info/Election_Results/index.html (all sites last accessed December 26, 2018).

¹⁶Neither Arkansas nor Georgia maintain the necessary data for the 2010 Midterm Election to be included in 8. Oklahoma does maintain such data, but to maintain consistency

Figure 8: Values of AEDID across Arkansas, Georgia, North Carolina, and Oklahoma elections



*Note: dots sized proportionally to total absentee turnout.* 

Figure 8 reinforces what we observed when considering North Carolina alone. Namely, the mail-in absentee vote share for Republican Congressional candidate Mark Harris in Bladen County in the 2018 Midterm Election in North Carolina was extreme when compared to Harris's election day vote share. Based on the statistic AEDID, Harris's 2018 Bladen County mail-in absentee support was more extreme then the mail-in we restrict attention to elections in this state starting with 2012.

absentee support for any other comparable Congressional candidates in any of the recent elections in the four states covered in Figure 8. Moreover, Bladen County's mail-in absentee voting patterns in 2016 Midterm Election were also rather anomalous when placed in the context of other states.

# Congressional primary elections in North Carolina, 2016 and 2018

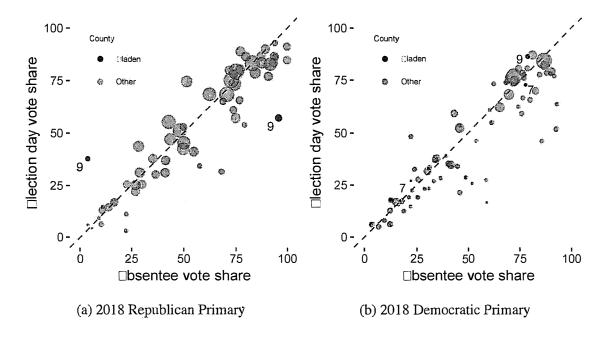
The voting fraud allegations motivating our analysis of the 2018 9th Congressional District race in North Carolina have also touched on this state's 2018 Republican Primary.¹⁷ We now turn to this election as well as the preceding primary.

In his 2018 Republican Primary, Mark Harris received 610 out of 811 total (approximately 75 percent) mail-in absentee votes cast, and his nearest Republican competitor, Congressional incumbent Robert Pittenger, received only 186 (approximately 23 percent). Nonetheless, in election day voting, Harris and Pittenger were almost tied, Harris having received 4,907 election day votes (approximately 48.5 percent) to Pittenger's 4,710 (approximately 46.6 percent) out of a total of 10,108 election day ballots. Harris's advantage over Pittenger on mail-in absentee voting is large compared to his slight advantage on elec-

¹⁷For details on allegations and the 2018 primary, see "North Carolina election-fraud investigation centers on operative with criminal history who worked for GOP congressional candidate," *The Washington Post*, December 3, 2018, available at https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/north-carolina-election-fraud-investigation-centers-on-operative-with-criminal-history-who-worked-for-gop-congressional-candidate (last accessed December 25, 2018).

tion day voting, and this motivates Figure 9, which plots by county mail-in absentee and election day vote shares for the Republican and Democratic candidates in their respective May 2018 primaries.

Figure 9: Election day and absentee vote shares in North Carolina Congressional Primaries, May 2018



Note: each dot depicts election results for a Congressional primary candidate in a single county who received at least ten mail-in and at least ten election day votes in the county. Dot sizes proportional to sum of mail-in absentee and election day votes a candidate received.

Figure 9a has 145 and Figure 9b, 131, dots, each of which corresponds to a Congressional District/county pairing. Notwithstanding the fact that Congressional District 1 in North Carolina had neither a Republican nor a Democratic Primary in 2018, there were many more 2018 primary election candidates than candidates in the 2018 Midterm. Some of the former, however, received very few votes. For example, Clarence W. Goins, Jr., competed in the Republican Primary in Congressional District 9, receiving two mail-in absentee votes in Bladen County. To avoid confounding Figure 9 by candidate support

rates that depend on a small number of ballots cast, the figure includes only Congressional District/county pairs in which a primary election candidate received at least ten mail-in absentee and at least ten election day votes.

Figure 9a highlights Bladen County in the May 2018 Republican Primary, and it shows visually the extent to which the two Republican candidates in Congressional District 9 were similar vis-a-vis election day vote share quite different with respect to mail-in absentee support. Indeed, one of these two candidates, Mark Harris, had a primary election mail-in absentee vote share in Bladen County that was close to 100 percent.

Figure 9a shows as well that there were two Congressional District/county pairings that featured a candidate who received literally 100 percent support within mail-in absentee ballots. Both of these pairings involve Congressional District 11, where there was a dominant candidate, Mark Meadows, who received approximately 86 percent support across his district. Disregarding District 11, Mark Harris's mail-in absentee support rate in the May 2018 Republican primary in Bladen County was the highest mail-in absentee support rate observed across all North Carolina Congressional District/county pairings with at least a minimal number of votes.

In the May 2018 Democratic Primary, which is presented in Figure 9b, Bladen County does not appear anomalous. One of the two Democratic candidates (Kyle Horton, upperright corner of the figure) who competed in District 7 outperformed the other candidate (Grayson Parker, lower-left) in both mail-in absentee and election day voting. While Horton did have a high mail-in absentee support rate, this should not raise a red flag: Horton also had a high election day support rate. There were two Democratic District 9 candidates in Bladen County, but one received a very small number (seven) of mail-in absentee votes and is thus not depicted in Figure 9b.

Figure 10 presents the distributions of AEDID for the Republican and Democratic Primary Elections in 2018 (upper panels) and 2016 (lower panels) in North Carolina. The

four panels parallel earlier presentations of AEDID, but here they are focused on partisan primary elections. On account of the presence of multiple candidates, primaries may differ from the midterm and general elections analyzed earlier.

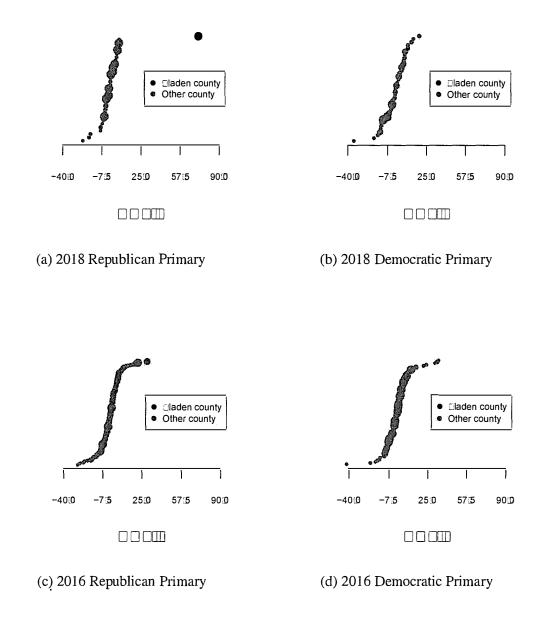
Turning first to the 2018 Republican and Democratic Primary Elections in Figures 10a and 10b, respectively, one dot stands out: Bladen County in the Republican contest in the 9th Congressional District. The value of AEDID in this county is highly anomalous, being several times greater than the values of AEDID for other Congressional District/county combinations. The Bladen County value of AEDID in Figure 10b is not remarkable.

Figures 10c and 10d concern the 2016 Republican and Democratic Primary Elections, which took place on June 7, 2016. In the two figures, no Congressional District/county pairing stands out as anomalous.

A Bladen County dot does not appear in Figure 10c, but there was in fact a District 9 Republican Primary in 2016 that intersected this county. Contesting the primary were three candidates: Mark Harris, Robert Pittenger, and Todd Johnson. Robert Pittenger won, barely, with a combined vote share across the 9th District of 34.95 percent to Mark Harris's 34.45 percent. In Bladen County itself in 2016, there were 226 mail-in absentee votes cast in the Republican Primary. Of these, four were for Harris, one for Pittenger, and 221 were for Johnson. There were also 419 election day votes cast in the primary, of which Harris received 149, Pittenger 44, and Johnson 226. Johnson's mail in absentee vote share in Bladen County was thus approximately 98 percent, and his election day vote share, approximately 54 percent.

That Johnson's mail-in absentee vote share in Bladen County in the 2016 Republican Primary was almost twice his election day share is concerning in light of current fraud allegations. However, we previously set a limit of ten on the number of mail-in absentee and election day votes required for a value of AEDID to be plotted in Figure 10c. The 2016 Republican Primary in Bladen falls below this level because, of the three candidates

Figure 10: Values of AEDID across 2016 and 2018 primary elections



Note: to be included in this figure, both involved Congressional primary candidates must have received at least ten mail in and at least ten election day votes in the county. Each dot is proportional to total absentee votes cast in a Congressional District/county pairing.

contesting it, two had mail-in absentee vote totals less than ten.

# Mail-in absentee ballot request and return rates in North Carolina, 2016 and 2018

We have shown that the 9th Congressional District in North Carolina featured a county, Bladen, that had highly anomalous mail-in absentee results for a Republican candidate, Mark Harris. In conjunction with allegations of absentee ballot fraud in the 9th District, we now turn to some specifics regarding absentee voting in particular.

Hypothetically, there are several ways that absentee ballot fraud in North Carolina's 9th Congressional District could have interfered with Mark Harris's mail-in absentee vote share. One way is via tampering with requests for mail-in absentee ballots. A second way is via tampering of mail-in ballots after they have been requested. We address these two possibilities in order.

# Mail-in absentee ballot requests

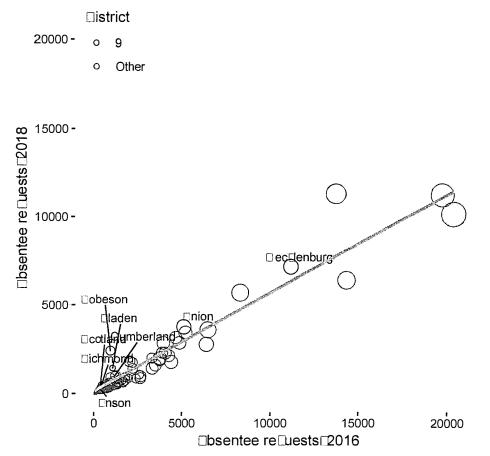
Registered voters in North Carolina who wish to vote mail-in absentee must formally request an absentee ballot via a "State Absentee Ballot Request Form." Per the North Carolina State Board of Elections & Ethics Enforcement, "The State Absentee Ballot Request Form may only be signed by the voter or a near-relative or legal guardian of the voter."

To assess whether in the 2018 Midterm Election there were anomalies in absentee ballot request rates in North Carolina, we need to establish a baseline for comparison. With that in mind, Figure 11 shows total absentee requests in North Carolina by Congressional

¹⁸For guidelines on North Carolina absentee ballot requests, see https://www.ncsbe.gov/absentee-voting-mail (last accessed January 2, 2019).

District/county pair for the 2018 Midterm and a baseline election, the 2016 General. As in previous figures, each dot in Figure 11 is either an entire county or the part of a county that intersects a Congressional District. In the figure, black dots indicate district/county pairs that include the 9th Congressional District.

Figure 11: Mail-in absentee ballot requests across North Carolina Congressional District/county pairs, 2016 and 2018



Note: dots sized based on total votes cast in the 2018 Midterm Election, and the figure's grey regression line is also weighted by total votes cast.

Ideally, Figure 11 would use as a baseline the 2014 Midterm Election. However, North Carolina's Congressional Districts were adjusted between 2014 and 2016, and this com-

plicates comparisons between 2014 and 2018 Congressional Districts in the state.¹⁹ This explains why Figure 11 plots 2018 mail-in absentee ballot requests against 2016 requests.

Per Figure 11, there were more mail-in absentee requests in the period surrounding the 2016 General Election than in that surrounding the 2018 Midterm. This is not surprising insofar as the former election included a presidential contest. Second, there was a fair bit of regularity from 2016 to 2018 in mail-in absentee requests rates in North Carolina. One can see this in the clustering of dots around the superimposed regression line in the figure (regression is weighted by total votes cast in 2018). And third, the majority of the Congressional District/county pairs that include the 9th Congressional District lie above the regression line. The Robeson County dot is particularly distant from the solid grey line in Figure 11.

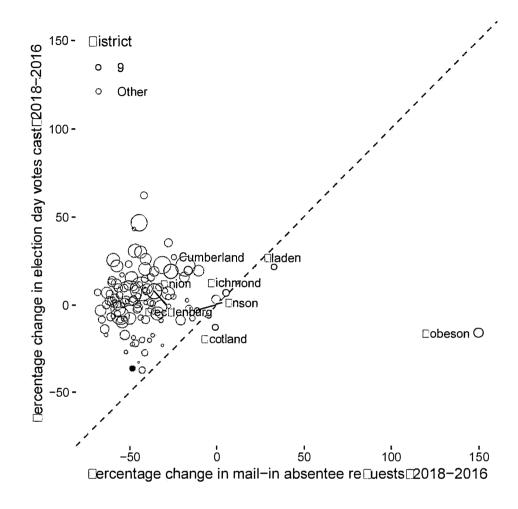
A limitation in Figure 11, though, is that it could be confounded by changes, 2016 to 2018, in county-level political activity. As the figure shows, Robeson County in Congressional District 9 saw many mail-in absentee ballot requests in 2018. This could reflect voter mobilization efforts in Robeson County as opposed to something nefarious.

To address potential confounding by mobilization, Figure 12 plots for the 2016 General and 2018 Midterm percentage changes in election day votes (vertical axis) against percentage changes in absentee requests (horizontal axis). In this figure, dots are again colored black for Congressional District 9, and the figure includes a dashed 45-degree line.

The implications of Figure 12 are twofold. First, the vast majority of Congressional District/county pairs in North Carolina had large percentage drops in absentee requests

19 For the legislative history of the redistricting that affected Congressional District boundaries used in the 2016 General Election, see https://www.ncleg.gov/BillLookup/2015E1/sb2 (last accessed January 2, 2019).

Figure 12: Percentage changes in absentee ballot requests and election day voting across North Carolina Congressional Districts/counties, 2016 and 2018



Note: dots are sized based on total votes cast in the 2018 Midterm Election.

between 2016 and 2018 yet small changes in election day turnout. This is evident in the clustering of grey points in the neighborhood of -50 (horizontally) and zero (vertically). Second, the 9th Congressional District does not follow this pattern. Its counties combined large percentage changes in absentee ballot requests with small changes in election day turnout. Robeson County is the exemplar of this, and Bladen County (the part that intersects Congressional District 9) is the next most extreme location.

Put simply, the placement of 9th Congressional District points in Figure 12 is not

consistent with a widespread political mobilization explanation for the large increase in mail-in absentee ballot requests in Robeson and Bladen Counties. For this explanation to be compelling, the dots associated with these two counties would have had to have been much higher vertically in Figure 12.

Table 2: Ten North Carolina Congressional District/county pairs with the greatest absentee ballot increases, 2016-2018

County	District	Requests 2016	Requests 2018	Percentage change
Robeson	9	971	2,426	149.85
Bladen	9	1,091	1,452	33.09
Richmond	9	467	492	5.35
Franklin	2	951	948	-0.32
Scotland	9	384	381	-0.78
Johnston	2	2,044	1,833	-10.32
Anson	9	336	298	-11.31
Yancey	11	773	665	-13.97
Columbus	7	669	561	-16.14
Cumberland	9	1,224	1,023	-16.42

Table 2 lists the ten Congressional District/county pairs with the largest percentage change in absentee ballot requests, 2016 to 2018. Of the top ten such pairs, six are from the 9th Congressional District. Moreover, as is clear from raw request numbers, Table 2's large percentage changes in mail-in absentee ballot requests are not artifacts of small changes that, in percentage terms, are large. The part of Bladen County that intersects the 9th Congressional District is second to Robeson in terms of its low mail-in absentee ballot return rate in 2018.

#### Mail-in absentee ballot return rates

We now turn our attention to absentee ballot return rates. For the purposes of this study, we say that a mail-in absentee ballot in North Carolina was returned if it was marked

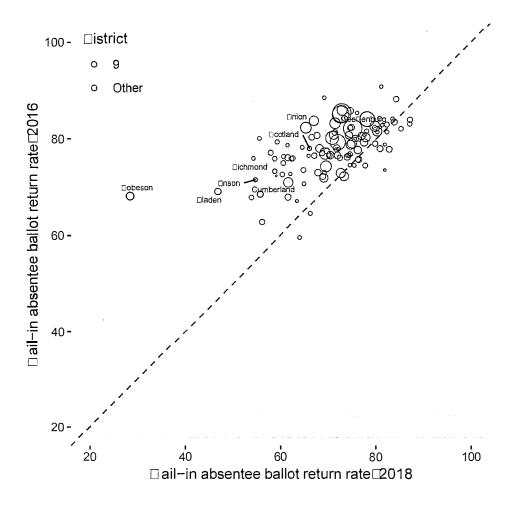
as "Accepted" by the state after having been sent out to a registered voter.²⁰ Figure 13 plots mail-in absentee ballot return rates for North Carolina Congressional District/county intersections in 2016 and 2018. These years were part of our analysis, above, of mail-in absentee ballot requests.

The eight counties that intersect Congressional District 9 are noted in Figure 13, and these intersections had relatively low mail-in absentee ballot return rates in 2018. Robeson County is the most anomalous: the 2018 mail-in absentee ballot rate in Robeson was less than 30 percent despite the fact that almost 70 percent of requested mail-in absentee ballots were returned in 2016. Bladen County is also anomalous: it suffered a sizable drop in absentee ballot returns in 2018 compared to 2016.

Basic on publicly-available information, we cannot classify non-returned, mail-in absentee ballots as simply discarded by requesting voters, lost, stolen, illegally collected and subsequently discarded, or something else entirely. Accordingly, we cannot determine why exactly there were so few returned mail-in absentee ballots in 2018 among counties that touch the 9th Congressional District. Whatever the reason, though, this district is anomalous in its absentee ballot return rates, and this is consistent with conjectures that there were absentee ballot abnormalities in the 9th Congressional District during the 2018 Midterm Election.

²⁰To determine the number of accepted mail-in ballots, we downloaded the files "absentee_20161108.csv" "absentee_20181106.csv" from https://dl.ncsbe.gov/index.html?prefix=ENRS/ (last accessed January 6, 2019). These two individual-level files have a column "ballot_rtn_status," which specifies whether a mail-in absentee ballot was accepted.

Figure 13: Mail-in absentee ballot return rates across North Carolina Congressional District/county intersections, 2016 and 2018



Note: dots are sized proportionally to the sum of mail-in absentee ballot requests across 2016 and 2018.

# **Discussion**

Allegations about mail-in absentee voter fraud in the 9th Congressional District in North Carolina have marred the aftermath of the 2018 Midterm Election. The race in North Carolina's 9th Congressional District remains uncertified as of the writing of this study, and according to press reports fraud allegations involving it are the subject of ongoing

investigations. Republican Mark Harris, who according to still-unofficial vote totals won the 9th District race, has filed a lawsuit in the Wake County Superior Court, requesting certification of his victory.²¹

Current investigations notwithstanding, can we use publicly-available information from the 2018 Midterm to assess whether the 9th Congressional District contest was anomalous in a way consistent with fraud claims? The answer to this question is, yes. This study shows how a difference-in-difference statistic based on the presence of multiple Congressional Districts in a single county can be used to assess the extent to which a Congressional candidate (or a Congressional primary candidate) had excessive mail-in absentee ballot support. We computed versions of this statistic for multiple North Carolina Midterm and General elections since 2010, across several other states in this same time period, and for the 2016 and 2018 Congressional Primary Elections in North Carolina. In all of these cases, Bladen County stands out as anomalous: there are inconsistencies in this county between mail-in absentee ballot vote shares for Republican Congressional (or primary) candidates and their election day support rates.

The breadth of Bladen County's anomalous returns should be not underestimated. It is not just that this county is anomalous in the Midterm Election that took place in November 2018. Rather, inconsistencies between mail-in absentee and election day candidate vote shares in Bladen County extend to the May 2018 primary elections and also back to 2016.

Bladen County is not alone in the 9th Congressional District in the extent to which it is anomalous. A neighboring county, Robeson, had both an anomalously high mail-in absentee ballot request rate in the 2018 Midterm Election and then an anomalously low

²¹The text of Harris's filing is available at https://mediaweb.wsoctv.com/document_dev/2019/01/03/Mark%20Harris%20files%20petition_14139653_ver1.0.pdf (last accessed January 5, 2019).

ballot return rate. Bladen County also had unusual request and return rates for mail-in absentee ballots. Overall, compared to other counties in the North Carolina, those that intersect the 9th Congressional District had extreme mail-in absentee ballot request and return patterns.

Either Bladen County and Robeson County are idiosyncratic in an unexplored way, or the recent fraud allegations leveled in the 9th Congressional District deserve serious scrutiny. Moreover, if there were improprieties in these two counties in the 2018 Midterm Election in North Carolina, they appear not to be of the type most associated with public concerns about voter fraud. These concerns generally turn on matters like ineligible voting and not on the extent to which mail-in absentee balloting makes the American election system vulnerable to fraud. If confirmed, the fraud allegations in Bladen County will thus pose a challenge for state and local officials who manage elections, academics who study them, and the public that participates in them.

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# Exhibit A



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The State Board of Elections is the agency responsible for the administration of elections and campaign finance disclosure and compliance in North Carolina. Press inquiries should be directed the Board's public information officer, Patrick Gannon, at 919 814 0765 (office).

Search

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Press Release



Release: IMMEDIATE
Date: 11/30/2018

patrick.gannon@ncsbe gov

# State Board to hold public hearing into irregularities in 9th Congressional District contest

In a bipartisan decision Friday, the State Board of Elections and Ethics Enforcement decided to hold a public evidentiary hearing into claims of irregularities and fraudulent activities related to absentee by mail voting and potentially other matters in the 9th Congressional District contest. The State Board has not certified results in that race.

The hearing will be held on or before December 21 by the State Board as then constituted.

The full motion by Board Vice Chair Joshua Malcolm, approved 7-2, was as follows:

I move that, in light of claims of numerous irregularities and concerted fraudulent activities related to absentee by-mail ballots and potentially other matters in Congressional District 9, the State Board hold, as then constituted, an evidentiary hearing on or before December 21 pursuant to its authority under G.S. §§ 163A-1180 and 163A-1181 to assure that the election is determined without taint of fraud or corruption and without irregularities that may have changed the result of an election; and that the Bladen County Board of Elections is hereby directed to withhold issuance of certificates of election in the following contests: Bladen County Commissioner District 3 and Bladen Soil and Water Conservation District Supervisor.

A State Board investigation into claims of absentee voting irregularities is ongoing. The Board also did not certify the results for District Court 16B Seat 2 in Robeson County. Audio of the relevant public portions of Friday's meeting is <a href="https://example.com/html/>html/html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>html/>htm

Exhibit B



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The State Board of Elections is the agency responsible for the administration of elections and campaign finance disclosure and compliance in North Carolina: Press inquiries should be directed the Board's public information officer, Patrick Gannon, at 919-814 0765 (office).

Press Release



Release: IMMEDIATE Date: 12/7/2018

patrick.gannon@ncsbe.gov

#### State Board continues investigation into 9th Congressional District irregularities

State Board continues investigation into 9th Congressional District irregularities

RALEIGH, N.C. - The ongoing investigation into absentee voting irregularities and other alleged activities in the 9th Congressional District is the top priority at the State Board of Elections & Ethics Enforcement.

The agency confirms that Leslie McCrae Dowless Jr. is a person of interest in connection with an alleged absentee ballot operation in the

Four State Board investigators with law enforcement experience are working full-time on this matter. They are led by Chief Investigator Joan Fleming. who specialized in fraud investigations during her 26-year tenure as an FBI special agent. Numerous State Board employees are assisting from Raleigh

The State Board has issued subpoenas for documents to Red Dome Group, the Mark Harris for Congress Committee and the James Atlas McVicker Committee. An evidentiary hearing will be scheduled as soon as possible, and State Board staff will send out a notice as soon as details are final.

The State Board office continues to post documents related to the investigation at the public portal on a rolling basis when production is unlikely to interfere with the investigation

In 2016, this agency investigated absentee voting issues in Bladen County and held a public hearing on December 3 of that year. (Transcript here.) At that hearing, the State Board (three Republicans and two Democrats) voted unanimously to forward all information about the Bladen County irregularities to federal and state prosecutors. Since then, State Board investigators have provided to prosecutors detailed reports documenting issues raised during the hearing and additional information obtained through investigations by this agency.

In late October and early November of this year, after concerns surfaced about new, potentially criminal absentee ballot activities, the State Board mailed letters to about 2,000 voters in Bladen County who had requested absentee ballots for the general election.

The letter informed voters that records showed they had requested an absentee ballot and explained their rights pertaining to the absentee voting process. The letter also provided a hotline phone number for voters to call if they did not request a ballot or if anyone tried to take or fill out a ballot for

It was mailed as an attempt to deter perpetrators of any questionable absentee ballot activities going on in that county, as well as to encourage new sources to come forward in the investigation. The hotline received 10 calls in response to the mailing, and that evidence is being considered by

Background: The State Board (four Democrats, four Republicans, one unaffiliated) voted 9-0 on November 27 and 7 2 on November 30 not to certify results in the 9th Congressional District as the investigation into absentee ballot irregularities continued, and to hold a public evidentiary hearing on or before December 21, (Meeting documents)

Exhibit C

# NEWS

DECISION 2018

# New documents show strange handling of absentee ballots in North Carolina

And an outside analysis found that rates of unreturned absentee ballots in two of the state's 9th District counties were "extreme statistical outliers."

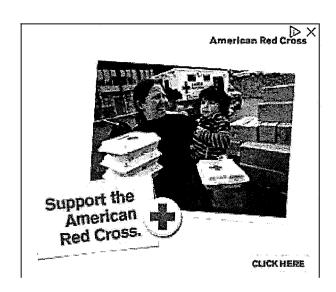
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Dec. 24, 2018, 9:44 AM ET

#### By Associated Press

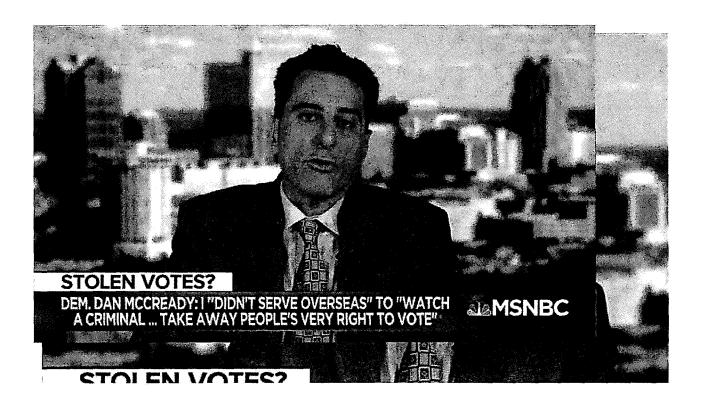
RALEIGH, N.C. – Affidavits released by North Carolina's elections board allege absentee ballots were collected from voters by the man at the center of vote fraud allegations or those working for him.

These latest documents focus on last month's disputed 9th Congressional District race, the year's only unresolved congressional election. Investigators are looking into whether McCrae Dowless and others working on behalf of GOP candidate Mark Harris ran an illegal operation to collect large numbers of absentee ballots from voters in at least two counties.



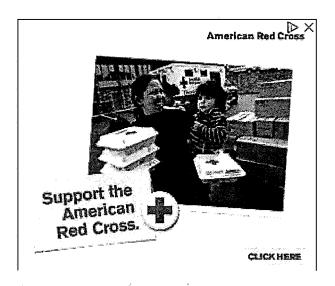
In the batch of affidavits released Sunday, registered voter Christopher Eason of Bladenboro alleges he gave his signed but otherwise blank mail-in absentee ballot directly to Dowless, who had been hired by the chief strategist for Harris' campaign. It's illegal for anyone other than a close relative or guardian to take a person's ballot.

"I signed the absentee ballot envelope but left the ballot completely blank. I did not make any selections in any of the contests on the ballot," Eason said in his affidavit signed Dec. 7, adding Dowless came to his home and asked for his absentee ballot.



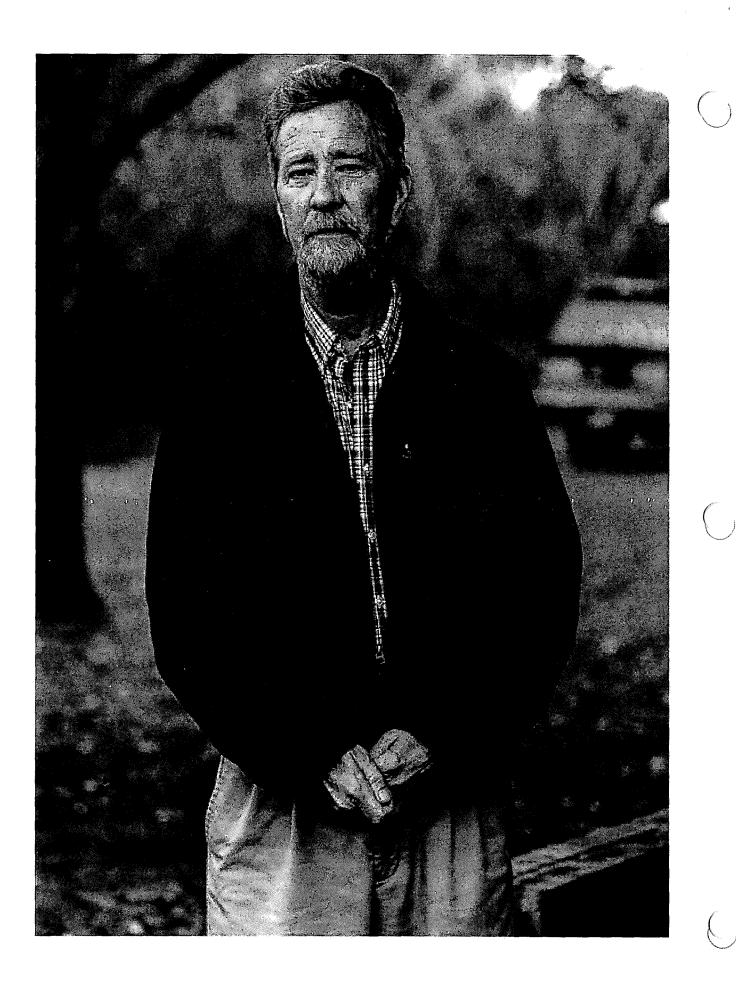
Another voter, Hazel Guyton of Bladenboro, said in an affidavit that she filled out her absentee ballot and Dowless and a woman stopped by to pick it up. She said he'd been "doing that for me for several years," though she states she suffers no legal disabilities.

Dowless is a "person of interest" in an ongoing criminal investigation into irregularities in the 9th District race. His attorney, Cynthia Adams Singletary, did not answer Sunday calls but has asserted previously that Dowless hasn't broken any campaign laws.



Also released Sunday was an analysis by a Harvard University professor who determined rates of unreturned absentee ballots in two 9th District counties were "extreme statistical outliers."

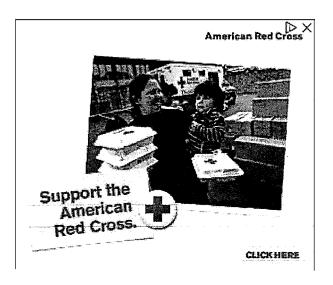
Stephen Ansolabehere, a government professor at Harvard, said absentee mail voting patterns in Blade and Robeson Counties differed considerably from other North Carolina counties in two ways: The "exceedingly high rates" of unreturned ballots and the performance of the Republican candidate in those areas.



— Leslie McCrae Dowless poses for a portrait outside of his home in Bladenboro, North Carolina Travis Long / The News and Observer via on Dec. 5, 2018. AP

"Mark Harris greatly over-performed in these two counties when compared with what one might have expected based on patterns elsewhere," he wrote in his analysis.

The affidavits and the absentee ballot analysis for Robeson County and the portion of Bladen County in the 9th District were filed by attorneys for Democrat Dan McCready, who trailed Harris by 905 votes in unofficial results. Harris, McCready and candidates in a few other local races affected by the absentee ballot probe had until Friday to submit evidence for the board to review in advance of its Jan. 11 hearing.



Neither Harris nor his campaign provided any such evidence or affidavits before the deadline, elections board lawyer Josh Lawson said Sunday. The candidates have until Jan. 6 to submit legal briefs to the board, which could ultimately order a new election or certify the results. The certification delay means no one will be representing the south-central 9th District when the new session of Congress begins Jan. 3.

Other affidavits from local residents provided by McCready's attorneys and released Sunday also alleged that Dowless had held hundreds of absentee ballots unlawfully or "trashed" them as a way to affect election outcomes.

In a separate matter before state judges, elections board Chairman Joshua Malcolm said in an affidavit Friday that the board's investigative staff members have conducted

100 interviews related to the election irregularities and are reviewing more than 182,000 documents produced from 12 subpoenas.	
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Exhibit F

# Understanding the election fraud allegations in North Carolina's 9th district | Raleigh News & Observer

Rewsobserver.com/news/politics-government/article222596020.html

### Politics & Government

Understanding the election fraud allegations in North Carolina's 9th district

By Brian Murphy and

Ely Portillo

December 04, 2018 04:15 PM

What's the political controversy in North Carolina's 9th district?

Here's an overview of the election fraud allegations in North Carolina's congressional 9th district.

**Up Next** 

Here's an overview of the election fraud allegations in North Carolina's congressional 9th district.

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Election fraud investigation

Read more about the investigation into the 9th Congressional District

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This story was updated with the latest developments at 2:13 p.m. Friday, Dec. 7.

One month after Election Day, all eyes are on North Carolina's 9th Congressional District.

Republican Mark Harris scored an apparent victory in the district, defeating Democrat Dan McCready by 905 votes in November. But North Carolina's state board of elections has not certified the results of the election, citing irregularities among mail-in absentee ballots. The boardplans a hearing on or before Dec. 21.

The 9th district stretches from Charlotte to Fayetteville, hugging the South Carolina border. It is currently represented by Rep. Robert Pittenger, a Republican whom Harris defeated in May's Republican primary.

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To see all of The News & Observer's coverage of the possible election fraud, <u>click here.</u> To see all of The Charlotte Observer's coverage of the possible election fraud, <u>click here.</u> Each page contains all of the stories from both news organizations.

#### The latest, Dec. 7

- Harris' campaign still owes Red Dome Group more than \$43,000, most of it for Bladen County absentee work, according to campaign finance reports filed Thursday night. Red Dome Group, a Charlotte-area political consulting firm founded by Andy Yates, was paid nearly \$430,000 by the Harris campaign during the 2018 election cycle. Here is a look at the group.
- The Harris campaign, Red Dome Group and the campaign of Bladen County Sheriff Jim McVicker have been issued subpoenas by the state board of elections.
- McCready on Thursday night withdrew his concession, <u>The Charlotte Observer reported</u>. McCready's campaign has sent out fundraising emails.

"I didn't serve overseas in the Marines just to come home to N.C. and watch a criminal, bankrolled by my opponent, take away people's very right to vote," McCready <u>said in a tweet</u>. "Today I withdraw my concession and call on Mark Harris to end his silence and tell us exactly what he knew, and when."

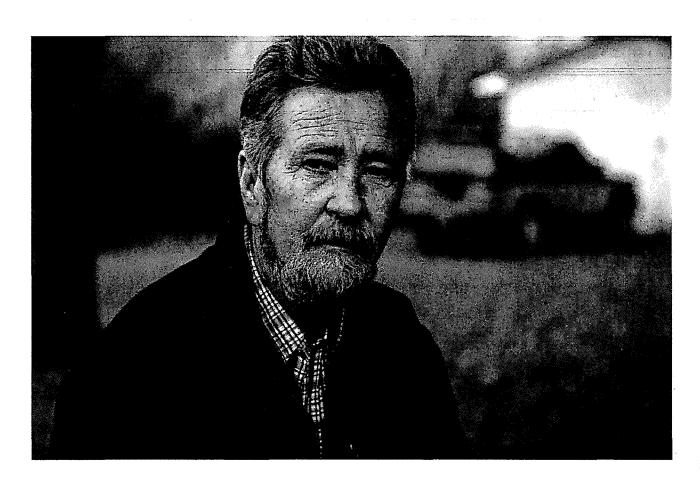
• Pittenger's campaign alerted NC GOP officials and officials with the National Republican Congressional Campaign about irregularities in the May primary, <u>The Washington Post reported Thursday</u>. In the primary, Harris received 437 mail-in absentee votes in Bladen County, while Pittenger received 17. NC GOP executive director Dallas Woodhouse and chairman Robin Hayes <u>told McClatchy that concerns</u> may have been raised, but there was little the party could do. Woodhouse called Harris "an innocent victim."

The NRCC forcefully denied being told by Pittenger aides. "It's an incredibly untruthful thing to say from people who are trying to shift blame away from themselves," NRCC communications director Matt Gorman told McClatchy. "The only thing Pittenger and his team did was beg us to retire his debt, which we did."

House Democrats in Washington, D.C., have begun speaking out about the election —

with Rep. Jim Clyburn, a South Carolina Democrat, <u>telling McClatchy he wants an entirely new election</u>, including primaries. Rep. David Price, a North Carolina Democrat, <u>said in a tweet</u> that the House "must consider all remedies, up to and including a special election." The House can call for a new election. Incoming speaker Nancy Pelosi said the House could take the <u>"extraordinary step"</u> of calling for a new election.

- The current investigation by the state board of elections is, at least, the fifth investigation into elections in Bladen County since 2010, The News & Observer reported. "Bladen County has a troubled history of political groups exploiting the use of absentee ballots in an effort to skew support for a specific candidate or group of candidates," wrote Jon David, district attorney for Bladen, Brunswick and Columbus counties, in a Jan. 26, 2018 letter to the State Bureau of Investigation's interim assistant director. "These groups package the anticipated ability to garner absentee ballots as a commodity to be brokered."
- The investigation is not confined to just Bladen County. Investigators from the state board have seized documents from Robeson County and returned to the county on Tuesday to collect more information about the county's board of elections, <a href="The News & Observer reported">The News & Observer reported</a>. Nearly 1,200 absentee ballots were not returned in the county, including 822 from registered Democrats.
- A group of North Carolina Republicans lawmakers called for an end to the state board investigation and the creation of a bipartisan task force to handle the investigation into voting irregularities and possible election fraud, <u>The News & Observer reported</u>.



Leslie McCrae Dowless poses for a portrait outside of his home in Bladenboro, NC on Wednesday, Dec. 5, 2018.

TRAVIS LONG tlong@newsobserver.com@newsobser

#### Why didn't the state board certify?

• On Nov. 27, the nine-member North Carolina State Board of Elections and Ethics Enforcement voted unanimously not to certify the results of several elections, including the 9th district, The Charlotte Observer reported.

"I'm very familiar with unfortunate activities that have been happening down in my part of the state," then-vice chair Joshua Malcolm, a Robeson County Democrat, told the board. "And I am not going to turn a blind eye to what took place to the best of my understanding which has been ongoing for a number of years that has repeatedly been referred to the United States attorney and the district attorneys for them to take action and clean it up. And in my opinion those things have not taken place."

The board is made up of four Democrats, four Republicans and one unaffiliated member.

• The board met again on Nov. 30 and again declined to certify the results in the 9th district. The board, in a 7-2 vote, called for an evidentiary hearing due "to claims of numerous irregularities and concerted fraudulent activities related to absentee mail ballots" and "to assure that the election is determined without taint of fraud or corruption and without irregularities that may have changed the result of an election," Malcolm said.

No hearing date has been set.

• The board's chairman Andy Penry resigned Saturday over unrelated tweets, <u>The News & Observer reported</u>. Gov. Roy Cooper promoted Malcolm to chairman and appointed former board member Robert Cordle to the board Monday, <u>The News & Observer reported</u>.

Stacy Holcomb of Bladenboro says a woman wearing a Mark Harris t-shirt came by his apartment asking if he wanted to cast an absentee ballot by mail. He accepted her help getting a ballot and gave the woman the marked, sealed ballot after it arrived.

# What happened?

• The North Carolina Democratic Party, in a letter to the board dated Nov. 29, wrote "more information has emerged to cast further doubt as to the basic fairness of the election." The party included notarized affidavits from voters in the district, <u>The Charlotte Observer reported.</u>



In those affidavits:

■ Datesha Montgomery said that on Oct. 12, a woman came by her house and told her she was collecting absentee ballots. In the affidavit, Montgomery said she voted for two candidates: one f^or sheriff, the other for school board. The woman told her "the others were not important. I gave her the ballot and she said she would finish it herself. I signed the ballot and she left. It was not sealed up at any time."

Datesha Montgomery, 27, a voter in Elizabethtown in October, planned to vote absentee by mail but, before she could fill out the ballot, she got a knock on her door from someone who said they were going to take care of her ballot.

- Emma Shipman said a woman came to her house and told her she was assigned to collect absentee ballots. "I filled out the ballot while she waited outside and gave it to her. . . . She took the ballot and put it in an envelope and never sealed it or asked me to sign it. Then she left. . . . I thought she was legitimate."
- Lucy Young said she received an absentee ballot even though she didn't request one. She'd already voted early in person.

At a news conference Monday, Dec. 3, 2018, N.C. Democratic Party Chairman Wayne Goodwin said the elections board was right to delay certification of the election and call for a public hearing into irregularities in the 9th district.

An analysis of the vote totals also indicated some irregularities, <u>according to election</u> <u>results on the state board's website.</u> In Bladen County, Harris won mail-in absentee ballots 420 to McCready's 258, or more than 61 percent. It was the only country in the district where Harris won mail-in absentee ballots, including Union County where Harris won the overall vote with more than 59 percent.

Michael Bitzer, a political science professor at Catawba College, <u>has analyzed the election</u> <u>data.</u> He <u>noted that Harris'</u> winning margin in mail-in ballots means he had to win all ballots from registered Republican and unaffiliated voters.

"To have each and every one of those unaffiliated voters vote Republican, that's pretty astonishing," Bitzer told The Charlotte Observer. "If that's the case, there's a very concerted effort to use that method to one candidate's advantage. . . . But at that level there's something else beyond a concerted effort that could be at work."

In the primary, Harris received 437 mail-in absentee votes to 17 for Pittenger, the incumbent. Harris won the race by 828 votes overall.

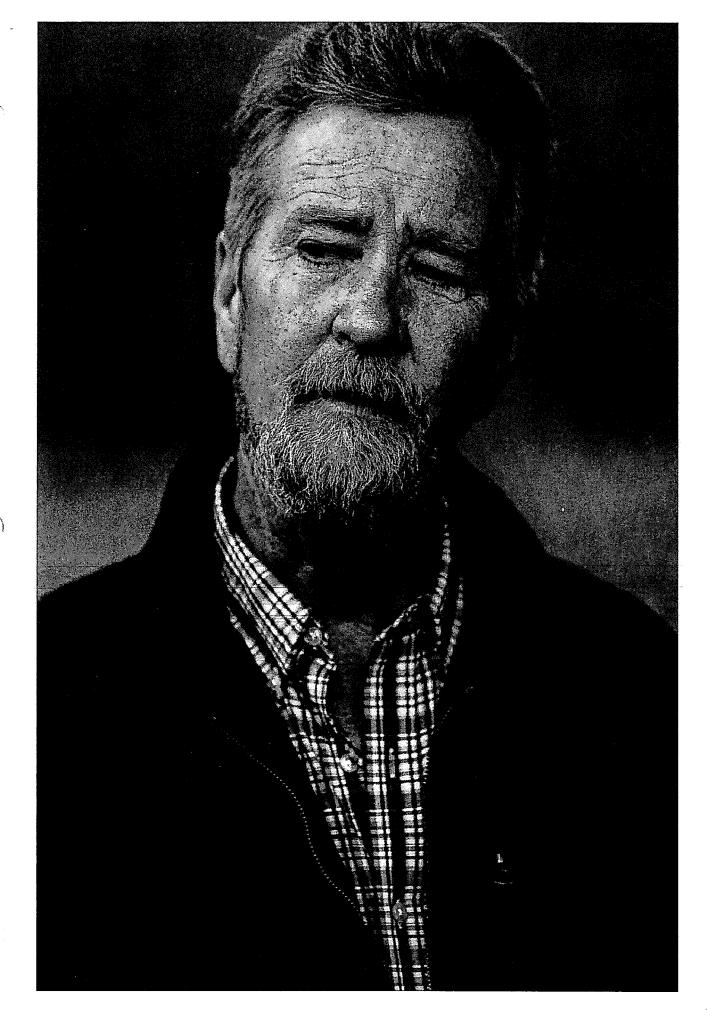
In the 2016 Republican primary, Harris received four mail-in absentee votes and Pittenger received one. Todd Johnson, who finished third overall, received 221.

A man named Leslie McCrae Dowless worked for Johnson's campaign in 2016 and Harris' campaign in 2018.

"He was an independent contractor who worked on grassroots for the campaign, independent of the campaign ... as he's done for a number of campaigns over the years," Andy Yates, Harris' top strategist and the founder of <u>Red Dome Group</u>, told <u>The Charlotte Observer</u>.

#### Who is McCrae Dowless?

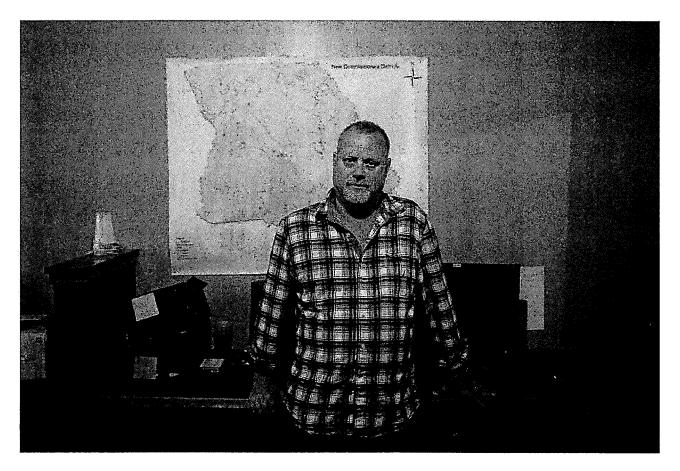
- Dowless, 62, is the vice chair of the <u>Bladen County Soil and Water Conservation District</u>, an elected position. He has worked for at least nine candidates for various offices in North Carolina, all in a "get out the vote" capacity. He is a registered Republican, but had voted in Democratic primaries until 2016, according to elections records.
- In 1992, he was convicted of felony fraud and sentenced to two years in prison, <u>The News & Observer reported Monday</u>. He served six months, <u>according to court records</u>. A 1991 Fayettevile Observer article said Dowless and his wife were accused of taking out an insurance policy on a dead man and collecting nearly \$165,000 from his death.



Leslie McCrae Dowless poses for a portrait outside of his home in Bladenboro, NC on Wednesday, Dec. 5, 2018.

TRAVIS LONG tlong@newsobserver.com@newsobser

- In an affidavit, Dwight Sheppard of St. Pauls, N.C., wrote that on Election Day at a polling site in Dublin, he "overhead a group of people talking, and someone said that Leslie McCrae Dowless, Jr., would receive a bonus in the amount of \$40,000.00 from the Mark Harris campaign if Mark Harris won the election over Dan McCready." Sheppard is a fire investigator in Bladen County.
- Bar bie Silvas, a Bladenboro resident, <u>told The News & Observer</u> that people came around her apartment complex offering to help residents vote absentee. "They would say, 'I'm here for McCrae with the voting thing," she said.
- Many of the absentee ballots were signed by the same witnesses, <u>according to Popular Info</u>, a newsletter produced by Think Progress founder Judd Legum. He reported that he saw 162 absentee ballots and some witnesses had signed as many as 44 of them.
- Ginger Eason, who signed dozens of mail-in absentee ballots as a witness, <u>according to WSOC-TV</u>, told the station that Dowless paid her \$75 to \$100 a week to pick up finished absentee ballots. "I was helping McCrae pick up ballots," she said. She told the station that she did not take the ballots to the board of elections, but instead gave them back to Dowless.
- Jeff Smith, a building owner in Dublin, told The Washington Post and state investigators that Dowless "oversaw a crew of workers who collected absentee ballots from voters and updated the Harris campaign on the numbers," <u>according to The Post.</u>



Jeff Smith stands in one of the former election offices of Republican Mark Harris. The Dublin, N.C., office was run by Smith's former associate McCrae Dowless, whom Smith considered a friend before a revelation about Dowless' political work. Election officials are investigating abnormalities in North Carolina's 9th Congressional District, where Harris ran for the U.S. House.

Justin Kase Conder For The Washington Post

- Dowless denied any wrongdoing to The Charlotte Observer, but has not returned numerous voice messages this week.
- John Branch, the campaign's attorney, <u>told the Post the campaign</u> "at all times believed (Dowless) was working within the confines of North Carolina law."
- Harris introduced Dowless to a candidate for the Charlotte City Council. Pete Givens told The Charlotte Observer that he met with Dowless and with Michael Dickerson, Mecklenburg County's director of elections. "He didn't come in in a three-piece suit, let's put it that way," Dickerson said. "He was sort of a country folk kind of guy." Campaign records show Givens paid Dowless \$800 for consulting in May 2017.
- Dowless has a reputation in Bladen County as a man who knows a lot of people and likes to work in politics. He's worked on local campaigns for a long time but started getting into statewide politics only around 2010, said Ken Waddell, a former Democratic state representative who employed Dowless for his 2012 campaign.

"He's got a lot of kinfolks in Bladen County," said Waddell, which made Dowless an asset

to any campaign. "Anytime you can get in touch with someone who knows a lot of people, and can get you in front of a lot of people, that's what you want to do."

But Dowless didn't just work for Waddell in 2012 — he also worked for Waddell's primary opponent, Democrat Al Leonard, campaign finance reports show. Leonard paid Dowless \$1,500, while Waddell paid him \$6,825. Waddell said he didn't know Dowless was playing both sides until after the election.

"I wasn't too happy about that," said Waddell.

He said he paid Dowless to put out signs, hand out campaign literature, coordinate poll volunteers and encourage absentee voters. He didn't hear about any wrongdoing, Waddell said.

"I didn't see any evidence of him doing something flagrantly wrong," said Waddell.

Returns show absentee by mail ballots, the kind in question now in the 9th District, didn't play a big role in his race against Leonard. Waddell received 96 absentee by mail votes, while Leonard received 36 — well below 1 percent of the total 13,000 ballots cast.

Waddell, who retired in 2016 from the legislature, said Dowless is a friendly person who enjoys the social aspects of campaigning.

"He's the kind of person that can walk up to anyone and start talking to them," said Waddell. "He's the kind of person who likes the campaigning."

#### Is it legal to pick up ballots from voters?

- In short, no. North Carolina state law says <u>that it is a felony</u> "for any person to take into that person's possession for delivery to a voter or for return to a county board of elections the absentee ballot of any voter, provided, however, that this prohibition shall not apply to a voter's near relative or the voter's legal guardian."
- The "improper delivery of an absentee ballot is not itself sufficient to discount the ballot," according to the state board. Officials would have to consider improper delivery along with other evidence, including any evidence of tampering, in determining whether the container return envelope has been properly executed and therefore whether the ballot should be counted.

#### Who is investigating?

- The state board has four investigators in their investigative division and they are all working on the issue, the board's spokesman Patrick Gannon told The News & Observer on Monday. The board's chief investigator, Joan Fleming, took Bladen County's absentee ballots during the week of the election, said Cynthia Shaw, the county elections director.
- The Wake County district attorney is investigating Bladen County ballots amid fraud

claims, <u>The News & Observer's Dan Kane reported</u>. The Wake County investigation began with allegations about 2016 voting but now incorporates the allegations raised in the 2018 primary and general election, Kane wrote.

- The FBI and the office of the U.S. attorney for the Eastern District of North Carolina are working with state election officials, <u>The Washington Post reported Monday.</u> A spokesman for the Eastern District told The News & Observer that he could not "confirm or deny any ongoing investigation."
- The board issued a subpoena to the Harris campaign Monday, the campaign's attorney told The Washington Post.
- Shaw, the elections director in Bladen County, has left her job. Shaw, who was planning to retire at the end of the year, is taking vacation and sick leave until her retirement. "It has nothing to do with this investigation going on," Shaw told The News & Observer in a phone interview.



An especially large number of mail-in ballot requests came from Village Oak Apartments at 303 Pecan Street in Bladenboro, election data show.

Carli Brousseau cbrousseau@newsobserver.com

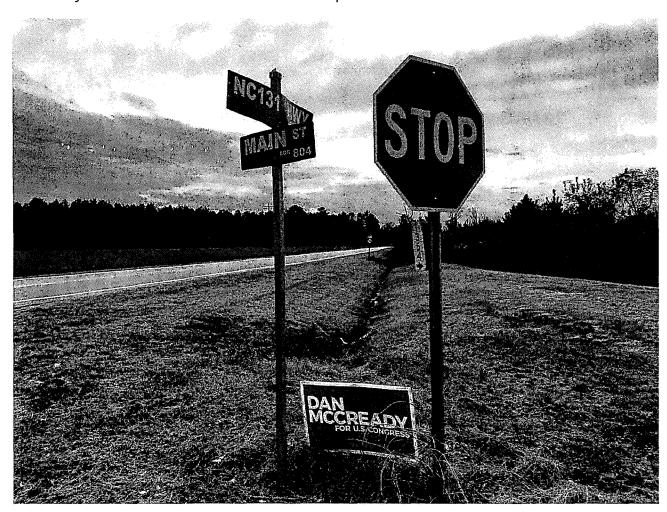
#### Were all the ballots returned?

A News & Observer analysis of data on mail-in ballots in the district found:

■ Across the 9th district, which stretches from Charlotte to Fayetteville along North Carolina's southern border, 24 percent of the requested mail-in ballots were unreturned. In Robeson County, 64 percent of mail-in ballots requested did not make it back to elections officials. In Bladen County, the figure was 40 percent.

- The unreturned ballots are disproportionately associated with minority voters. More than 40 percent of the ballots requested by African Americans and more than 60 percent of those requested by American Indians did not make it back to elections officials. For white voters, that figure was just 17 percent.
- In Bladen County, the breakdown for African Americans and American Indians generally reflected the district-wide figures. But in Robeson County, 75 percent of the mail-in ballots requested by African Americans and 69 percent of the mail-in ballots requested by American Indians were listed as unreturned.
- In other counties hard-hit by Hurricane Florence, as Bladen and Robeson were, the share of unreturned mail-in ballots was not as high. In Columbus County, 29 percent of the mail-in ballots requested were unreturned. In Pender County, the figure was 18 percent.

The analysis excluded data on voters who requested more than one ballot.



A "Dan McCready for Congress" campaign sign still stands along NC 131 near the Bladen County town of Tar Heel, N.C..

Carli Brousseau cbrousseau@newsobserver.com

• Republicans in North Carolina have said that there are not enough mail-in absentee votes to change the results of the election and that the board should certify the election and continue its investigation.

"Make no mistake, I support any efforts to investigate allegations of irregularities and/or voter fraud, as long as it is fair and focuses on all political parties. There is absolutely no public evidence that there are enough ballots in question to affect the outcome of this race," Harris said in a tweet.

"The State Board of Elections should act immediately to certify the race while continuing to conduct their investigation. Anything else is a disservice to the people of the Ninth District," Harris said in a tweet.

McCready said, in a tweet on Nov. 30, that he respected the board's decision to delay certification "until a full investigation is completed of all credible allegations of voter fraud and irregularities. The right to vote is the foundation of our democracy. Any effort to rob a person of that right should be met with the full force of justice."

The state board of elections has a range of options, from certifying the election results to ordering a new election, The Charlotte Observer reported. The board can order a new election even if the number of disputed ballots is not enough to change the result of the election. The board can call a new election if it determines "that the irregularities or improprieties occurred to such an extent that they taint the result of the entire election and cast doubt on its fairness," The Charlotte Observer reported.

If the board calls for a new election, it would be a first for a North Carolina congressional race, Gerry Cohen told The Charlotte Observer. Cohen drafted election laws as special counsel to the North Carolina General Assembly for 37 years.

The House of Representatives could refuse to seat Harris, who has been taking part in new-member events.

"If there is what appears to be a very substantial question on the integrity of the election, clearly we would oppose Mr. Harris being seated until that is resolved," Rep. Steny Hoyer, a Maryland Democrat and the incoming House majority leader, told reporters at the Capitol, according to The Washington Post.

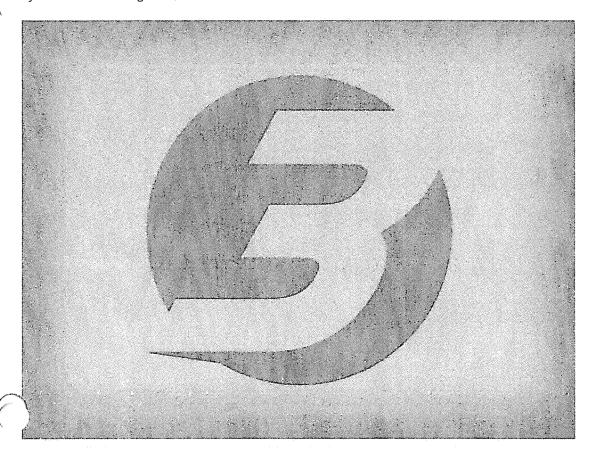
Dan McCready concedes to Mark Harris

Exhibit G



# ONLY ON 3: "GET OUT THE VOTE" WORKERS WITH CRIMINAL BACKGROUNDS

By **WWAY News** - August 23, 2010 12:36 PM



It's called Get Out The Vote, and the practice is alive and well here. Campaign finance records show Butch Pope, the Democratic candidate for District Attorney of Bladen, Brunswick and Columbus Counties, spent \$15,000 paying people to round up votes for him during the primary election. Sometimes, that means glad-handing at the polls, other times, get out the vote workers drive voters to the polls.

"Dollar for dollar, I think it's more effective because it's more personal," Pope told us, explaining why he utilizes Get Out The Vote. "They talk to the voters as they come up, they speak to them, they know them, I think it's just good old, down home southern politics."

Get out the vote tactics are legal, and commonplace, especially in rural areas like Bladen Tounty. But Pope's opponent, Jon David, has a big problem with the way he's trying to winthis election.

"The practice raises serious questions," David told us, "because ultimately what it does is transfer power away from the voters to make an important decision, and lets a small group of people who don't have the best interest of the community at heart, but their ow financial interest at stake, to dictate who becomes important leaders in their community."

One thing we uncovered that's somewhat concerning in a district attorney's race – many of the people Pope has hired to round up votes have criminal records. Pope paid the most money, about \$5,000, to McCrae Dowless, a big player in the Bladen County get out the vote arena. But we found out Dowless has a rap sheet, including previous arrests for assault on a female, and felony fraud charges. One has to ask, is this the person you want doing your bidding if you're campaigning to run the area's law and order system?

#### Related Article: Leland wants to extend mayor's term

"They're not decision makers," Pope explained. "They are not influential in my campaign certainly, but they know where the precincts are – they know where to be, what time, they know how to do these kinds of things. The fact they had a criminal record. I think Mr. Dowless may have had a criminal conviction 20 years ago or more, and he's paid his dues. That doesn't bother me."

Jon David says Bladen County deserves better. "The district attorney should set the standard for what it means to be fair and above board in his dealings," he said. "As a candidate, I am prepared to answer any questions that you have about how I get my money, or how I spend the money, because after all, how you run for office says a lot about how you're going to run the office when you get there."

It's not just McCrae Dowless who has a criminal record. Pope, and a number of other high profile candidates running for election in Bladen County, have hired Levi Roberts for their get out the vote efforts. Roberts has a lengthy criminal record, including charges for going armed to the terror of the public, two counts of assault on a female, drug charges, and 6

arrests for drunk driving. So you might find it a little concerning that Pope gave Roberts gas money to help with his campaign.

ope says he wasn't aware of Roberts legal issues. "I would certainly look into that," Pope told NewsChannel 3. "If someone was driving someone to the polls and they had a drivers license problem, I'd look into that."

We tried to reach McCrae Dowless and Levi Roberts for this story. Dowless originally agreed to an interview, saying he had nothing to hide, but called to cancel our interview the morning of. He did tell us over the phone that the Get Out the Vote effort is an important means of improving voter turnout in Bladen County.

The State Board of Elections investigators who are looking into complaints surrounding the Bladen elections say Get Out the Vote campaigns are not unusual, and are an effective way for candidates to maximize voter turnout. However, investigators tell us it is unusual for candidates to be hiring people with criminal records.

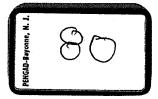


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Exhibit H



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# 11/02/2010 OFFICIAL GENERAL ELECTION RESULTS - BLADEN

Text Size: A A | Options | Downloads

#### Criteria

 Election:
 11/02/2010
 ▼

 County:
 BLADEN
 ▼

 Office:
 ALL CONTESTS
 ▼

 Contest:
 DISTRICT ATTORNEY DISTRICT 13
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 Display Results
 Refresh

#### **BLADEN County Info**

#### **Last County Submit:**

November 12, 2010 12:30 pm

#### **Last County Upload:**

November 12, 2010 12:30 pm

#### recincts Reported:

▲00.00% (17 out of

100.00%

#### DISTRICT ATTORNEY DISTRICT 13 (VOTE FOR 1)

Precincts Reported: 17 of 17

NAME ON BALLOT	PARTY	BALLOT COUNT	PERCENT
Harold G. (Butch) Pope	DEM	8,255	67.17%
Jon David	REP	4,034	32.83%

# Exhibit I



### NEW YORKER

# A REPUBLICAN OPERATIVE FACED PRIOR ALLEGATIONS OF ELECTION FRAUD IN A DISPUTED NORTH CAROLINA DISTRICT

By Doug Bock Clark December 4, 2018



Many voters in Bladen County say they were approached at home and offered assistance submitting an absentee ballot.

Photograph by Justin Kase Conder / The Washington Post / Getty

ut of around two hundred and eighty thousand votes cast in the November election for North Carolina's Ninth Congressional District, the Republican Mark Harris prevailed over the Democrat Dan McCready by a margin of nine hundred and five. Harris, a former senior pastor of the First Baptist Church in Charlotte, scored

victories in only two of the eight counties in the district, which runs along the border with South Carolina. Both were Republican strongholds, rural and sparsely populated, but they were enough to put him over the top. As Harris celebrated his victory on election night, he said, "I have to say, as I look at that map tonight, thank God for Bladen and Union County."

The North Carolina State Board of Elections, which has twice refused to certify the results in the Ninth District, now plans to hear evidence from an investigation into allegations of widespread electoral fraud committed by an operative for the Republican campaign. Testimony submitted in a set of affidavits outlined a type of scheme known as ballot harvesting, in which people are hired to pose as state employees to collect absentee mail-in ballots from voters and then either alter the ballots to support preferred candidates or destroy those that support an opponent. According to previously unreported court documents, operatives in Bladen County, which has become the epicenter of the current scandal, have been accused of tampering with absentee ballots for at least the past three election cycles. The documents also allege that the conspiracy involved some of the most powerful individuals in the region, including the county sheriff and the head of the local Republican Party, both of whom were connected to a local Republican political consultant named Leslie McCrae Dowless, Jr.

Dowless's name appeared in the affidavits submitted, in November, to the North Carolina State Board of Elections by a lawyer for the state's Democratic Party, and statistical analyses have revealed alarming patterns in Bladen and neighboring Robeson County, where Dowless also operated, including a disproportionately low return rate of absentee mail-in ballots from minority voters, who are more likely to vote Democrat. Earlier this week, the investigative blog Popular Information reported that it had obtained a hundred and sixty-two absentee mail-in ballots, of which a hundred and thirty were witnessed by eight people, some of whom are associated with Dowless; Ginger Eason, who had collected thirty-one ballots as part of that group, admitted to the Charlotte TV station WSOC that she was paid between seventy-five and a hundred dollars a week to pick up finished absentee ballots and deliver them to Dowless. A second woman later admitted to participating in the scheme when asked by WSOC, saying that she had not believed it to be illegal because Dowless "had been doing it for years."

A source familiar with Dowless's operation, who spoke to me on the condition of anonymity, said, "Right now, people think what happened in 2018 was a lot of people walking around randomly and knocking on doors looking for absentee ballots. No. Those people knew what they were doing, and they were coördinated by Leslie McCrae Dowless." Dowless, who is sixty-two, has a long criminal history, including several misdemeanors, for bouncing checks and unpaid taxes, and at least one felony conviction of fraud: in 1990, according to Popular Information, Dowless, who then owned an auto-sales company, forged the signature of an employee who had died in a car crash on a backdated life-insurance policy. Dowless's checkered past, however, did not prevent Bladen County officials and other political campaigns, including Harris's, from employing him to help get out the vote. The source who was familiar with Dowless's operation said, "Bladen's elected officials are familiar with Dowless, and a good portion of them have hired him. If you want to be elected in Bladen County, you do not want him working against you." (Dowless did not immediately respond to calls for comment.)

According to court documents obtained by *The New Yorker*, allegations of electoral fraud against Dowless date back to at least 2014, when Dowless was involved in potentiallyillegal efforts to get Jim McVicker elected as Bladen County sheriff. A sworn statement submitted, in September 2017, by Jeffrey S. Smith, the owner of two video-sweepstakes businesses—a controversial enterprise involving playing video games to win cash prizes—describes a scheme in which Smith at least partially funded Dowless's ballot-harvesting efforts. According to the affidavit, in September 2014, the head of the Bladen County Republican Party, Landon Bordeaux, who was helping run McVicker's campaign, told Smith that the current sheriff was planning to raid Smith's establishments. But if McVicker were elected, Bordeaux allegedly suggested, Smith would have no problems with law enforcement. According to Smith's testimony, later that month, Bordeaux "contacted Mr. Smith and said that the campaign needed funds to support a voting drive by McCrae Dowless who was helping the campaign. Mr. Bordeaux asked Mr. Smith to give the \$4,000 to Mr. McCrae Dowless in cash." (Bordeaux did not respond to requests for comment.)

Over the next month, the affidavit describes Smith giving two more contributions—bringing the total to fifty-eight hundred dollars—directly to Dowless to support his efforts for McVicker's campaign. In the affidavit, Smith alleged to have "learned from

various members of the campaign and from speaking directly to Mr. Dowless that he had been hired by Sheriff McVicker's campaign to recruit workers to visit voters, ask the voter to submit an absentee ballot request, and follow up with those voters once they received their ballots to ensure that the voters turned them in, and also to confirm that they had voted for Sheriff McVicker." McVicker won the election by approximately three hundred and fifty votes, and Smith estimated that Dowless had obtained around eight hundred absentee ballot votes for McVicker.

After the election, according to Smith's affidavit, McVicker personally acknowledged Smith's financial support. But the alliance did not last long. In May of 2015, McVicker led a dramatic raid, backed by helicopter support, on Smith's video-sweepstakes operations, in Dublin, North Carolina. Smith sued McVicker, a sheriff's deputy named Travis Deaver, and the local district attorney, Jonathan David. It is from this lawsuit—and its many depositions, claims, and counterclaims—that further details of the alleged election fraud have been drawn. (McVicker's chief deputy Larry Guyton said that the sheriff had "no comment.")

A four-page affidavit signed by Dowless largely corroborates Smith's account. In sworn testimony, Dowless describes coördinating twenty workers, whom he paid fifty dollars in cash per day, to help get out the vote for McVicker. Dowless also says that, in late September of 2014, he was informed by Bordeaux that the campaign was seeking donations from Smith. Dowless describes accepting an initial cash payment of four thousand dollars from Smith, in order to pay himself and the members of his team, and an additional eighteen hundred in cash during the campaign, all of which would have amounted to illegal contributions. "I do not know how Mr. Bordeaux, Sheriff McVicker, and his campaign accounted in its campaign records for the cash contributions for Mr. Smith," Dowless states in the affidavit.

VIDEO FROM THE NEW YORKER

How the Midterms Will Shape the Next Two Years

While Smith was sidelined by the damage to his business, Dowless was just expanding his operation. In the 2016 election cycle, Dowless worked for Todd Johnson, an insurance salesman from Union County, who was running in the House Republican primary against Harris and Robert Pittenger. According to the Washington *Post*, Johnson received two hundred and eleven mail-in votes, compared to just four for Harris and one for Pittenger, who ultimately won the race. But, during the 2016 election, Dowless was not just helping other candidates—he was also running as the incumbent vice-chairman of the Soil and Water Conservation District board, a nonpartisan elected position.

According to Patsy Sheppard, a local Democratic Party official, a Democratic political-action committee tried to unseat Dowless using a campaign that relied heavily on mailin absentee ballots for a write-in candidate. Dowless ended up winning anyway, but the incumbent Republican governor, Pat McCrory, lost by a few thousand votes to the Democrat Roy Cooper. Republicans began pushing claims of election fraud, focussing on a few hundred ballots for the write-in candidate running against Dowless that featured similar handwriting. In Dowless's complaint, he noted "shocking evidence resulting from a blatant scheme to try to impact the voting results of an entire county and perhaps even sway statewide and federal elections."

In December of that year, the North Carolina State Board of Elections rejected Dowless's complaint, arguing that Republican attorneys had failed to provide substantial evidence that the effort changed the outcome of the election. But, when Dowless testified before the Board of Elections, he revealed details of his own vote-harvesting scam. As "This American Life" reported in December of 2016, Dowless told the board that he paid the members of his team for each ballot they collected, which is illegal. "One of the voters who signed an affidavit said that Get Out the Vote workers came by and had her family request absentee ballots," "This American Life" 's Zoe Chace reported. "But then they never received their absentee ballots in the mail like they were supposed to. Then when the family went to vote on Election Day, they were told they'd already voted."

The State Board of Elections filed its findings, about both the Democratic PAC's writein efforts and Dowless, with the U.S. District Attorney's Office for the Eastern District of North Carolina, which has not publicly commented or acted on the case. The following year, according to the Charlotte Observer, when one of Harris's parishioners, Pete Givens, asked for help running for a Charlotte city-council seat, Harris recommended Dowless. (Campaign records show that Givens paid Dowless about eight hundred dollars for less than two months of work, but ended up losing the race.) Dwight Sheppard, a local Democratic poll watcher who helped arrange the affidavits this year, had assumed that Dowless's referral to the U.S. District Attorney's Office would be the end of the Republican operative's work. "I was shocked to see him active again in 2018," he said. According to the Washington Post, the Harris campaign hired Dowless through a G.O.P. consulting firm called Red Dome. Sheppard testified that he overheard people saying that Dowless would get a forty-thousand-dollar bonus from the Harris campaign if Mark Harris won. An affidavit from another person stated that Dowless had told him, during primary voting for the House race, that he was "doing absentee for both" Harris and McVicker, who was up for reëlection; that Dowless had "over 80 people working for him"; and that Dowless said he doesn't "take checks," so "they need to pay me cash." Campaign finance records show that McVicker paid Dowless fifty-eight hundred dollars in 2018 for services described as "get out to vote."

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Harris ultimately ousted the incumbent Pittenger in the 2018 primary by eight hundred and twenty-eight votes, claiming ninety-six per cent of the absentee ballots in Bladen County. On Thursday, Pittenger told Spectrum News, "We were fully aware of [the accusations of fraud]. There are some pretty unsavory people, particularly out in Bladen County, and I didn't have anything to do with them." In November's general election, discrepancies in the mail-in ballots out of Bladen and Robeson counties, where Dowless focussed his efforts, were also extreme: about sixteen hundred mail-in absentee ballots were requested and not returned, in a race decided by fewer than a thousand votes. The Harris campaign did not immediately respond to an email seeking comment. Dowless has denied all accusations of wrongdoing. This week, a reporter with WSOC asked Dowless, "Did you pay people to pick up ballots?" Dowless replied, "At this time, I have no comment. Have a great day."

Daniel Miller contributed reporting to this story.

Doug Bock Clark is a writer whose first book, "The Last Whalers," will publish in January, 2019. Read more »

Video

A Hundred Years of American Protest, Then and Now A split-screen look at how protests have evolved in America, from the Ku Klux Klan to Unite the Right, and the suffragettes to the Women's March.

#### CONDÉ NAST

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# Exhibit J



#### UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF NORTH CAROLINA SOUTHERN DIVISION CIVIL ACTION NO.: 7:16-CV-16-RJ

CYBERNET, LLC and ALADDIN REAL ESTATE, LLC,

Plaintiffs,

V.

JONATHAN DAVID, in his personal capacity and his official capacity as District Attorney for the 13th Prosecutorial District of North Carolina; JAMES MCVICKER, in his personal capacity and his official capacity as Sheriff of Bladen County, North Carolina; and TRAVIS DEAVER, in his personal capacity and his official capacity as a Deputy Sheriff of Bladen County, North Carolina.

DECLARATION OF McCRAE DOWLESS

#### Defendants:

- I, McCrae Dowless, declare under penalty of perjury under the laws of the State of North
  Carolina and the United States that:
- 1. My name is McCrae Dowless. I am over eighteen years of age and of sound mind, and am fully competent to make this affidavit. I have personal knowledge of the facts stated herein and such facts are true and correct.
  - 2. I am a resident of Bladen County, North Carolina.
- 3. In the fall of 2014, I worked with Sheriff Jim McVicker and his campaign to elect him as the Sheriff of Bladen County. He was in a competitive election against the sitting Sheriff of Bladen County, Prentis Benston.
  - 4. I was hired by the campaign to provide information to potential voters about Jim

McVicker, to assist with voter registration drives, to encourage voters to get out and vote, and to work polling precincts during the early voting sessions and on election day. I began working for Jim McVicker's campaign in April or May 2014. I hired a team of workers to assist with these efforts and I was responsible for overseeing their work. The team consisted of approximately twenty (20) people, but varied from time to time depending upon the particular tasks being performed.

- 5. I was responsible for paying each member of my team. I could pay workers in cash up to \$50.00 per day that they worked, and often would pay members of my team in cash when allowed. At all times, I paid members of my team from funds provided to me on behalf of Sheriff McVicker's campaign.
- 6. In my role with the campaign, I had regular contact with Sheriff McVicker and his campaign manager, Landon Bordeaux. I would update them on the status of our efforts and request funds from the campaign as needed to pay for my efforts and the work of my team.
- 7. In the third or fourth week of September 2014, Mr. Bordeaux told me about a meeting that had taken place between Jeffrey Smith, Mr. Bordeaux, and Sheriff McVicker at a residence that belonged to Mr. Bordeaux's grandmother. Mr. Bordeaux said that the campaign was seeking financial support from Mr. Smith, a resident of Dublin in Bladen County, who I also personally know. Mr. Bordeaux told me that the campaign did not accept a check from Mr. Smith in the amount of \$4,000, but that he and Mr. Smith were communicating about other ways for Mr. Smith to help out the campaign.
- 7. A couple of days later after this conversation with Mr. Bordeaux, I contacted Mr. Bordeaux and told him that I needed additional funds at that time to continue my efforts on behalf of the campaign. In response, Mr. Bordeaux said that he would make some phone calls. I

subsequently contacted Mr. Smith. He seemed to be expecting my call and asked me to stop by his house. I went to see Mr. Smith that same day and he gave me \$4,000.00 in cash. I used those funds to pay me and the members of my team who were helping out on Sheriff McVicker's campaign. After receiving these funds from Mr. Smith, Mr. Bordeaux did not follow up with me with any other instructions about getting funds to me in response to my earlier request for additional funds.

- 8. During the early voting period, Sheriff McVicker's campaign was making a push to get voters out to vote. We were assisting with that effort and with manning the early-voting polling precincts to pass out information regarding Sheriff McVicker. I contacted Mr. Bordeaux at the start of that effort and said that I needed additional funds to conduct this work. Mr. Bordeaux told me that he would make some phone calls. I subsequently spoke to Mr. Smith who again seemed to be expecting my call. I then met him at my office in Dublin. When I met with Mr. Smith, he gave me \$900.00 in cash for use toward the early voting effort on behalf of Sheriff McVicker's campaign. After receiving the funds from Mr. Smith, Mr. Bordeaux did not follow up with me with any other instructions about getting funds to me in response to my earlier request for additional funds.
- 9. Later during the early voting period, I again needed more funds for my team to continue its work. I contacted Mr. Bordeaux to request additional funds, and again, Mr. Bordeaux said that he would make some phone calls. I then contacted Mr. Smith, who again was expecting my call. I then met with Mr. Smith at my office in Dublin. He gave me \$900.00 in cash for use on Sheriff McVicker's campaign. After receiving the funds from Mr. Smith, Mr. Bordeaux did not follow up with me with any other instructions about getting funds to me in response to my earlier request for additional funds.

- 10. One of the polling precincts that was open during the early voting session was located in Dublin, North Carolina. On multiple occasions, I saw Mr. Smith, his wife Holly Smith, and employees of Mr. Smith who were working at that site on behalf of Sheriff McVicker's campaign. They were wearing campaign shirts for Sheriff McVicker.
- 11. I do not know how Mr. Bordeaux, Sheriff McVicker or his campaign accounted in its campaign records for the cash contributions made by Mr. Smith.
- 12. Around late September 2014, I overheard Mr. Bordenix telling Mr. Smith that the sitting sheriff, Prentis Benston, was planning on conducting a raid on Mr. Smith's business in Dublin. I believe that Mr. Smith closed his business that same day. He did not re-open it until after the election.

I, declare under penalty of perjury under the laws of North Carolina and the United States, that the foregoing is true and correct.

Dated this the _____day of September, 2017.

McCrae Dowless

## Exhibit K



# Shadowy 9th District figure says he took cash payment in 2014 election

wral.com/shadowy-9th-district-figure-says-he-took-cash-payment-in-2014-election/18074896/

Travis Fain December 19, 2018

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# **Tags:**Posted December 19, 2018 Updated December 25, 2018





By Travis Fain, WRAL statehouse reporter

Raleigh, N.C. — The man at the center of a state inquiry into 9th Congressional District election results indicated in a signed declaration last year that he essentially took cash under the table during the 2014 elections to help Bladen County's current sheriff.

McCrae Dowless, who worked this year for Republican congressional hopeful Mark Harris' campaign, as well as for Sheriff Jim McVicker's re-election, said in <a href="the the took">the the took</a> \$5,800 in 2014 from a Bladen County sweepstakes parlor operator. He said it was cash he needed to pay a team of campaign workers.

Dowless said the money flowed after conversations with McVicker's campaign manager, former Bladen County Republican Party Chairman Landon Bordeaux. In a separate legal filing, sweepstakes parlor owner Jeff Smith testified that he made these payments at Bordeaux's request.

Neither Bordeaux nor McVicker returned phone messages Wednesday, but McVicker gave a deposition in the underlying lawsuit and denied any knowledge of the alleged scheme. He said he didn't want Smith's donation and that his campaign manager told him Smith's claims about funneling cash to Dowless weren't true.

"I don't know," McVicker said in the deposition, filed in a lawsuit that followed a raid on Smith's sweepstakes operation. "I'm assuming he's telling me the truth. I hope he is. But I never received any cash from Jeffrey Smith – or checks."

Smith's attorneys told the court in one of their filings that Dowless had access to "several hundred absentee ballots" that "were physically seen and confirmed as votes for sheriff McVicker by Mr. Dowless." Interviews suggest Dowless may have run a ballot-harvesting operation in 2018, sending people door to door to collect absentee ballots, which is illegal.

He has denied this, but <u>two women told WRAL News</u> earlier this month that Dowless hired them to collect ballots. A <u>report released Wednesday</u> by the State Board of Elections and Ethics Enforcement includes a number of statements from people who say Dowless paid them to collect absentee ballots in 2016.

Dowless and his attorney, who <u>issued a statement Tuesday</u> proclaiming Dowless' innocence in an ongoing investigation of 9th District results, did not return phone messages Wednesday. Smith confirmed his statements in a brief interview.

The sworn statements tie back to a federal suit Smith brought in 2016 against McVicker and Bladen County District Attorney Jonathan David over the 2015 raid. A federal judge dismissed that suit last month, but in a pre-trial deposition, Smith said Bordeaux told him during the run-up to the 2014 election that then-Sheriff Prentis Benston planned to raid his operation.

Smith said in his lawsuit that he offered the McVicker campaign a \$4,000 check, and then a check from someone else, whom he would reimburse. He said Bordeaux told him the donation's size would stick out in public filings and asked him to give cash to Dowless instead.

"Apparently, (Dowless) had a conversation with – with Landon (Bordeaux), and he was made aware that he needed to come see me," Smith testified. "Landon had already called me and asked me to give it to him, so I knew that that was what was going to happen, and apparently, he must have had a conversation with – with McCrae and told him to come see me, that I would give him the cash."

#### North Carolina's 'Guru of Elections': Can-Do Operator Who May Have Done Too Much

Smith said in various filings that he later gave Dowless another \$1,800 cash, then paid his own employees \$600 to work the polls for McVicker. As described, Smith's donations in 2014 would have topped the state limit for political donations. The campaign is also required to disclose such donations.



Those records aren't online, but WRAL News requested them Wednesday from the Bladen County Board of Elections.

McVicker said in his deposition that he never received any campaign donations from Smith but that Smith handed one of his campaign managers a check from a woman from Greensboro or Virginia. McVicker also said his campaign manager wanted him to keep it, "but I made it very clear I didn't want that money."

Dowless said in his statement that he didn't know how the McVicker campaign accounted for the cash he was given.

Bladen County's absentee results are a focus of ongoing inquiries, both by the state elections board and the Wake County District Attorney's Office, that are holding up final results in the 9th District race. Harris seemed to win that race by 905 votes, and he has confirmed to a Charlotte television station that Dowless was hired at his suggestion.

Dowless has a history of absentee ballot and other get-out-the-vote campaigns in Bladen County – for Democrats and Republicans. He worked for a Harris competitor, Todd Johnson, in the 2016 congressional primaries, and Johnson got 221 out of 226 absentee votes cast by mail there.

### Woman who collected absentee ballots in 9th Congressional District race says she feels duped

In the 2018 GOP primary, Harris got 96 percent of the county's mail-in votes despite running against a sitting congressman, Robert Pittenger.



Harris told WBTV in Charlotte recently that a number of Bladen County officials vouched for Dowless' hiring and that he "of course had seen the sheriff was involved and used McCrae."

Smith told WRAL News Wednesday that he met with McVicker in 2014, that McVicker told him his sweepstakes operation existed in a gray area of the law and that he was "only interested in black and white." Smith said he expected the sheriff to call him if he planned to shut down the sweepstakes locations and that he would close them first if the call came.

The state legislature has tried a number of times to outlaw these online gaming operations, with limited success.

Smith filed his lawsuit in 2016 after McVicker and other law enforcement raided his business, claiming among other things that officers maliciously destroyed property during the raid.

Dowless' statement was never filed with the court in that lawsuit, but an attorney on the case confirmed its authenticity Wednesday. The state elections board is aware of it, and Wake County District Attorney Lorrin Freeman said her office recently became aware of it and "will be reviewing it" during its criminal investigation of Bladen County election results.

Both offices are investigating as the state tries to determine whether there are enough questions about absentee ballot results to force a redo in the 9th District election, and potentially in a handful of local elections the state board has also refused to certify. The board recently named Dowless a "person of interest" in that inquiry, and it plans a public hearing to detail its investigation Jan. 11.

Smith told WRAL News, and he has told other news outlets before, that he provided Dowless' get-out-the-vote operation office space ahead of the 2018 primary. Smith said he made Dowless move when he learned he wasn't just working for the Harris campaign, but for McVicker's as well.

#### More On This

Attorney: Man at center of 9th District election investigation has violated no laws



Woman who collected absentee ballots in 9th Congressional District race says she feels duped



North Carolina's 'Guru of Elections': Can-Do Operator Who May Have Done Too Much



# Exhibit L



#### The New York Times

### North Carolina's 'Guru of Elections': Can-Do Operator Who May Have Done Too Much

By Richard Fausset, Alan Blinder, Sydney Ember, Timothy Williams and Serge F. Kovaleski

Dec. 8, 2018

BLADENBORO, N.C. — Adam Delane Thompson wanted to vote but was not sure what to do with the absentee ballots he received in the mail this year for him, his fiancée and his daughter. So for guidance he called an old friend in Bladenboro, L. McCrae Dowless Jr., a low-level local official with a criminal record who nonetheless had once been feted as "guru of elections" in Bladen County.

Mr. Dowless soon had the sealed ballots in his hands and was off to the post office to mail them, Mr. Thompson said.

Mr. Thompson, who works in the maintenance department at a DuPont plant, said in an interview he was grateful. But the act was apparently illegal in North Carolina, where, except in limited circumstances, it is a felony to collect another person's absentee ballot.

In this rural region near the state's southern border, where candidates are often intimately known as neighbors, friends or enemies, Mr. Dowless ran a do-it-all vote facilitating business that was part of the community fabric.

While cash-driven voter turnout efforts are a cottage industry in campaign seasons, Mr. Dowless's operation appeared to run like a family business that crossed lines laid out in election law.

Dozens of interviews and an examination of thousands of pages of documents portray Mr. Dowless, a former car salesman, as a local political opportunist who was quick to seek ballots, collect them or offer rides to the polls. He employed a network of part-time helpers, some of them his own relatives, who, lured by promises of swift cash payments, would fan out across southeastern North Carolina in get-out-the-vote efforts for whichever candidate happened to be footing that year's bill.

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But that network operated with little oversight and accountability, critics say, and now Mr. Dowless has drawn national scrutiny amid a sprawling electoral fraud investigation that could result in a rare redo in a race for Congress.

Avestigators are examining accounts of Mr. Dowless and people connected to his operation collecting absentee ballots directly from residents. Word of this apparent practice has stirred fears that those ballots were reported — or not reported — in ways that helped the Republican nominee, Mark Harris, to prevail by just 905 votes last month.

The state's election board has declined to certify Mr. Harris as the winner in the Ninth Congressional District, and is expected to hold an evidentiary hearing this month. On Friday, the state identified Mr. Dowless as a "person of interest" in its investigation.

The scandal has been a setback for Mr. Harris, a pastor-turned-aspiring lawmaker whose campaign strategists hired Mr. Dowless for a get-out-the vote drive. And it has been an embarrassment for leaders of the Republican Party, who have spent years fretting that electoral fraud could come from undocumented immigrants. Now they are grappling with the possibility that it may have come from one of their own.

But over the years, Democrats and Republicans alike in North Carolina courted Mr. Dowless, who, over almost 15 years, went from being a registered Democrat to unaffiliated to Democrat to unaffiliated to Republican. They fraternized with him, and hired him to work his magic in service boosting their vote tallies. They did so even though local news reports going back to at least 2010 noted his criminal record, which included felony convictions for perjury and fraud.

And they did so despite longstanding rumors that his get-out-the-vote tactics were unsavory at the least, and perhaps illegal.

"I only knew of him that he was crooked, as far as elections are concerned, and he had a way of doing it, and avoided prosecution and that kind of thing," said Ben Snyder, the chairman of the Bladen County Democratic Party, who said he did not meet Mr. Dowless in person until 2016.



The town of Bladenboro in Bladen County, N.C. The county and North Carolina's Ninth District are ensnarled in a potential election fraud case.

Veasey Conway for The New York Times

Dallas Woodhouse, the executive director of the North Carolina Republican Party, said he had heard "a lot of chatter" about voter turnout operations over the years in Bladen County but paid it little mind because prosecutors never brought cases.

"Nothing sort of ever happened," he said, "so I think you assume that there's a whole lot of noise."

In Bladen County this year, Mr. Harris won 61 percent of the accepted absentee ballots, even though registered Republicans accounted for only 19 percent of the ballots submitted.

Both the state elections board and the United States House of Representatives, which Democrats will control beginning in January, could force a new election in North Carolina.

On Wednesday night, Mr. Dowless opened his door with a cigarette between his knuckles as a holiday light machine projected a whirling, speckled glow onto his modest house. In the side yard, a campaign sign for Mr. Harris rested in the grass.

Mr. Dowless said he could not talk, given the controversy. "I don't mean to be rude," he said.

On Friday, he again declined to be interviewed but this time recited a phone number for a lawyer, who did not respond to a message.

Local residents said Mr. Dowless — who is also a soil and water conservation district supervisor — was busy but available. "If you need help he's going to help you out," said Barry Hester, 64, a retired construction worker who went to high school with Mr. Dowless. "Like people who aren't so 'rtunate. If they need a ride, they'll call McCrae."

Politicians and voters said Mr. Dowless depended on cash and a short paper trail.

"Everything was verbal," said Pete Givens, who briefly hired Mr. Dowless for a Charlotte City Council campaign last year.

The Dowless operation also relied on workers like Ginger Eason, who told WSOC, a Charlotte television station, that Mr. Dowless paid her \$75 to \$100 a week to go door to door this year to encourage people to vote for Mr. Harris and a candidate for sheriff. She also said she picked up completed absentee ballots and brought them to Mr. Dowless, but was not sure what he did with them.

"I don't know nothing what happened after I dropped them off," she said.

Kirby Wright, 47, and his mother, Doris Lee Hammonds, 77, recall that a women they recognized as Ms. Eason came to their home one night to pick up their absentee ballots.

The pair had thick envelopes containing their absentee ballots but never filled them out. When Ms. Eason came by, she said she needed them.

told her I was going to throw it away," Mr. Wright said in an interview. "It was blank. She said, 'No, I've got to pick up all the empty ballots.'" Ms. Eason could not be reached for comment.

Mr. Wright said he isn't sure what happened to the ballot designated for his mother, who is bedridden. It might have been thrown in the trash, he said. But state records show Ms. Hammonds cast an absentee ballot by mail. Ms. Hammonds, also interviewed, said she never filled it out or signed the absentee ballot at all.

Mark Harris, right, at a campaign rally in Charlotte in October. The state's election board has declined to certify Mr. Harris's House victory. Doug Mills/The New York Times

Ms. Eason told the Charlotte television station that she never discarded any ballots. But a large number of unreturned absentee ballots in Bladen County, as well as adjacent Robeson County, prompted concerns among elections officials, campaign strategists and independent researchers that Mr. Dowless's network may have engaged in wider fraud.

So do the accounts of some voters. At Village Oaks, an apartment complex in Bladenboro, several residents said they had seen a truck at the complex with a Harris campaign placard at the same time that groups of three or four women would appear to collect ballots or encourage people to request absentee ballots during election season.

"They were around, saying they would help people cast absentee ballots," said Barbie Silvas, who mailed in a ballot this year. "They said, 'I'm here for McCrae to help people to vote.'"

#### A Formula for Victories

Mr. Dowless appeared in the news in the early 1990s after he was accused of taking out, and collecting on, a life insurance policy on an employee who had just died, backdating it and forging a signature. He ultimately spent about six months in prison, according to the North Carolina Department of Public Safety.

Less than two decades later, he was one of a handful of get-out-the-vote experts who wielded significant influence in Bladen County, a struggling rural area where one in four people live below the poverty line. Records show that beginning in 2009, at least seven Democratic and Republican candidates paid him for work.

In 2010, Mr. Dowless worked for a Democratic candidate for district attorney. A local television station at that time named Mr. Dowless as one of "a few heavy hitters in the Bladen County getout-the-vote arena." Part of the local political culture, the station reported, involved political operatives distributing sample ballots for which they had sold spots to the highest-bidding candidates.

The Republican candidate, Jonathan M. David, eventually won the election. He criticized the pay to-play tactics, which he said "lets a small group of people who don't have the best interest of the community at heart, but their own financial interest at stake, to dictate who becomes important leaders in their community."

That same year produced a political landmark for Bladen County, which elected a Democrat as its first black sheriff.

The racial backlash — the county was then 56 percent white and 35 percent black — was alpable, recalled Patsy Sheppard, now a vice chairwoman of the local Democratic Party. She recalled hearing her fellow whites say, "We need a white sheriff."

When a white challenger, James A. McVicker, emerged in 2014, Mr. Dowless was able to earn several thousand dollars in cash helping to get him elected by running a 20-worker absentee ballot operation.

According to records in a lawsuit, Mr. Dowless was paid \$5,800 in cash by Jeffrey Smith, the owner of a video gambling parlor, who was worried that the incumbent sheriff would raid the business.

Mr. McVicker, a Republican, won — and Mr. Smith's business was raided anyway. His company filed a lawsuit against the new sheriff and noted that Mr. McVicker had won the election by almost 350 votes. Mr. Smith's lawyers implied in a court filing that without "Mr. Dowless' efforts" on absentee ballots, Mr. McVicker would not have won.

In 2014, state records show, Mr. Dowless opened a consulting business with Jens L. Lutz, a local Democratic activist. Mr. Lutz, one of two Democrats on Bladen County's four-member elections board, said Friday that he only went into business with Mr. Dowless as a kind of sleuthing peration to root out the unethical tactics he thought Mr. Dowless employed.

Dallas Woodhouse, the North Carolina Republican Party's executive director, said the organization would be open to a new election if there was proof of fraud that swayed the state's unresolved congressional race. Kaitlin Mckeown/The Herald-Sun, via Associated Press

"I knew there was some suspicion and I was doing it to solidify any suspicion of any wrongdoing, Mr. Lutz said, but added that he found it difficult to learn many of Mr. Dowless's methods. (After The New York Times questioned Mr. Lutz on Friday about his dealings with Mr. Dowless, Mr. Lutz resigned from the elections board.)

Meanwhile, word had spread to neighboring Robeson County that Mr. Dowless had a formula for delivering victories. Mickey Meekins heard the word, and decided to call Mr. Dowless when decided to run for county commissioner in 2014.

But after paying Mr. Dowless \$20,000, Mr. Meekins rapidly became disenchanted.

"They actually didn't get no vote," said Mr. Meekins, who lost, adding that he assumed Mr. Dowless used sloppy or suspect tactics.

## The Tally: 221 of 226

In January 2016, the consulting firm he founded with Mr. Lutz dissolved, but Mr. Dowless continued his own work. One client was Todd Johnson, a Republican who, along with Mr. Harris, wanted to unseat Robert M. Pittenger, the incumbent congressman in the Ninth District.

Mr. Johnson, who lives near Charlotte, a city almost three hours from Bladen County's seat, finished last in the primary race, but dominated in Bladen. Of 226 absentee-by-mail votes in the county, Mr. Johnson received 221.

Mr. Pittenger recalled that he, too, could have hired Mr. Dowless. The men met, the congressman said, but Mr. Pittenger "quickly ended the meeting over personal concerns with his proposal."

"We didn't talk long enough for me to gather detailed information," Mr. Pittenger said. "I just knew I didn't want to be involved with him."

In April, just ahead of this year's Republican primary, Herman Dunn, Bladen County's former chief deputy sheriff, saw Mr. Dowless at a polling place.

Mr. Dunn wrote in an affidavit that Mr. Dowless told him he was "doing absentee" work for both Mr. McVicker, the sheriff, and Mr. Harris.

"You know I don't take checks," Mr. Dowless said, according to Mr. Dunn, who had worked for the sheriff Mr. McVicker defeated. "They have to pay me cash."

According to Mr. Dunn, Mr. Dowless also boasted that he had more than 80 people under his command in Mr. Harris's race. (That figure could not be independently corroborated. Red Dome Group, the consulting firm that contracted with Mr. Dowless on behalf of Mr. Harris's campaign, and not respond to requests for comment.)

As the state's investigation into potential fraud continues, people like Jeneva Legions wonder about their voting experiences. Ms. Legions, 30, who lives in the Village Oaks apartments, said she'd had her absentee ballot for a day or two when several women came to her door. One of the women said, 'Are you Jeneva? I've come to get your ballot,'" Ms. Legions said.

When Ms. Legions told them she had not voted yet, one of the women told her she should sign the ballot and fill in her Social Security number. The women left, Ms. Legions said. Not long afterward, one of the women returned.

"I gave it to her," Ms. Legions said in a telephone interview. "I thought she worked for the county. I thought she was one of the voting people coming to get my ballot."

Ms. Legions said she had not sealed the envelope when she gave it to the woman. Her ballot, records show, was never returned to elections officials.

Richard Fausset, Alan Blinder, Sydney Ember and Timothy Williams reported from Bladenboro, and Serge F. Kovaleski from New York. Stephanie Saul contributed reporting from New York. Susan Beachy and Kitty Bennett contributed research.

version of this article appears in print on Dec. 9, 2018, on Page A1 of the New York edition with the headline: Absentee Vote A Cash Crop For the 'Guru'

#### READ 189 COMMENTS



# Exhibit M



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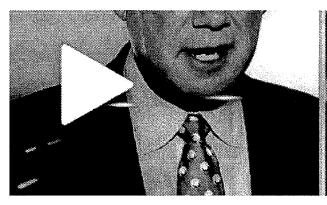


# Who is McCrae Dowless, man who appears to be center of 9th District investigation?

By: Joe Bruno

Updated: Dec 19, 2018 - 2:17 PM

Man at center of voter fraud investigation in NC District 9 race has criminal past





1 of 5

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As the North Carolina Board of Elections investigates the results of the 9th Congressional District election between Republican Mark Harris and Democrat Dan McCready, questions swirl about a Bladen County electioneer.

For years, Leslie McCrae Dowless Jr. has been well known in Bladen County political circles.

Dowless, who goes by McCrae, serves on the board of the Bladen County Soil and Water Conservation District as the vice chair, an elected position.

Would you like to receive news alerts from WSOC?

Yes

Not Now









Joe Bruno

@JoeBrunoWSOC9

I'm working this Sunday and looking into the background of McCrae Dowless. He's the man who appears to be at the center of the #NC09 investigation. Here he is (on left) being sworn in as a Bladen County Soil and Water Conversation District supervisor. 10&11 @wsoctv

33 9:37 PM - Dec 2, 2018

26 people are talking about this

Dowless is better known for his work on campaigns other than his own.

Attempts to get in contact with Dowless have been unsuccessful. When Channel 9 stopped by the Bladen County Soil and Water Conversation District Office last week, an employee said Dowless is only in for meetings and he doesn't use computers often.

Dowless has a criminal record dating back to the 1980s.

Records show Dowless served six months in prison after being convicted of felony fraud charge in 1992. Dowless has also previously faced a charge for perjury.

Not Now







A criminal past has not stopped Dowless from working on campaigns of several prominent local and statewide politicians.

Dowless' political career has been centered around getting out the vote.

According to campaign finance reports, Dowless' first major race was in 2010, working for Harold Butch Pope's campaign for Bladen County district attorney.

The Pope campaign paid Dowless \$7,127 over the course of the year.

A majority of the payments were for "get out the vote" efforts. Pope defeated Jon David by more than 4,000 votes in Bladen County.

Over the next couple of years, Dowless was paid thousands of dollars for get out the vote efforts and, at times, campaign manager for eastern North Carolina candidates Wesley Meredith, Al Leonard, Ken Waddell, and William Brisson.

Dowless' candidates have not been limited to eastern North Carolina.

[NC Board of Elections votes to hold ]hearing on US House District 9 election]

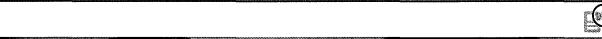
[Possible absentee 'irregularities' examined in 9th Congressional District race]

He was paid \$800 for "consulting fees" for Republican Charlotte City Council candidate Pete Givens. Mark Harris, a friend of Givens, did a fundraiser and campaigned for him.

Would you like to receive news alerts from WSOC?

Yes

Not Now





Dowless' past work includes huge differences between his candidate's absentee by mail total and opponents.

Dowless wasn't always connected to the Harris campaign.

In the 2016 primary, records show Dowless worked for Todd Johnson, who ran against Harris and Robert Pittenger.

Campaign finance reports show Dowless was paid \$6,456 by Johnson's campaign.

The disbursement description was for "get out the vote."

In the June 2016 primary, Johnson finished last in the race, trailing the top vote-getter Pittenger by a little more than 1,100 votes. Despite the loss, Johnson dominated in Bladen County, carrying 68 percent of the vote.

A deeper look at the votes reveals Johnson received 98 percent of absentee by mail votes.

Johnson received 221 absentee-by-mail votes.

Pittenger and Harris combined for five.

The 221 absentee-by-mail votes amounted to 51 percent of his total votes received by that method and 21 percent of the total amount of absentee-by-mail votes when each candidate's totals are added together.

As Channel 9 reported last week, Dowless was referenced in two affidavits that are now included in NCSBE's investigation.

Would you like to receive news alerts from WSOC?

Yes

Not Now





and James McVicker's campaign for Bladen County sheriff.

#### [NC State Board of Elections Chairman resigns amid controversy]

Campaign finance reports confirm the Bladen County sheriff paid Dowless at least \$7,000. The purpose on campaign finance reports was listed as "get out to vote."

Dowless does not appear on any campaign finance reports for Harris because he was working for Red Dome, a political consulting firm hired by the Harris campaign.

Records show the Harris campaign paid Red Dome more than \$428,000. The disbursements are listed for admin and staff and grassroots.

Andy Yates, founder of Red Dome, did not respond to Channel 9's calls Sunday evening.

According to the North Carolina Secretary of State's Office, the Red Dome Group was dissolved in 2017. A certificate of administrative dissolution was issued by Secretary of State Elaine Marshall on Aug. 15, 2017.

The North Carolina Secretary of State's Office has previously told Channel 9 when a business is dissolved by the secretary of state the business is not in good standing.

Similar to Johnson, Harris put up huge absentee by mail numbers in the primary for Bladen County. Harris received 437 of 456 absentee-by-mail votes. Incumbent Pittenger only received 17. In the general election against Democrat Dan McCready, Harris received 61 percent of the absentee by mail votes. Analysis by political expert Dr. Michael Bitzer found Bladen was the only county Harris received more absentee-by-mail votes than McCready.

"In Bladen County, 61 percent of the accepted absentee-by-mail ballots went Republican--the only county to do so; meaning that along with the almost 20 percent of loyal registered Republicans who voted that method, Harris would have also received almost all the registered unaffiliated voters and/or some Democratic registered voters to make it to 62 percent of the vote," Bitzer wrote in his analysis.

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### **Trending - Most Read Stories**

# Exhibit N



## The New Hork Times

# North Carolina Republicans Express Increasing Doubts on Disputed Election

By Alan Blinder

Dec. 6, 2018

ELIZABETHTOWN, N.C. — North Carolina Republicans expressed mounting doubts on Thursday about a disputed congressional race that their candidate once seemed to have won, with one of the state party's most influential figures saying a new election could be appropriate in the wake of fraud allegations.

Lawmakers and strategists, effectively abandoning days of demands that state officials swiftly certify Mark Harris as the winner of the Ninth District's House campaign, said they worried that absentee-ballot fraud may have infected both the November election and the Republican primary, which the incumbent, Robert M. Pittenger, lost in May. Mr. Pittenger has raised concerns about voting irregularities.

In Washington, Democrats, who will control the House in January, including the likely House beaker, Nancy Pelosi, warned again that Mr. Harris might not be seated when the new Congress convenes. Some called for an immediate investigation.

The Republican recalibration came as the Ninth District's turmoil showed no sign of abating, especially before the State Board of Elections and Ethics Enforcement holds a hearing on or before Dec. 21. That proceeding is likely to show the earliest fruits of an intensifying inquiry that has led to subpoenas and reviews of thousands of pages of records. The state board has not certified Mr. Harris as the winner and has, for now, all but set aside preliminary results that give him a 905-vote edge over his Democratic opponent, Dan McCready.

"They should lay out their cards so everyone knows fact from fiction and fact from innuendo," said Dallas Woodhouse, the executive director of the North Carolina Republican Party. "If they can state with certainty that whatever bad behavior that took place could not have changed the race, then they should certify Mr. Harris. If they can state there was a substantial likelihood that the race could have been altered, then we would not oppose a new election."

The deepening concerns about the Ninth District center on Mr. Harris's voter turnout operation, which partly relied on L. McCrae Dowless Jr., a political operative from Bladen County with both relony record for fraud and an extensive history of working for Democratic and Republican Lampaigns. Witnesses have repeatedly described an effort that involved at least one seemingly

illegal tactic: collecting absentee ballots directly from voters. The approach stirred worries that ballots may have been improperly marked for Mr. Harris or discarded if they were to be cast for Mr. McCready.

Mr. Dowless declined to comment, and Mr. Harris and his supporters have denied wrongdoing.

Democrats have warned that if the allegations about Mr. Harris's campaign are not sufficiently settled, they would be reluctant to allow him to be seated in January. Ms. Pelosi reasserted on Thursday that the House would have the final say on who was seated and whether to investigate the election itself.

"The House still retains the right to decide who is seated," Ms. Pelosi said. "Any member-elect can object to the seating of, the swearing in of another member-elect, and we'll see how that goes."

If North Carolina officials are not able to resolve the allegations in an acceptable way, she continued, the House Administration Committee has the authority to investigate the matter itself and ultimately determine a winner. If it was unable to, she added, the committee could call for a new election. (The House has the constitutional authority to be "the judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own members.")

"We're all in a close touch on that because this is bigger than that one seat, this is about undermining the integrity of our elections," Ms. Pelosi said. "And what was done there is so remarkable, that person — those entities got away with that, even to the detriment of the Republicans in the primary."

Indeed, Republicans grumbled quietly among themselves after Mr. Harris defeated Mr. Pittenger this year. Mr. Harris's 828-vote margin of victory, they suggested, may have been tainted by Mr. Dowless's efforts in places like Bladen County, which has a notorious history of political chicanery. Mr. Pittenger said in an email on Wednesday that Mr. Dowless had offered his services when the congressman and Mr. Harris first faced off more than two years ago.

"During the 2016 primary, I met with McCrae Dowless but quickly ended the meeting over personal concerns with his proposal," Mr. Pittenger wrote. "We didn't talk long enough for me to gather detailed information — I just knew I didn't want to be involved with him."

Without elaboration, he added, "Dowless' efforts were widely known and we did share our concerns with several people."

Mr. Woodhouse, the state party's executive director, said in an interview on Thursday morning that he did not "really recall" any complaints from Mr. Pittenger's allies, but said he did not dispute that the congressman's supporters may have expressed concerns.

"We often get people trying to get us to referee issues with Republican primaries, and we avoid that," Mr. Woodhouse said. "If we had some kind of absentee ballot mail doing things that were illegal, we would have been the first people to call the authorities."

Republicans said Thursday that they were not forsaking Mr. Harris and his candidacy. Some even argued that Mr. Woodhouse, who said during a CNN segment that misconduct in the Ninth District had made him vomit late on Wednesday night, did not support a new round of voting.

We are not saying that," said Robin Hayes, the chairman of the state party, who blamed the media for misreporting Mr. Woodhouse's remarks. "We are saying that we want the investigation to be completed."

Mr. Hayes, a former congressman, added, "At this point in the process, based on what we know, we think that Mark Harris has fairly and legitimately won the race," but that "if the facts and the numbers support calling for another election, then we would support it."

In Raleigh, where the legislature on Thursday approved a new voter ID law that included new documentation requirements for absentee voting, Republicans said they were frustrated by the swirl of allegations in Bladen County. They urged Gov. Roy Cooper, a Democrat, to appoint a task force to focus on years of potential election fraud in the area.

Mr. Cooper did not embrace the suggestion, which Democrats said could undermine the work of the state elections board, which includes four Democrats, four Republicans and one unaffiliated member.

"Governor Cooper believes North Carolinians should have confidence in the integrity of elections and allegations of fraud and tampering must be investigated," said a spokesman, Ford Porter. There are multiple ongoing criminal investigations, and legislators should allow investigators and prosecutors to follow the facts and take appropriate action."

Mr. McCready on Thursday withdrew his month-old concession to Mr. Harris.

"I didn't serve overseas in the Marine Corps just to come back home and watch politicians and career criminals attack our democracy," Mr. McCready said in a video on his Twitter account. "That's why today I withdraw my concession to Mark Harris."

Elizabeth Dias and Nicholas Fandos contributed reporting from Washington.

A version of this article appears in print on Dec. 7, 2018, on Page A18 of the New York edition with the headline: North Carolina G.O.P. Increasingly Doubts Legitimacy of a House Win

# Exhibit O



#### POLITICS & GOVERNMENT

## 'A troubled history': Bladen County has faced five elections investigations since 2010

#### BY BRIAN MURPHY, CARLI BROSSEAU AND

ANNA DOUGLAS

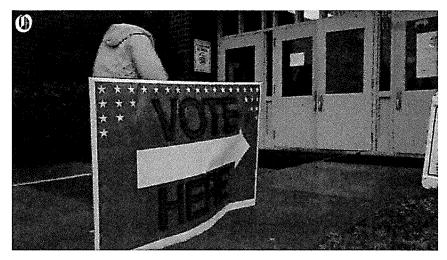
DECEMBER 05, 2018 07:44 PM, UPDATED JANUARY 26, 2019 01:53 PM











Two NC counties are getting attention in the 9th district for the number of unreturned absentee

By Stephanie Bunao, Ely Portillo and Matt Walsh

#### MORE FROM THE SERIES

#### Election fraud investigation

Read more about the investigation into the 9th Congressional District

EXPAND ALL >



Why we celebrate Presidents' Day

This story was corrected on Dec. 7 at 2:07 p.m. See story for details.

The investigation into voting irregularities in the 2018 election in Bladen County is, at least, the fifth elections case since 2010 in the rural eastern North Carolina county.

"Bladen County has a troubled history of political groups exploiting the use of absentee ballots in an effort to skew support for a specific candidate or group of candidates," wrote Jon David, district attorney for Bladen, Brunswick and Columbus counties, in a Jan. 26, 2018 letter to the State Bureau of Investigation's interim assistant director.

"These groups package the anticipated ability to garner absentee ballots as a commodity to be brokered."

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Bladen County is at the center of an investigation into possible election fraud in the 9th Congressional District election, which has yet to be certified by North Carolina's nine-member State Board of Elections and Ethics Enforcement.

A 2010 case, investigated by the State Bureau of Investigation and referred to the Attorney General's Special Prosecutions Unit, was closed in 2013 without any criminal charges being filed, David told The News & Observer in an email.

Gov. Roy Cooper was attorney general at the time, but the Special Prosecutions Unit would have decided whether to bring charges.

In November 2016, the state board opened cases into three different groups in the county, according to a letter from David to the interim assistant director of the State Bureau of Investigation. The three cases are:



Protesters rally against Confederate monuments at state Capitol

VIEW MORE VIDEO →

#### TRENDING STORIES

This Raleigh mansion broke records when it sold last year. Now it is for sale again.

FEBRUARY 11, 2019 04:49 PM

Scotty McCreery nabs his second No. 1 country hit with love song to his wife

FEBRUARY 11, 2019 02:50 PM:

The state left the inside of this historic Raleigh mansion in ruins. Now it's coming back to life.

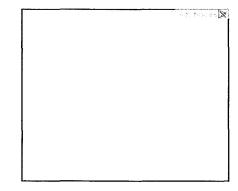
FEBRUARY 11, 2019 12:26 PM

Ready to cut the cord? A new study predicts Raleigh will lead the nation this year.

FEBRUARY 11. 2019 01:29 PM

UNC freshman Nassir Little goes down with an injury in first half. Cam Johnson in the second

FEBRUARY 11, 2019 07:23 PM



- Possible absentee ballot fraud committed by Patriots for Progress IE PAC, a conservative group founded in 2014.
- Possible absentee ballot fraud committed by the Bladen Improvement Association PAC, a Democrat-backed group.
- Voter fraud allegations and possible false statements to affect election outcomes allegedly by McCrae Dowless, who worked as a contractor for Republican Mark Harris' 2018 congressional campaign.

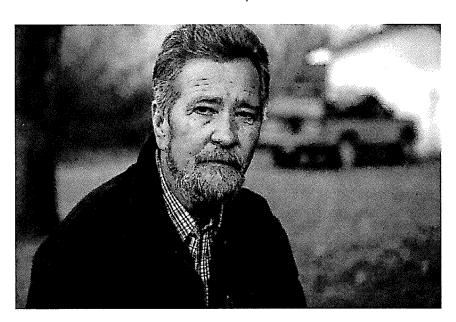
The state board has twice declined to certify results of North Carolina's 9th Congressional District election, a race apparently won by Harris by 905 votes over Democrat Dan McCready. The board has scheduled a hearing later this month to hear evidence about voting irregularities with absentee ballots in Bladen and Robeson counties. It has also declined a county commissioners race and the race for soil and water conservation district supervisor.

The board has certified the Bladen County's sheriff's race.

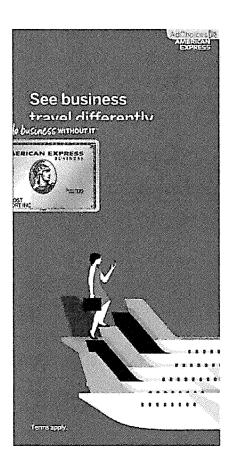
Correction: An earlier version of this story should have said that the board of elections has certified the Bladen County sheriff s race.

The board has issued subpoenas to the Harris campaign, to the campaign of Bladen County Sheriff Jim McVicker and to Red Dome Group, a consulting firm that Harris paid more than \$411,000 to for campaign work, according to election board spokesman Patrick Gannon. Red Dome Group founder Andy Yates told The Charlotte Observer that his firm hired Dowless to work for Harris.

Harris received 437 mail-in absentee votes in Bladen County in his May Republican primary upset victory against incumbent Rep. Robert Pittenger. Pittenger received 17 votes via mail-in absentee. In the general election, Harris won mail-in absentee votes 420 to McCready's 258.



Leslie McCrae Dowless poses for a portrait outside of his home in Bladenboro, NC on Wednesday, Dec. 5, 2018.







Dowless' work in grassroots or get-out-the vote operations dates back to at least 2010. At the time, he was working for a Democrat, Harold (Butch) Pope, who defeated the incumbent district attorney, Rex Gore, in the primary. Pope received 195 absentee by mail votes to Gore's 64 in Bladen County. Pope won by more than 2,100 votes overall.

In the general election, Pope ran against David. In Bladen County, Pope received 610 absentee by mail votes to 148 for David. David won the election by 4,043 votes overall. Pope paid Dowless \$7,127 for get-out-the vote operations and expenses.

Patriots for Progress was founded in 2014, documents filed with the state board of elections show. In the initial filing, Jeff Smith was listed as the treasurer, and Cindy Brisson Lewis Smith was named the custodian of books. Neither responded to requests for comment Wednesday evening.

The group says on its Facebook page that it is a Bladen County super PAC with a mission "to help endorsed candidates win their elections." The page does not name any of the backed candidates.

The PAC's first donation, for \$100, came from Landon Bordeaux, who later became president of the Bladen County GOP. Reached by phone, Bordeaux said he did not remember making the donation, but said he has known Smith since childhood.

"It's a small town," he said. "We grew up together."

The documents show that an address used for years by the PAC belongs to Smith, and in 2014, Smith received a payment of \$800 for rent and \$160 for salaries. Smith could not be reached to respond to questions about Patriots for Progress.

In earlier telephone interviews, he confirmed that he's been called to appear before the elections board, but he declined to get into details. He said he had not done anything wrong in supporting or opposing candidates for office and referred a reporter to lawsuits he had filed.

For a period of time, Dowless claimed to be president of the group.

A letter dated Jan. 22, 2016, declares to the state that Dowless is no longer a committee member. Cindy Lewis is named the new president.

The group is now defunct, with a status of "terminated" on the state elections board website. The last time a report was submitted was in 2016.

The Bladen County Improvement Association PAC has filed regular reports with the state board since 1996. The state Democratic Party has given money to the group in the past, including in 2018, according to state records.

The PAC pays individuals for get out the vote efforts. It paid Lola Wooten \$65 in October. Wooten turned in 280 absentee ballot requests in Bladen County this fall, according to documents released by the state board. Dowless turned in 590. It is not illegal to gather absentee ballot requests and turn them in.

But it is illegal to collect voters' actual absentee ballots, which some voters said both Dowless or those working for him and the Bladen County Improvement Project have done.

Datesha Montgomery, of Bladen County, told The Charlotte Observer on Wednesday that it's not uncommon for individuals to go door to door to collect absentee ballots ahead of Election Day.

Montgomery is one of the many voters in Bladen who state investigators now suspect unwittingly turned her ballot over to an individual working for Dowless during the 2018 midterms. Montgomery filled out a sworn affidavit that was delivered by the Democratic Party to the state board.

But, she says, in years past, other people knocked on her door requesting her ballot. She identified one of those people to the Observer as someone who, public records show, was paid during previous elections by the Bladen County Improvement Association.

The difference, according to Montgomery, is that the Improvement Association accepted her absentee ballot sealed and already filled out. And, ultimately, the group filed the ballot with her votes to the county's election board, Montgomery said.

This year was different. Montgomery said she gave her 2018 ballot to a woman she didn't know but whom she assumed worked with the Improvement Association. At the time, she says, her ballot was incomplete and unsealed.

Later, she says, she was told by state election officials investigating Dowless that her absentee ballot was never filed.

Montgomery eventually voted in person on Election Day.

Dowless, the vice chairman of the Bladen County water and soil conservation board, filed a protest with the state board in 2016 against the Bladen County Improvement Association over suspicions about a large number of write-in votes on mail-in absentee ballots in the race, many of which had the same handwriting, The News & Observer reported at the time.

# Exhibit P



Mailing Address: P.O. Box 27255 Raleigh, NC 27611-7255

Phone: (919) 733-7173 Fax: (919) 715-0135

#### **BOARDBOOK CONTENTS**

In re Protest of Election by Leslie McCrae Dowless Jr
Original Protest and Supplement
Handwriting Analysis

In re Protest of Kenneth Register
Original Protest
Order (unsigned, provided by Bladen CBE)

#### **Additional Items:**

Call to order

Correspondence from the N.C. Democratic Party and Rov Cooper for N.C.

#### NOTICE OF STATE BOARD MEETING

The State Board of Elections will hold a public meeting on **Saturday**, **December 3**, **2016 at 1:30 p.m.** in its boardroom located at 441 North Harrington Street, Raleigh. Public meeting materials will be available online at https://goo.gl/PFWelY.

## TENTATIVE AGENDA [UPDATED]

Statement regarding ethics and conflicts of interest G.S. § 138A-15(e)
Preliminary consideration of *In re Protest of Election by Leslie McCrae Dowless Jr.* G.S. §§ 163-182.10(a) and 163-182.12*
Hearing of *In re Protest of Election by Leslie McCrae Dowless Jr.* ** and *In re Protest of Kenneth Register*G.S. §§ 163-182.10(b)-(d) and 163-182.12
Consideration of demands for mandatory recount
G.S. § 163-182.7(c)
Adjourn

^{*} The Chair will recognize the Protestor, and candidates appearing on the ballot in Bladen County and likely to be affected by the protest, or their counsel. Any other person who has evidence may be recognized by the Chair. All parties wishing to participate must submit a request to do so by email to <a href="Legal.Team@ncsbe.gov">Legal.Team@ncsbe.gov</a> no later than 5 p.m. on Friday, <a href="December 2">December 2</a>.

^{**} If the State Board of Elections finds probable cause that a violation of election, irregularity, or misconduct has occurred.

## **Original Protest**

**ELECTION PROTEST** 

Use of this form is required by G.S. 163-182.9(c)

This form must be filed with the county board of elections within the timeframes set out in G.S. 163-182.9 (b)(4). Please print or type your answers. Feel free to use and attach additional sheets if needed to fully answer the questions below. You may also attach relevant exhibits and documents. Please number the pages of such additional sheets and attachments.

1. Full name and mailing address of person filing the protest.

McCrae Dowless P.O. Box 253 Elizabethtown, NC 28337

2. Home and business phone number, fax number, and e-mail address.

Home/Business Phone: 910-885-1121 Email: Mccrae.Dowless@mail.com

3. Are you either a candidate or registered voter eligible to vote in the protested election? If a candidate, for what office?

Registered voter eligible to vote in this election in Bladen County.

Candidate for Soil and Water Conservation District Supervisor.

4. List the date, location, and exact nature of the election protested. Name all candidates in the election and the number of votes each received. Note the winning candidate(s) elected or nominated.

November 8, 2016, Bladen County, Soil and Water Conservation District Supervisor.

Candidates: McCrae Dowless (Winner), 7,744 votes; Write-In Candidates including Franklin Graham, 3,743 votes.

Additionally, all other candidates on the ballot in this November 8, 2016 General Election in Bladen County.

5. Does this protest involve an alleged error in vote count or tabulation? If so, please explain in detail.

No.

6. Does this protest involve an irregularity or misconduct not described in number 5 above? If so, please give a detailed description of such misconduct or irregularity and name those who committed such action.

Yes. The voters of Bladen County, North Carolina, appear to be the victims of a massive scheme to run an absentee ballot mill involving hundreds of ballots, perpetrated by and through the Bladen County Improvement Association PAC.

Upon in-person visual review of mail-in absentee ballots by a forensic handwriting expert, it appears that literally hundreds of fraudulent ballots were cast. These ballots all appear to have been cast in support of a ticket of candidates, but in particular for a write-in candidate for the Bladen County Soil and Water Conservation District Supervisor. Despite the unusually large number of ballots cast for a particular write-in candidate named Franklin Graham, it appears that out of the hundreds of ballots reviewed that voted for Mr. Graham, the handwriting on hundreds of those ballots matches only about a dozen handwriting styles.

In particular, one very active absentee ballot "witness," Deborah Monroe, who was apparently personally validating validated at least 67 mail-in absentee ballots, appears to have written in "Franklin Graham" as a write-in candidate at least 71 times. In further shocking evidence of this scheme, the Bladen County Improvement Association PAC filed reports with the North Carolina State Board of Elections admitting they that it paid Ms. Monroe multiple payments totaling \$550 for "G.O.T.V." See Attachment at 8, 23, 47.

Other payments which are disclosed on Bladen County Improvement Association PAC contribution reports include the following:

Mary Johnson, witness for 74 ballots, \$450; Lola Wooten, witness for 58 ballots, \$500; Deborah Cogdell, witness for 45 ballots (including both witnesses on 1 ballot), \$300; and Bridgette Keaton, witness for 16 ballots, \$630.

While the Bladen County Improvement Association PAC has many funders, its single largest funder is the North Carolina Democratic Party, supporting the organization with a \$2,500 contribution. See Attachment at 7. Not only was the Democratic Party itself an active supporter of this organization, a number of Democratic campaigns for North Carolina state office made financial contributions to the PAC. These include the Michael Morgan Committee contributing \$1,500, backing the recently-elected Democrat North Carolina Supreme Court Justice; the Committee to Elect Dan Blue III contributing \$1,000, backing the unsuccessful Democratic nominee for North Carolina Treasurer; the Committee to Elect Robert Wilson contributing \$1,000, backing the unsuccessful candidate for the Democratic nomination for Lieutenant Governor, and the Committee to Elect Judge Vince Rozier, contributing \$250, backing the unsuccessful Democratic nominee for North Carolina Court of Appeals.

Several other batches of mail-in absentee ballots of between 5 and 15 have handwriting samples that appear to match.

These are not simply helpful individuals who have attempted to assist a large swath of Bladen County's voters to cast their ballots. This is the shocking evidence resulting from a blatant scheme to try to impact the voting results of an entire county and perhaps even sway statewide and federal elections. This is clear from the fact that only a very few of the voter assistance sections of these mailed-in absentee ballots have been completed, despite being completed by just a few individuals.

Therefore, it appears that a surprisingly small number of individuals were responsible for casting a very large number of ballots. Few of these ballots were properly indicated as having been completed with assistance by a third party.

I will also be submitting a report from a Forensic Document Examiner that details much of the handwriting analysis outline above. That will be submitted under separate cover as soon as the report is completed.

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N.C. Gen. Stat. § 163-226.3(a)(1)
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^{7.} Please set out all election laws or regulations that you allege were violated in your responses to 5 or 6 above. State how each violation occurred. Please provide the names, addresses, and phone numbers of those who you allege committed such violations.

N.C. Gen. Stat. § 163-226.3(a)(2)

N.C. Gen. Stat. § 163-226.3(a)(3)

N.C. Gen. Stat. § 163-226.3(a)(7)

N.C. Gen. Stat. § 163-237

N.C. Gen. Stat. § 163-275(4)

Additionally, the perpetrators violated numerous federal laws dealing with the open and fair conduct of elections, including 18 U.S.C. § 1341 as defined by 18 U.S.C. § 1346.

8. Please provide the names, addresses, and phone numbers of any witnesses to any misconduct alleged by you in this protest, and specify what each witness listed saw or knows.

James Brian Hehl, Bladen County Board of Elections 301 S Sypress St. Elizabethtown, NC 28337 910-862-6951 Details described in the Attachment to this Protest at 1.

Jerol Kivet PO Box 590 Clinton NC 28329

Personally viewed sample of the mail-in absentee ballots and can corroborate their authenticity and details regarding the review of those ballots.

Charlotte Ware 2161 Southridge Drive Belmont, NC 28012 704-860-7992

Evaluated a sample of the mail-in absentee ballots, with a full report to follow this complaint.

9. What action do you desire the county board of elections to take in this matter?

The Bladen County Board of Elections must invalidate all ballots for any office whatsoever deemed to be fraudulently prepared and cast as described herein. In particular, any of the mail-in absentee ballots which have been traced to this fraudulent scheme must be immediately invalidated as they are not able to be cured.

10. Do you contend the allegations set out by you are sufficient to have affected or cast doubt upon the results of the protested election? If your answer is yes, please state the factual basis for your opinion.

Yes. The described allegations clearly demonstrate a pattern of fraudulent ballots cast for the election held on November 8, 2016 in Bladen County. The fraud appears to have been intended to influence, in part, the outcome of the Soil and Water Conservation District Supervisor's race, however a ballot deemed fraudulent must similarly not be counted for any office voted.

11. Have you read and reviewed the North Carolina law pertaining to election protests as set out in G.S. 163-182.9 through G.S. 163-182.14 and current North Carolina State Board of Elections regulations pertaining to election protests?

Yes.

12. How many pages of additional answer are attached to this protest? 0 How many pages of attachments are attached? 49

My Care Dowlers authorized
Signature of Protestor by Spr

Date/Time Filed with County Board

(to be filled out by the county board)

**NOTE:** The county board must provide the State Board with a complete copy of a filed protest within one business day after it is filed. In addition, the county board shall provide a copy of the election audit with this copy of the protest.

Please direct any questions to your county board of elections or the North Carolina State Board of Elections, PO Box 27255, Raleigh, NC 27611-7255, (919) 733-7173.

Brian Hehl PO Box 592 Dublin NC 28332 910-876-1579

2 November 2016

Joan Fleming NCSBOE

Re: Absentee Ballot Irregularities

Dear Mrs. Fleming:

At your direction from the previous email in regards to absentee ballot irregularities, we reviewed those ballots and envelopes, and separated them to be photocopied. Due to a possible missed ballot and or vote, the absentee machine was zeroed and all absentees from 10-18-16 were processed through the voting machine again. While Chairman Ludlum and Secretary Daniel ran the ballots through, Director Shaw and I separated out the envelopes for those that had write-in votes. We did this by matching the ballots from the outstack bin to the envelopes, after Ludlum and Daniels put them through the machine. We were in direct view of both operations so that all members could see both processes for oversight. During that separation, there were several handwriting patterns that were overtly similar. Furthermore, those handwriting patterns were specific to certain names on the envelopes. By the end of the sorting process, I could determine the name on the envelope with a very high degree of accuracy, just by seeing the handwriting on the ballot. Of these names, two stood out. One is Patricia Cogdell, and the other is Deborah Monroe. I am in no way a handwriting expert, but some of the characters in the handwriting on the ballots appear to be similar in morphology to her signature. With Deborah Monroe, her handwriting has a slant that looks to be written left handed. The tops of the letters lean towards the left, while the voters' signatures generally lean to the right. However, on the ballots, the write-in names lean similar to Monroe's signatures. After reviewing those ballots, I do not recall seeing any of them with written documentation that they actually assisted the voters, only that they witnessed the voters filling in the ballots. We have not done any other ballots due to the time consuming process on 1 November, 2016. We, as a board have agreed to finish the absentee ballots on Monday before the election. At that time, we can, if you wish, look at more envelopes and ballots, but with the ones found on 1 November, I believe there are an overwhelming number of occurrences already, to review and investigate. If you have any questions whatsoever, please feel free to contact me.

Sincerely:

James Brian Hehl

Member, Bladen County Board of Elections

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You must amend the Statement of Organization (CRO-2100A-E) to make committee changes.

NC State Board of Elections

August 200

Detailed Summary
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Yes No

Use this form to summarize all disclosure reporting forms and	to total mor	etary information	
1. Committee Full Name (and Fund if applicable)			
BLADEN COUNTY IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION (FAX.)	THIRD		7940011
Start of Election Cycle: January 1, ZO16		Total this  Reporting Period	Total this  Election Cycle
4) Cash on Hand at Start		\$ 230.35	\$ 230,35
<u>RECEIPTS</u>		<b>建物物过滤器</b>	
5) Aggregated Contributions from Individuals	(CRO-1205)	\$	s
6) Contributions from Individuals	(CRO-1210)	\$ 2,900,00	\$ 2,900,00
7) Contributions from Political Party Committees	(CRO-1220)	\$ Z1500.00	\$ 2,500,00
8) Contributions from Other Political Committees	(CRO-1235)	\$	\$
9) Loan Proceeds	(CRO-1410)	S	S
10) Refunds/Reimbursements to the Committee	(CRO-1240)	\$	\$
11) Other Receipt Sources			
11a) Interest on Bank Accounts	(CRO-1250)	\$	\$
11b) Contributions from Not-For-Profit Organizations	(CRO-1250)	\$	\$
11c) Outside Sources of Income	(CRO-1250)	\$	\$
11d) Legal Expense Fund - Other Sources	(CRO-1270)	\$	\$
11e) Exempt Purchase Price Sales	(CRO-1265)	\$	\$
12) TOTAL RECEIPTS (Add lines 5, 6, 7, 8, 9,10,11a,11b,11c,	11d and 11c)	\$5,400.00	\$ 5,400,00
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13) Disbursements			
13a) Operating Expenditures	(CRO-1316)	\$ 1,323.00	\$ 1,32300
13b) Contributions to Candidates Political Committees	(CRO-1310)	\$	\$
13c) Coordinated Party Expenditures	(CRO-1310)	\$	\$
14) Aggregated Non-Media Expenditures	(CRO-1315)	\$	\$
15) Loan Repayments	(CRO-1420)	\$	\$
16) Refunds/Reimbursements from the Committee	(CRO-1320)	\$	\$
17) In-Kind Contributions	(CRO-1510)	\$	\$
18) TOTAL EXPENDITURES (Add lines 13a, 13b, 13c, 14, 1			
19) Cash on Hand at End (Add lines 4 and 12 together, then su	eract line 18	\$4,307,35	\$4,307,35
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20) Non-Monetary Gifts Given to Other Committees	(CRO-1330)	\$	
21) Outstanding Loans (incl. ones from other campaigns)	(CEO-1430)	\$	
22) Debts and Obligations owed by the Committee	(CRO-1616)	\$	
23) Debts and Obligations owed to the Committee	(CRO-1628)	\$	
24) Account Transfers Within the Committee	(CRO-1728)	\$	
25) Administrative Support	(CRO-1710)	\$	S
26) Forgiven Loans .	(CRO-1440)	\$	\$
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28) Contributions to be Refunded	(CRO-1215)	\$	\$ .
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NC State Board of Elections

August 2008

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## **Contributions from Political Party Committees**

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NC State Board of Elections

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U.S. POSTAGE PAID ELIZABETHTOWN, NC 28337 OCT 28 AMOUNT

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Disclosure Report Cover	Amendment	⊠ No
Use this form for general report and committee information, must be signed and submitted alon Do not use this form to update information.		

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. Full Name			
BLADEN COUNTY IMPROV	EMENT ASS	OCIATION (PAC)	And the second s
h vicinity (days strend edgy State and Zp. c.	de		d Date Filed
P.O. BOX 1111			07-01-2016
ELIZABETHTOWN!	NC Z8337		910-862-4868
WAREFULL BY BUREFULL SYLVED ON PULL			110-002 7068
2016 03-01-2019	6 06-3	80-2016 MIN	NIE B. PRICE
FOURTH SERVICE AND ADDRESS OF THE ADDRESS.			
Candidate Campaign Party	Minulcipal	State/County	Referendum
PAC Referendum	Organizational	Organizational	Organizational
☐ Independent Expenditure ☐ Joint Fundraiser☐ Legal Expense Fund	Thirty-five day  Pre-primary	Quarterly First	Pre-referendum Final
Logar Exposer time	Pre-election	X Second	Supplemental Final
CANDER AND SECURE AND ADDRESS.	Pro-runoff	Third	Anmal
Booster Fund	Semi-annual	☐ Fourth	Special
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Other:	Year End	Year End	A. 学到《基础》和《关键》的是《表示
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a. Financial Institution Full Name		Inancial Institution Full Name	
BRANCH BANKING AND TRUST	COMPANY		
b. Purpose C. Account	Code b. P	mt bose.	C. Account Code
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	10122	Foreign Spirit (Spirit Spirit	•
CERTIFICATION			
I certify that the Committee or Fund is in com of the NC General Statutes and that no funds			
report is complete, true and correct and that I			
44	MISAL	. 10	4 .
MINNIE B. PRICE	- Jusque	ep. Time	07/01/2016
Printed Name of Signer FOR OFFICE USE ONLY	Signatu	re of Appointed Treasurer	Date
Date Received:			Delivery Method
Date Received:	<u>Employee:</u>	<del>- 1</del>	Normal Mail
Date Postmarked: 7-/-/4	Employee:	but I	Registered Mail
			☐ Hand Delivered☐ Electronically Filed
Date Scanned: $\sqrt{-Q}$	Le Employee;		Signer has not received
Date Data Entered:	Employee		mandatory training
Please Note: This form cannot be us	ed to amend committe	e information such as the	committee address, treasurer,
		formation, or account info	
You must amend the Statem	ent of Organization (C	RO-2100A-E) to make co	mmitteechanges.

NC State Board of Elections

Angust 2008

Detailed Summary

Amendment

Yes M No

Use this form to summarize all disclosure reporting forms and to			3.TD Number
BLADEN COUNTY IMPROVEMENT ASSOC. (PAC) S	FLOAD 6	VI)ARTER	7940011
Start of Election Cycle: January 1, 2016		Total this Reporting Period	Total this d Election Cycle
4) Cash on Hand at Start	\$	2475.22	
RECEIPIS			
5) Aggregated Contributions from Individuals (C	<b>EO-BOS</b> ) \$		\$
6) Contributions from Individuals (C	RO-1210) \$	7049.00	\$ 7049.00
7) Contributions from Political Party Committees (C	80- <b>≥</b> 26) \$.		\$
8) Contributions from Other Political Committees (C.	RO-1230) \$		\$
9) Loan Proceeds (C	RO-1410) \$		\$
10) Refunds/Reimbersements to the Committee (C	RO-1240) \$		\$
11) Other Receipt Sources	2.5		
11a) Interest on Bank Accounts (C	RO-1260) \$	- To company and the second of the second configurations and	\$
11b) Contributions from Not-For-Profit Organizations (C	BO-1250) \$	,	\$
	RO-1250) \$		\$
A CONTRACTOR OF THE CONTRACTOR	RO-1270) \$		\$
	RO-1265) \$	<del> </del>	\$
12) TOTAL RECEIPTS (Add lines 5, 6, 7, 8, 9,10,11a,11b,11c,11c	i and lie) \$	7049.00	
EXPENDITEERIS			
13) Disbursements	,		
13a) Operating Expenditures (C	RO-1310) \$	9,293.87	\$ 9,293.87
13b) Contributions to Candidates/Political Committees (C	RO-1310) \$		\$
13c) Coordinated Party Expenditures (C	RO-1310) \$		\$
14) Aggregated Non-Media Expenditures , (C	HO-B15) \$	٠	\$
15) Loan Repayments (C	RO-1420) \$		\$
16) Refunds/Reimbursements from the Committee (C	RO-1320) \$		\$
[1] III. Yaduk Casirriianaan	RO-J510) \$		\$
18) TOTAL EXPENDITURES (Add lines 13a, 13b, 13c, 14, 15, 1	6 and 17) \$	9.293.87	\$ 9,293.87
19) Cash on Hand at End (Add lines 4 and 12 together, then subtra	ct line 18] \$	230,35	s 230,35
ADDUCTONAL INEORICATUON			
20) Ivon-monetary Gates Circle to Comme	RO-1330) \$		
21) Ottomining Louis (men over	RO-1439) \$		
	RO-1610) \$		
20,200	RO-1629) \$		
24) Account Transfers Within the Committee (C	RO-1720) \$	·	
25) Administrative Support (C	BO-1710) \$	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	\$
26) Forgiven Loans . (C	RO-1440) \$		\$ .
27)	80-2270) \$		\$
	RO-1215) \$		] \$ .
CRO-1100 NC State Board of	T Elections		Angust 20

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	e cur state, & sip)			RETIRE		
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M	A	CASH			02/10/201/	\$ 500,00
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NC State Board of Elections

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NC State Board of Elections

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NC State Board of Election

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Use this form to report expenditures from the committee for operating expenses, contributions to candidate/political committees and coordinated party expenditures RECOGNICIONE POLICIANO DE CONTRACTOR DE CONT ADEN COUNTY IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION ( PAC a. Full Name, Mailing Address & Phone (include city, state, & zip) ARTHUR OWENS P.O. BOX 1524 Federal X State Manicipality: F. Election Sum to Bate ELIZABETH TOWN, NC Z8337 Full Name, Mailing Address & Phone (include city, state, & zip) ARTHUR OWERS Level Registered (Specify) P. O. BOX 1524 Federal County: X State Municipality: ELIZABETHTOWN, NC 28337 Account Code | Form of Payment | h. Purpose Code | Date (maridal/1993) t tarectifoipelion e v Coordinated Committee Name d. Comments Pull Name, Mailing Address & Phone RILIA CROMARTIE Level Registered Specify) Federal County: e. Election Sura to Date State Municipality: ELIZABETHTOWN, NC Z8337 \$210,00 (This line goes in line 13a of Detailed Summary Page CRO-1100 if Operating Expenses) \$ (This line goes in time 13b of Detailed Summary Page CRO-1166 if Contrib to Candidates/Political Comm) (This line goes in line 13c of Detailed Summary Page CRO-1190 if Coordinated Party Expenditures) 7. Inchinates D - To Another Candidate C* Fundraising A* - Media B* - Printing 11 Affolding Public Office Expenses G - Political Party E - Salaries F* - Equipment

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NC State Board of Elections

Q* - Donation to Legal Expense Fund

Disbursemen	ts
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Use this form to report expenditures from the committee for	operating expenses,	contributions to	candidate/political
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(Include city, state, & zip)  VIRGINIA THOMAS  Z&O & MERCER MILL ROAD  ELIZABETHTOWN, NC Z&337  CACCOUNT Code B. FORTH, of Payment D. Purpose Code L. Date (mon/dd/yyyy) L. Associal  A CHECK O 03/D/ZOL & Z&D. D GD. T. V.  A CHECK O 03/D/ZOL & Z&D. D GD. T. V.  A Payee Unformation  a. Full Name, Mailing Address & Prone (include city, state, & zip)  VIRGINIA THOMAS  Z&O & MERCER MILL ROAD  EACH COUNTY  State Municipality: E. Beetion Start to Date:  ELIZABETH TOWN, NC Z&337  EACH County  State Municipality: E. Beetion Start to Date:  A CHECK O 06/07/ZOL & SOLO GD. T. V.  ### CHECK O 06/07/ZOL & SOLO GD. T. V.  #### CHECK O 06/07/ZOL & SOLO GD. T. V.  ##################################		A PARTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PARTY OF THE		b.	Coordinate	d Committee Name	d. Comments
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Parses Information  a. Full Name, Multing Address & Phone (include city, state, & zip)  VIRGINIA THOMAS  2806 MERCER MILL ROAD  ELIZABETH TOWN, NC 28337  State Municipality: el Election Start to Data:  ELIZABETH TOWN, NC 28337  EACCOUNTY  State Municipality: el Election Start to Data:  A CHECK O 06/02/2016 \$50.00 G.0.1. V  A CHECK O 06/07/2016 \$50.00 G.0.1. V  A CHECK O 06/07/2016 \$50.00 G.0.1. V  STOCKLE ERG 1310 Tages (This line goes in line 13a of Detailed Summary Page CRO-1100 if Operating Expenses)  (This line goes in line 13c of Detailed Summary Page CRO-1100 if Confine to Candidates/Political Comm)  This line goes in line 13c of Detailed Summary Page CRO-1100 if Confine to Candidates/Political Comm)  This line goes in line 13c of Detailed Summary Page CRO-1100 if Confine to Candidates/Political Comm)  This line goes in line 13c of Detailed Summary Page CRO-1100 if Confine to Candidates/Political Comm)  This line goes in line 13c of Detailed Summary Page CRO-1100 if Confine to Candidates/Political Comm)  This line goes in line 13c of Detailed Summary Page CRO-1100 if Confine Candidates/Political Comm)  This line goes in line 13c of Detailed Summary Page CRO-1100 if Confine Candidates/Political Comm)  This line goes in line 13c of Detailed Summary Page CRO-1100 if Confine Candidates/Political Comm)  This line goes in line 13c of Detailed Summary Page CRO-1100 if Confine Candidates/Political Comm)  This line goes in line 13c of Detailed Summary Page CRO-1100 if Confine Candidates/Political Comm)  This line goes in line 13c of Detailed Summary Page CRO-1100 if Confine Candidates/Political Comm)  This line goes in line 13c of Detailed Summary Page CRO-1100 if Confine Candidates/Political Comm)  This line goes in line 13c of Detailed Summary Page CRO-1100 if Confine Candidates/Political Comm)  This line goes in line 13c of Detailed Summary Page CRO-1100 if Confine Candidates/Political Comm)  This line goes in line 13c of Detailed Summary Page CRO-1100 if Confine Candidates/Political Comm)  This line goes in li	<i>[+</i>	CHECK	$\mathcal{O}$	03/10/	2016	\$ 280.00	GDII.V.
Payes filtermation  a. Full Name, Multing Address & Phone (include city, state, & zip)  VIRGINIA THOMAS  Z806 MERCER MILL ROAD  ELIZABETH TOWN, NC 28337  ELIZABETH TOWN, NC 28337  EACTORNAL Code  E. Roomof Bayment  E. Purpose Code  John unmiddityry: J. Amount  E. Required Remarks.  A CHECK  O 06/02/2016 \$50.00 G.0.1. V  A CHECK  O 06/07/2016 \$50.00 G.0.1. V  STOCKLOWELD ENGINEERS  (This time goes in line 13s of Detailed Summary Page CRO-1100 if Operating Expenses)  (This line goes in line 13c of Detailed Summary Page CRO-1100 if Coordinated Party Expenditures)  7 Purpose Codes  List definited appealative appealative and page Transfer Companies  E. Salaries  F. Equipment  G. Political Party  H. Holding Public Office Expenses  Union to Legal Expenses  Office Expenses	#	CHECK	0	03/15/	2016	\$ 100,00	G. O. T. V.
(include city, state, & zip)  VIRGINIA THOMAS  2806 MERCER MILL ROAD  Federal County:  State Monicipality: e. Election Start to Date:  ELIZABETH TOWN, NC 28337  Account Code E. Rocmos Bayment E. Ruspose Code in Date unmidding yey): Landount Research Remarks:  A CHECK O 16/02/2016 \$50.00 G.0.1. V  A CHECK O 16/02/2016 \$50.00 G.0.1. V  Fibility of the Page \$ \$890.00  6-Total of Reference 13to of Detailed Summary Page CRO-1100 if Operating Expenses)  (This line goes in line 13a of Detailed Summary Page CRO-1100 if Contrib to Candidates/Political Comm)  (This line goes in line 13c of Detailed Summary Page CRO-1100 if Condinated Party Expenditures)  7-Furpose Codes (Eigh defining approximation and party Expension and the Page Public Office Expenses of the Holding Public Office Expenses of the Holding Public Office Expenses of the Expenses of the Holding Public Office Expenses of the Expense of the Expenses of the Expense of the Expenses of the Expense o	4. Pavee inform	edion .				Remove e	
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NC State Board of Elections

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CRO-1310

NC State Board of Elections

Disbursements	s
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Disbursements
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15 Amendment

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NC State Board of Elections

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CRO-1310

NC State Board of Elections

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Pg /Z of /5

Use this form to report expenditures from the committee for operating expenses, contributions to co committees and coordinated party expenditures E Communication of the Communi DEN COUNTY IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION (PAC) 7940011 Full Name, Mailing Address & Phone include city, state, & 210) JOHNSON PATRICIA. 310 JACK RICHARDSON ROAD ☐ Manicipality: ELIZABETHTOWN, NCZ8337 \$ 100,00 Acroson Code | g. Form of Payment | h. Purpose Code | L. Dair (americal 1989) | America 03/15/2016 5 100.00 (include city, state, & zip) DELL JOHNSON 6690 JOHNSONDWN ROAD Federal 🛘 Manicipality: KI Same le Riccio Sun w Link ELIZALETHTOWN, NC Z8337 \$ 100.00 l Payee talormation Full Name, Mailing Address & Phone include city, state, & zip) LENWARD BALDWIN, JR. 2990 MARTIN LIKING DRIVE ELIZABETHTOWN, NC 28337 \$ 150.00 k Remark Remarks 03/16/2016 \$100.00 GIOTIV. CHECK 06/07/2016 \$50,00 (This line goes in line 13a of Detailed Summary Page CRO-1100 if Operating Expenses) (This time goes in line 13th of Detailed Summery Page CEO-1160 if Contrib to Can (This line goes in line 13e of Detailed Summery Page CRO-1106 if Courdin 1* - Media B* - Printing C* Fundations D - To Another Candidate

O* Other CRO-1310

E - Saiaries

Postage

G - Political Party

H' Holding-Perke Office Expenses

Q* - Donation to Legal Expense Fund

F - Equipment

Pg 13 of 15 Amendment No
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Disbursements Use this form to report expenditures from the committee for operating expenses, contributions to candidate/political committees and coordinated party expenditures Committee (MI Same Sud Phili Talignestate). ADEN COUNTY IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION (PAC) Pril Name Mailing Address & Phone: include city: state: & zio) BARBARA COGDELL 2990 MARTIN LIKIAG DRIVE Manicipality: a Flection Seman Date ELIZABETHTOWN, NC 28337 \$ 1*00.00* A CHECK O 04 ZZ/206 \$ 100.00 G.O.T. V-Fell Name; Mading Address & Phone (include city, state, ik zip) MARY JOHNSON Legal Registered Specify) 8684 HWY 53 WEST WHITE DAK, NC Z8399 Federal Municipatity: e. Election Sum to Pate \$ 150.00 Full Name, Marling Address & ALLEN BURNEY 1547 MICROWAVE TOWER ROAD COUNCILI NO 28434 Account Code & Paris of Parisons & Parison Code Material Const. 300,00 (This line goes in line 13a of Detailed Summary Page CRO-1100 if Operating Rep (This line goes in line 13b of Detailed Summer; Page CRO-H00 if Contrib to Candidates/Political Comm) D - To Another Candidate C*- Fundraism B* - Printing He Holding Public Office Expenses G - Political Party F*-Equipment E - Salaries Q* - Donation to Legal Expense Fund L Postage O* Other

CRO-1310

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Pg 15 of 15 Yes X No
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CRO-1310

NC State Board of Elections

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Disclosure Report Cover		Yes No
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Committee follows man 2002		
Foll Name		c ID Number
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ELIZABETHTOWN, NO	1 7 8 2 1 1	e Phone Number
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2016 01-01-2016	OZ — Campaign Finance Office W	VIE B. PRICE
<u> </u>	PRIOR TO PROPERTY OF THE PROPE	
	unicipal State/County	Referendum
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I certify that the Committee or Fund is in complian	nce with all applicable provisions of Article 22A, 2	2B & 22D-221 of Chapter 163
of the NC General Statutes and that no funds are c report is complete, true and correct and that I have		funds. I further certify that this
report is confinence, one and contest and onat I trave	\ \Ai\ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \	$f_{i+1}$
MINNIE B. PRICE	Minue B. Price	3/3/2016
Printed Name of Signer	Signature of Appointed Treasurez	Date
FOR OFFICE USE ONLY		
Date Received: 5-1-10		eli very Method I Normal Mail
7.2.1		Registered Mail
Date Postmarked: 5-5-16	Employee:	Hand Delivered
Date Scanned:	Employee:	Electronically Filed
Date Data Entered:	Employee:	Signer has not received
Please Note: This form cannot be used to	n amend committee information such as the co	mmittee addies, in the
assistant treasurer, cur	redian of books information, or account information	nation.
	of Organization (CRO-2100A-E) to make com	mittee changes AR 10.8 204
CRO-1000	NC State Board of Elections	August 20060
		MEW

Detailed Summary
Use this form to summarize all disclosure reporting forms and to total monetary information

Amendment

Ves No

l. Committee Full Name (and Fund if applicable)	2. Type of	Report	3. ID 1	umber
BLADEN COUNTY IMPROVEMENT ASSOC, PAC	FIRST		79	40011
Start of Election Cycle: January 1, <u>Z016</u>	ર, ર•! ==	Total this Reporting Perio	1	Total this Election Cycle
4) Cash on Hand at Start		\$ 1687.0	Z   \$	1687.02
RECEIPTS				
5) Aggregated Contributions from Individuals	(CRO-1205)	\$	\$	
6) Contributions from Individuals	(CRO-1210)	\$ 2550.0	0 \$	2,550.00
7) Contributions from Political Party Committees	(CRO-1226)	\$.	\$	
8) Contributions from Other Political Committees	(CRO-1230)	\$	\$	
9) Loan Proceeds	(CRO-1416)	\$ .	\$	
10) Refunds/Reimbursements to the Committee	(CRO-1240)	\$	\$	;
11) Other Receipt Sources				
11a) Interest on Bank Accounts	(CRO-1250)	\$	\$	
11b) Contributions from Not-For-Profit Organizations	(CRO-1250)	\$	\$	
11c) Outside Sources of Income	(CRO-1250)	\$	\$	š .
11d) Legal Expense Fund - Other Sources	(CBO-1279)	\$	\$	
11e) Exempt Purchase Price Sales	(CRO-1265)	\$	\$	
12) TOTAL RECEIPTS (Add lines 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11a, 11b, 11c	,11d and 11e)	\$ Z550.0	0 \$	2550.00
EXPENDITURES				
13) Disbursements			ر د <u>رشورن</u> مانوه	
13a) Operating Expenditures	(CRO-1310)	\$ 1761.80	9 \$	1761.80
13b) Contributions to Candidates/Political Committee	(CRO-1310)	\$	\$	
13c) Coordinated Party Expenditures	(CRO-1310)	\$	\$	
14) Aggregated Non-Media Expenditures	(CRO-1315)	\$ .	\$	, ,
15) Loan Repayments	(CRO-1429)	\$	\$	
16) Refunds/Reimbursements from the Committee	(CRO-1329)	\$	\$	
i7) In-Kind Contributions	(CRO-1516)	\$	\$	
18) TOTAL EXPENDITURES (Add lines 13a, 13b, 13c, 14,	15, 16 and 17)	\$ 1761.80		1761.80
19) Cash on Hand at End (Add lines 4 and 12 together, then st	birect line 18	\$2475,22	-   \$	2475,22
ADDITIONATED FOR WARRIED				
20) Non-Monetary Gifts Given to Other Committees	(CRO-1330)	<del>}</del>		
21) Outstanding Loans (incl. ones from other campaigns)	(CRO-1430)	\$		
22) Debts and Obligations owed by the Committee	(CRO-1610)	\$		
23) Debts and Obligations owed to the Committee	(CRO-1628)	\$		
24) Account Transfers Within the Committee	(CRO-1720)	\$		را معتصور و کردن در در در در و کردن و میدورد
25) Administrative Support	(CRO-1710)	\$	\$	
26) Forgiven Loans	(CRO-1440)	\$	\$	•
27) 48-Hour Notice Reports Sum	(CRO-2220)	\$	\$	
28) Contributions to be Refunded	(CRO-1215)	\$	\$	
CRO-1100 NC State Bo	ard of Elections			August 200

		rom Individua		Pg	or	Yes	⊠ No
Use in	is form to report 1	ndividual contribution	ns over \$50 or c	ontributions und	er \$50 if form CR	O 1205 is not use	d
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Use this form to report expenditures from the committee for operating expenses, contributions to candidate/political committees and coordinated party expenditures

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### **AFFIDAVIT**

North Carolina		
County of Blac	len_	
Heather	Register	, appearing before the undersigned
Name o	of principal	

notary and being duly sworn, says that:

- My name is Heather Register and I am a registered voter in Bladen County, North Carolina.
- I reside at 1878 Braxton Edge Road, Fayetteville, NC 28312, with my husband,
   Timothy Register, and my son, Michael Register.
- 3. In approximately late September/early October, my son's friend, Caitlyn Croom arrived at our home accompanied by a friend named Matthew.
- 4. Caitlyn and Matthew advised my family and me that if we filed absentee request forms, we would receive absentee ballots in our mail and we could vote by mail without having to go to the polls to cast our votes.
- 5. Caitlyn and Matthew also mentioned they could receive payment in the amount of \$20 if they secured a certain number of absentee ballot request forms from voters; they did not share information on who would be paying them for this work.
- My family and I completed our absentee request forms with Caitlyn and Matthew.
   However, the absentee ballots never arrived at our home.
- 7. On November 8, 2016. I went to my polling place to cast my vote.

- 8. When I arrived, the poll workers informed me I could not vote because my absentee ballot had already been cast on October 6, 2016.
- Additionally, the poll workers advised me that absentee ballots had also been received for my husband and son.
- 10. I explained that the absentee ballots never arrived at our home and we had not submitted those absentees ourselves.
- 11. I was told I could not vote and was provided the number for the Bladen County Board of Elections.
- 12. I informed the Bladen County Board of Elections of the absentee ballots that were submitted in my family's name without our knowledge or consent.
- 13. Neither my family nor I voted provisionally.

Sworn to (or affirmed) and subscribed before me this the 18 day of November, 20_.

(Official Seal)

Charles W. Siska, Jr.
Notary Public
Cumberland County, N.C.
My Commission Expires

Official Signature of Notary

Charles W. Siska Ir, Notary Public Notary's printed or typed name

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Grant R. Sperry Charlotte W. Ware Forensic Document Examiners (704)-860-7992

email: <a href="mailto:charlotte@fde-sperry.com">charlotte@fde-sperry.com</a>
www.fde-sperry.com

### FORENSIC LABORATORY REPORT

November 15, 2016

Roger Knight, P.A. 8510 Six Forks Rd. Ste. 102 Raleigh, NC 27615

Request dated: November 11, 2016 Lab Referral Number: 16-1112

RE: Forensic Document Examinations – on site; Bladen County Board of Elections-November 14, 2016

### **EXHIBITS**

Envelopes Photocopies of approximately 275 voter envelopes containing voter signatures

and witness signatures

Ballots Photocopies of approximately 400 ballots containing write-in candidate by the

name of "Franklin Graham"

### **PROBLEM**

Determine whether the "Franklin Graham" handwritten/hand printed entries on the ballots were written by one, or more than one writer.

### **EXAMINATION FINDINGS**

The 'Franklin Graham' handwriting/hand printing on the various ballots were examined, intercompared and assessed for identification value. All of the "Franklin Graham" handwritten entries were found to contain writing features and characteristics of value for identification purposes. Examinations and inter-comparisons between the ballots were conducted. Some of the "Franklin Graham" writing was in cursive, and some was hand printed. The purpose of the forensic examinations and inter-comparisons was to assess the writing features and characteristics for similar and distinguishing features which would provide a basis for determining whether one, or more than one writer wrote the questioned "Franklin Graham" entries.

Comparisons of the writing features and characteristics within the "Franklin Graham" entries on the respective ballots revealed distinctive similarities and distinguishing differences which provided a basis for the ballots to be associated or grouped by writer.

### **CONCLUSION**

There are indications many of the 'Franklin Graham' entries were written by the same writer. Based on the distinctive similar and distinguishing writing features observed in the 'Franklin Graham' entries examined, the ballots were grouped. There are <u>indications</u> the ballots within each Group referenced below was written by a single writer.

Group 1: 71 ballots

Group 2: 46 ballots

Group 3: 18 ballots

Group 4: 10 ballots

Group 5: 11 ballots

Group 6: 6 ballots

Group 7: 5 ballots

### **REMARKS**

Time constraints, the large number of exhibits to be examined, and the fact that the ballots were not originals were limiting factors in the examination. If the ballots were examined in the proper setting, with ample time for examination and inter-comparisons, more conclusive results would be possible. Further, provided ample time for more detailed examinations/comparisons, a determination as to whether the remaining 'Franklin Graham' writings (ballots) can be associated with existing or additional groups would be possible. Because of the existence of handwritten and hand printed 'Franklin Graham' entries and the difficulty of inter-comparisons, it is possible the 'Franklin Graham' entries in one or more groups may be the product of one writer.

Comparable similar writing characteristics were noted between the writings within Group 1 and the 'witness' Deborah Monroe hand printed entries on the respective envelopes. Further examination of these documents would result in a more definitive finding.

Ш

Examinations of the remaining 'witness' related writings were not conducted due to time constraints.

### **EVIDENCE DISPOSITION**

All photocopied ballots and envelopes were retained by the Bladen County Board of Elections. No photographs were allowed to be taken and photocopies were not allowed to be made of the ballots.

### Reasons and Bases

The referenced examinations and comparisons were conducted utilizing published standard methodologies as prescribed by ASTM International Standard E-2290 (or other) and by the Scientific Working Group for Forensic Document Examination (SWGDOC).

The conclusions stated above generally adhere to published standard terminology as prescribed by ASTM International Standard E-1658 and by the SWGDOC standard entitled 'Standard Terminology for Expressing Conclusions of Forensic Document Examiners.'

Charlotte W. Ware

Forensic Document Examiner

Charlottes Wa

# **Original Protest**

#### **ELECTION PROTEST**

Use of this form is required by G.S. 163-182.9(c)

This form must be filed with the county board of elections within the timeframes set out in G.S. 163-182.9 (b)(4). Please print or type your answers. Feel free to use and attach additional sheets if needed to fully answer the questions below. You may also attach relevant exhibits and documents. Please number the pages of such additional sheets and attachments.

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HAT 2551 PTN UPM

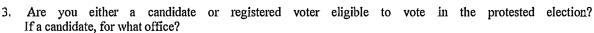
1. Full name and mailing address of person filing the protest.

Kenneth M. Register, Jr.

P.O. Box 1990, Elizabethtown, NC 28337

2. Home and business phone number, fax number, and e-mail address.

Home/Business: (910)876-2417 Email: kregisterjr@hotmail.com



Yes. Candidate for District 3 County Commissioner

4. List the date, location, and exact nature of the election protested. Name all candidates in the election and the number of votes each received. Note the winning candidate(s) elected or nominated.

November 8, 2016: Ashley Trivette (R) 2957

Ken Register, Jr. (D) 2524

- 5. Does this protest involve an alleged error in vote count or tabulation? If so, please explain in detail. Yes. Candidate was witness to several software glitches as well as a memory stick being switched during early voting and Election day.
- 6. Does this protest involve an irregularity or misconduct not described in number 5 above? If so, please give a detailed description of such misconduct or irregularity and name those who committed such action.

  Yes. Undetermined amounts of Absentee Ballots were forged and submitted by certain individuals and others from the same or similar organizations. Those individuals are Matthew Mathis and Caitlyn Croom. Please see attached.
- 7. Please set out all election laws or regulations that you allege were violated in your responses to 5 or 6 above. State how each violation occurred. Please provide the names, addresses, and phone numbers of those who you allege committed such violations.

Matthew Mathis and Caitlyn Croom have in fact falsified and submitted Absentee Ballots to the Bladen County Board of Election.

Matthew Mathis	Caitlyn Croom
13007 Hwy 242 N.	13007 Hwy 242 N.
Elizabethtown, NC 28337	Elizabethtown, NC 28337

8. Please provide the names, addresses, and phone numbers of any witnesses to any misconduct alleged by you in this protest, and specify what each witness listed saw or knows.

Michael Cogdell, Elizabethtown, NC (910)874-1049

Arthur Bullock, Elizabethtown, NC (910) 876-7905

Horace Munn, Riegelwood, NC (910) 520-6271

Deborah Monroe, Council, NC (910) 549-4082

Lola Wooten, Elizabethtown, NC (910) 876-0462

9. What action do you desire the county board of elections to take in this matter?

After witnessing and experiencing such an unfortunate and corrupt election, Candidate strongly feels that all Bladen County residents deserve and are entitled as US citizens to an overall re-vote from at minimum a State level. It is my opinion, a re-vote is the only resolution due to the level of corruption and uncertain number of forged votes. If a re-

count is found to be unnecessary after all investigations have concluded, it is the Candidates request to have a Hand to Eye recount of all votes and also all Absentee ballots collected and witnessed by Matthew Mathis and Caitlyn Croom be null and void.

- 10. Do you contend the allegations set out by you are sufficient to have affected or cast doubt upon the results of the protested election? If your answer is yes, please state the factual basis for your opinion.
- Yes. Any and all reported software glitch and/or methods of vote count calculations should be carefully monitored. Candidate feels events which took place during early voting and the main Election day have lead to a miscalculation of factual and accurate votes.
- 11. Have you read and reviewed the North Carolina law pertaining to election protests as set out in G.S. 163-182.9 through G.S. 163-182.14 and current North Carolina State Board of Elections regulations pertaining to election protests?

  Yes I have.

12. How many pages of additional answer are attached to this protest?0

How many pages of attachments are attached? <u>8. Signed and notarized Affidavit from Heather Register (2 pages.)</u> and a letter from Linda F. Johnson-Baldwin, letter from "Josh" and accompanied by Absentee Ballotts for Linda Johnson-Baldwin, Kevin DeQuan Baldwin and Evin DeShawn Baldwin. Also attached is a letter requesting a Hand to Eye vote count received by Bladen County Board of Elections on Nov. 14, 2016.

Signature of Protestor

Date/Time Filed with County Board
Nov. 22, 2016 2:51 PM

(to be filled out by the county board)

**NOTE:** The county board must provide the State Board with a complete copy of a filed protest within one business day after it is filed. In addition, the county board shall provide a copy of the election audit with this copy of the protest.

Please direct any questions to your county board of elections or the North Carolina State Board of Elections, PO Box 27255, Raleigh, NC 27611-7255, (919) 733-7173.

### **AFFIDAVIT**

North Carolina

County of Bladen

Weather Register, appearing before the undersigned

Name of principal

notary and being duly sworn, says that:

- My name is Heather Register and I am a registered voter in Bladen County, North Carolina.
- I reside at 1878 Braxton Edge Road, Fayetteville, NC 28312, with my husband,
   Timothy Register, and my son, Michael Register.
- In approximately late September/early October, my son's friend, Caitlyn Croom arrived at our home accompanied by a friend named Matthew.
- 4. Caitlyn and Matthew advised my family and me that if we filed absentee request forms, we would receive absentee ballots in our mail and we could vote by mail without having to go to the polls to cast our votes.
- 5. Caitlyn and Matthew also mentioned they could receive payment in the amount of \$20 if they secured a certain number of absentee ballot request forms from voters; they did not share information on who would be paying them for this work.
- My family and I completed our absentee request forms with Caitlyn and Matthew.
   However, the absentee ballots never arrived at our home.
- 7. On November 8, 2016. I went to my polling place to east my vote.

- When I arrived, the poll workers informed me I could not vote because my absentee ballot had already been cast on October 6, 2016.
- Additionally, the poli workers advised me that absentee ballots had also been received for my husband and son.
- 10. I explained that the absentee ballots never arrived at our home and we had not submitted those absentees ourselves.
- I was told I could not vote and was provided the number for the Bladen County Board
  of Elections.
- 12. I informed the Bladen County Board of Elections of the absentee ballots that were submitted in my family's name without our knowledge or consent.
- 13. Neither my family nor I voted provisionally.

Sworn to (or affirmed) and subscribed before me this the 18 day of November, 2016

(Official Seal)

Chatles W. Siska, Jt.
Notary Public
Cumberland County, N.C.
My Commission Expires

Official Signature of Notary

Charles W. Siska Tr. Notary Public

Charles W. Siska Jr., Notary Public Notary's printed or typed name

My commission expires: (2/5/2s

October 4, 2016

### TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

I. Linda F. Johnson-Baldwin answered my doorbell on September 24, 2016 at approximately 8:45 p.m. and invited Josh to come in. He told me who he was, what he needed, and called one of the names of one of the previous teachers that I supervised. I allow him to come in. He asked me if I would like to fill out an "absentee ballot form" for voting for the 2016 primary. He told me that if he had filled out 14 or 15 he would be paid \$120.00 each time. Me being the person that I am, trying to help young people in any possible way, told him yes. I filled out one for myself and for my one 40 year old daughter and two twenty-two year old sons. He informed me that I would receive the envelopes in the mail and that I need to fill them out and he would return for them. Within a couple of days I received three large envelopes in the mail. One each for my two sons and one for myself. My daughter did not receive one because she is not registered to vote in North Carolina. On Thursday, September 2, 2016 Josh came by to see if I had complete the ballots. I had not! I told my husband who answered the door, to tell him that I will have them ready by Sunday at approximately 4:00 p.m. On Sunday October 2, at approximately 4:00 Josh returned for the ballots. I had forgotten to fill them out, therefore, I invited him to come in while I filled out the ballots. I made the statement that some of the categories aren't clear on the ballot. He told me that I could fill out any of them that I want to but he was just concerned with this particular and he then placed his finger on the ballot, and pointed out a name. I then informed him that I would choose the one that I want. Josh informed me that he had to sign the envelope, have a witness to sign. and he also had to put postage stamps on them as well. I told him that I wanted to mail them myself, I made it perfectly clear that I wanted to mail them. He told me that he would return them on Monday at 12:00, that he had to show them to his boss so that he could get paid for having them done. I arranged my business so that I would be home on Monday. October 3rd at 12:00 p.m. I was home from Monday. October 3 at 10:45 a.m. until Tuesday morning at 8:30 a.m. I had to run an errand on Tuesday morning, but I returned by 10:40 a.m. No Josh, no call and no mail from him.

I would like for my ballot and sons' ballot to be disregarded and returned to us, so that we may vote in person and not by "absentee ballot." Please make sure that this request is granted to us as U S Citizens.

Sincerely, Linda F. Johnson-Baldwin

# Bladen County . Absentee application and certificate

FRAUDULENTLY OR FALSELY COMPLETING THIS FORM IS
A GLASS HERLONY UNDER CHARTERY 63.0F THE NO GENERAL STATUTES.

Envelope must be signed by the voter and in the presence of two (2) witnesses (or one notary-public). Witnesses must also sign and provide their complete address.

their comple	te auuress.		
GARLAND, NC 28441  On this application, to the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of	hat I am å duly qualified voter, that all information represented aled voter voting in a primary (B). If the party indicated is (U)	registered as an affiliate of the is correct, and that I am entitled election, I am voting in the FNA), I am voting a nonpartisan be ballot, and that I marked the ballot, and the bal	I to vote in this election. Party Primary indicated; aliot.
Ballot: G005 LINDA FRANCES JOHNSON-BALDWIN PCT/VTD:P70/P70 Muni: Name correction (i	((cequito)	vitnoss the	casting of my absentee
BOARD APPROVAL:  I certify that I assisted assisted the voter in certification.	ed the voter in marking his or h	er ballot according to his or her in the voter is unable to complete a	instruction and/or I and/or sign this
Date X Signature of Perso		37 31 2005	Date
UNITNESSES CERTIFICATION  (Inc. Varies as are regulared unless varies sequely and are not disqualified by G.S. 163-226.3(a)(4) or G.S. 163-237(b1) to assist this voter in marking or witnessing the casting of his/her absentee ballot, and in my presence, the voter marked the enclosed ballot, or caused it to be marked in his/her presence according to his/her instruction, and signed this absentee application and certificate.  X. M. Witness #1 Signature (Required)  1300 F. Huy 242 N.	State of	TARY-IVITNESS CER  as ing this contracts and applicat  , County of  18 years of age and am not- (7(b1) to assist this voter in makentee ballot. On the  , 20, the voter:	disqualified by G.S. 163-
Witness #2 Signature Required  Witness #2 Signature Required  Witness #2 Signature Required  Witness #2 Signature Required  Witness #2 Signature Required  Witness #2 City, State, Zip (Required)	the enclosed ballot, or cause	me, was positively identified, and it to be marked in his or her public absentee application and cert	resence according to his or
In the event that a Second Primary (or Runoff Election) is called, with my signature below, I request that an absentee application and ballot be issued to me and mailed to me at the address given below.	Due to continued or expec	EOR SIGKNESS/PHYSIC ted illness or disability, I request ts for any other elections to be I delpate.	that this application be a
Signature of Voter (if annicable)	X	**	

· ~~	
	Dear Mrs. Baldwin,
	I'm sorry that these ballots weren't
]	returned on the day we discussed. I had
	a lot going on. My mother totalled her car
	in a 4 vehicle collision so the ballots were
·	the least of my warries, since they aren't
٠ ٠	time critical as long as mailed in before
	the 8th of November I have come by your
	house a few times to see if you were home,
	but got no response of either door. My sincerest
•	apologies go out to you for not returning them
	on time. Sorry, also, that it was a few days
· ·	late. I never phad any intentions to withhold
· ·	your vote, nor would I want to tamper with your
	Ballot by mailing it in muself. It is with the
	upmost sincerety that I tell you these a pologies.
	I would never do wrong to someone like yourself
<del></del>	as I wouldn't expect that behavior from an
*·	esteemed woman like you.
· 	Dince Again,
	My sincerest apologies to you and
· 	your family,
ساس سرجسه مسه مید و سدو هسینی و ر	1
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### BLADEN COUNTY. **ABSENTEE APPLICATION AND CERTIFICATE**

ERAUDULENTLY OR FALSELY COMPLETING THIS FORM IS A CLASS FELLONY UNDER CHARTER 163 OF THE NCIGENERAL STATULES

Envelope must be signed by the voter and in the presence of two (2) witnesses (or one notary-

public).		nust also sign and prov plete address.	ride	
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8032 OLD FAYETTEVILLE RD II GARLAND, NG 28441	do hereby certify to n this application, to I am an Unoffillo	hat I am a duly qualified voter that all information represente	d is cotrect, and that I am e y election, I am voting in	of the political party indicated antitled to vote in this election. In the Party Primary indicated: tisan ballot.
it it	was marked for n	ne in my presence and accord	ing to my instructions) in	d the ballot enclosed herein (or the presence of <u>two</u> witnesses ess the casting of my absence
Ballot: G005 KEVIN DEQUAN BALDWIN PCT/VTD:P70P70 11/08/2016 CTVTD:P7 Munit	Signature of Voter	(Required)		別 2116 Date
11/08/2016 - GENERAL Munit	Name correction (	if applicable)	- 1.40 W.C	<u> </u>
<b>1</b>		on of Person 255	isting votere	andicable)
BOARD APPROVAL:		ed the voter in marking his or l signing this certificate because		
Dale Dale	Name of Person A	ssisting Voter (if applicable)	Address of Person Assisting	g Voter
	Signature of Perso	on Assisting Voter	25W E2	Dale
(Interviewed States) (CERTIFICATION) (Interviewed States) (Control of the Control	ed by G.S. 163- or witnessing the oter marked the	I certify that I am at leas 226.3(a)(4) or G.S. 163-2	nessing this certificate and a, County of at 18 years of age and am	not disqualified by G.S. 163- r in marking or witnessing the
Witness #1 Signature (Required)  [300 7 [-w] 242 N Witness #1 Street Address (Required)		2	Print Voter's Name	
Fires #1 City, State, Zip (Required)	-8 88		ed it to be marked in his or	ied, and in my presence, marked her presence according to his or nd certificate.
& Latter Unover	~	X		
Vitness #2 Signature (Required)  13 (2) # Must ~ 17 U  Vitness #2 Street Address (Regulard)  7 12 G DEN 10 CANA NC 28337		Signature of Notary Public	10	
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on the event that a Second Primary (or Runoff Election) is a signature below, I request that an absence application and balline and mailed to me at the address given below.	called, with my lot be issued to	Due to continued or expe	ors for any other elections	YSICAL DISABILITY request that this application be a to be held this calendar year in

4.8				-
Signatur	of Water	TiF and	desile	-1

Signature of Voter (if applicable)

## BLADEN COUNTY . ABSENTEE APPLICATION AND CERTIFICATE

FRAUDUCENTLY OR FALSELY COMPLETING THIS FORM IS
A GLASSIFICIONY UNDER CHAPTER 153 OF THEMO: GENERAL STATUTES

		ed by the voter and in the		
		vitnesses (or one notary-		
public		ust also sign and provide		
THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN THE PE		plete address.		
EVIN DESHAWN BALDWIN				
COOL OLD THE LITTLE TO	I do hereby certify that I am 11 duly qualified voter, registered as an affiliate of the political party indicated on this application, that all information represented is correct, and that I am entitled to vote in this election.			
CALLE HIS, ITO ESTATE	If I am an Unaffilla	nted voter voting in a primary election. I am voting in the Party Primary indicated:		
	(DEM) (REP) or (LI	B). If the party indicated is (UNA), I am voting a nonpartisan ballot.		
DEM - BLADEN COUNTY	7 40 4 47	Mary and Bandlan Garana kanna kanna kanna and dhad Tanashad dha ballad analasad banda banda da		
		aking application for an absentee ballot, and that I marked the ballot enclosed herein (or ne in my presence and according to my instructions) in the presence of two witnesses		
	who are at least 18	years of age and who are not disqualified by law to witness the casting of my absence		
	ballot.	10		
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	A	10/2/66		
C Ballot: G005 EVIN DESHAWN BALDWIN	Signature of Voter	(Required) Date		
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11/08/2016 - GENERAL				
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DO LOD LEDDONIA		ed the voter in marking his or her ballot according to his or her instruction and/or I		
BOARD APPROVAL:		signing this certificate because the voter is unable to complete and/or sign this		
38	(3) certification.			
	Name of Person A	ssisting Voter (ifapplicable) Address of Person Assisting Voter		
Date		Tables of Total (1997) Tables of Total (1997)		
Date	X			
	Signature of Perso	m Assisting Voter Date		
UITNESSES GERFIFICATION  You thinks as a regarded unless variassed by a not of public ertify that I am at least 18 years of age and am not disqual 5.3(a)(4) or G.S. 163-237(b1) to assist this voter in marking thing of his/her absentee ballot, and in my presence, the closed ballot, or caused it to be marked in his/her presence at truction, and signed this absentee application and certificate.  MATHEMATICAL iness #1 Signature (Required)  The state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the sta	ified by G.S. 163- g or witnessing the voter marked the ecotding to his/her	ALTERNATIVE NOTARY WITNESS GERTIFICATION:  [Use all Section only it witnessing this certificate and application as a notary public.]  State of		
ness #2 Street Address (Required)  1/2 a b - Of Noush NC 2/1  ness #2 City, State, Zip (Required)  ECOND PRIMARY: OF RUNOFF REQUEST	334	My Commission Expires  See 1  ANNUAL REQUEST FOR SICKNESS PHYSICAL DISABILITY		
the event that a Second Primary (or Runoff Election) is gnature below, I request that an absentee application and be and mailed to me at the address given below.	called, with my sallot be issued to	Due to continued or expected illness or disability, I request that this application be a request for absentee ballots for any other elections to be held this calendar year in Affice Sam eligible to participate.		
William Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of th		X.		

anature of Water (if annieshle)

Nov. 14, 2016

Bladen County Board of Elections Elizabethtown, NC

To whom it may concern,

I, Ken Register, Jr. Candidate for Bladen County District 3 County Commissioner request from the Bladen County Board of Elections that a Hand to Eye vote count by completed on the recent election due to the very problematic tallying of the votes.

Several glitches were encountered during early voting as well as several poll errors at separate poll locations on the day of the election. I was present and witnessed the soft ware and memory stick incident at the BC library on the day the memory stick was switched.

It is not my intention of accusing any individual of wrong doing or ill intent but it is simply in the best interest of all Bladen County tax payers and elected position candidates to have an accurate and factual count of votes. It is my opinion, that due to a glitch of any capacity during an important election as such, it is imperative to ensure accuracy.

Ken M. Register Jr.

Or□er

### THE STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA

### COUNTY OF BLADEN

Protest Hearing By Bladen	)	
County Board of Elections;	)	
Kenneth M. Register, Protestor District 3	)	PRELIMINARY HEARING ORDER
	)	ORDER

This matter coming on to be heard by upon the filing of election protest pursuant to NCGS 163-182.9 (c). Said protest was filed at Board of Elections with proper notice at on November 22, 2016. A hearing was held at the Board of Elections at 3:00 o'clock on November 29, 2016.

Present were board members, Chairman Bobby Ray Ludlum, Member Al Daniels, Member Brian Hehl, and the undersigned attorney for Bladen County Board of Elections.

Chairman Bobby Ludlum opened the meeting and read and put into record NCGS 163-182.10 (a) (1) and then turned the meeting over to the county attorney for further explanation. Said attorney informed the board that the petition substantially complied with NCGS 163-182.9 and the petition was filed on time and properly before the board.

The chairman then gave Mr. Kenneth Register an opportunity to be heard. Mr. Kenneth Register informed the board that he was present and witnessed software glitches as well as a memory stick being switched out during early voting and election day. He also further informed the board that there were absentee ballots forged as alleged in his complaint. (Copy attached and incorporated by reference.)

The board reported and stated all votes were properly counted and that no software glitches or memory stick issues prevented any vote from being properly counted. All absentee ballots were turned over to the state and are in their possession and not under control of Bladen County Board of Elections.

After further discussion, member Al Daniels made a motion to find Probable Cause and have a hearing on the matter. There was no second to the motion. Member Brian Hehl made a motion to dismiss the complaint pursuant to NCGS 163-182.10 (a) (1) as the protest did not establish Probable Cause to believe that a violation of election law or irregularity or misconduct had occurred. His motion was seconded by Chairman Bobby Ludlum.

Vote was Ludlum and Hehl to dismiss th	e petition. Daniels voted no.
Said petition was dismissed.	
This the _29th day of November, 2016.	
	SIGNED NUNC PRO TUNC, This the day of December, 2016.
	Bobby Ray Ludlum Chairman

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## **PERKINSCOIE**

1201 Third Avenue Suite 4900 Seattle, WA 98101-3099 +1.206.359.8000+1.206.359.9000PerkinsCoie.com

December 2, 2016

Kevin J. Hamilton KHamilton@perkinscoie.com D. +1.206.359.8741 F. +1.206.359.9741

#### VIA EMAIL TRANSMISSION

A. Grant Whitney, Jr., Chairman Rhonda K. Amoroso, Secretary James Baker, Member Maja Kricker, Member Joshua D. Malcolm, Member North Carolina State Board of Elections 441 North Harrington St, Raleigh, North Carolina 27603 elections.sboe@ncsbe.gov

Re: In re Protest of Election by Leslie McCrae Dowless Jr.

Dear Members of the North Carolina State Board of Elections:

I write on behalf of Roy Cooper and the North Carolina Democratic Party. The purpose of this letter is to request that the Board take no action with regard to the Election Protest filed by Leslie McCrae Dowless Jr. that would disenfranchise voters who committed no election law violation, and to count their votes, at least with regard to elections that are not implicated in Mr. Dowless's Protest.

Mr. Dowless's Protest alleges that individuals assisting voters, rather than the voters themselves, wrote the name of write-in candidate "Franklin Graham" on "hundreds" of ballots. *See* Protest § 6. The protest appears to be alleging a violation of N.C. Gen. Stat. § 163-226.3(a)(1), which makes it a felony "[f]or any person except the voter's near relative or the voter's verifiable legal guardian to assist the voter to vote an absentee ballot when the voter is voting an absentee ballot other than under the procedure described in G.S. 163-227.2; provided that if there is not a near relative or legal guardian available to assist the voter, the voter may request some other person to give assistance."

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¹ To the extent Mr. Dowless's Protest alleges that individuals served as a witness for multiple absentee ballots, that is not a violation of law; and it certainly is not a violation of law *by the voter*, who would have no reason to know how many envelopes a particular individual has signed as a witness.

Bladen County Board of Elections November 17, 2016 Page 2

We do not know what evidence the Board will hear during its hearing to consider this protest. If the Board determines that N.C. Gen. Stat. § 163-226.3(a)(1) was violated, but that the voters themselves did intend to vote in the manner indicated on their ballots, then we would respectfully submit that those ballots should be counted.

North Carolina law is clear that voter's choices are to be determined and respected. N.C. Gen. Stat. § 163-182.1(a). "No official ballot shall be rejected because of technical errors in marking it, unless it is impossible to clearly determine the voter's choice." *Id.* § 163-182(a)(2). Improper assistance may be a crime on the part of the *assister*, but it is certainly not a crime committed by the *voter*, much less a reason to disregard his or her ballot. *See id.* § 163-226.3(a)(1).

Even if the Board determines that certain write-in votes were not, in fact, the choice of the voter, North Carolina law still compels the counting of *other votes* on the ballot so long as those votes reflect the voter's choice. "If it is impossible to clearly determine a voter's choice in a ballot item, the official ballot shall not be counted for that ballot item, but shall be counted in all other ballot items in which the voter's choice can be clearly determined." *Id.* § 163-182.1(a)(3).

Finally, the only election specifically protested by Mr. Dowless was "November 8, 2016, Bladen County, Soil and Water Conservation District Supervisor." Protest § 4. While Mr. Dowless does make a general reference to "all other candidates on the ballot in this November 8, 2016 General Election in Bladen County," *id.*, the removal of any ballots implicated would not "cast doubt on the results of" most of those elections. N.C. Gen. Stat. § 163-182,10(d)(2)c. It would be contrary to the letter and spirit of North Carolina law, and contrary to the Board's order of November 28, 2016, ordering the dismissal of protests that do not allege sufficient numerical issues to cast doubt on the results of an election, to refuse to give effect to voters' intent in elections that are not cast in doubt. Thus, the Board should count voters' choices in the gubernatorial election, and in all other elections that are neither affected by the write-in vote nor close enough to be affected by the potential removal of these votes.

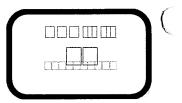
Thank you for your consideration.

Very truly yours,

Kevin J. Hamilton

Attorney for Cooper for North Carolina and the North Carolina Democratic Party

# Exhibit Q



Page 1

### AUDIO TRANSCRIPTION

### FULL RAW INTERVIEW:

Mark Harris speaks exclusively to Nick Ochsner about NC9 investigation

http://www.wbtv.com/2018/12/14/exclusive-mark-harris-addresses
-voter-fraud-allegations-race-th-congressional-district/

December 14, 2018

DIGITAL EVIDENCE GROUP

1730 M Street, NW, Suite 812

Washington, D.C. 20036

(202) 232-0646

1 1 (Recording begins) shared with me that there was an absentee ballot 2 2 MR. OCHSNER: I'll start with the program and a Get Out the Vote program that he did. 3 3 Washington Post story from last night that has And he explained to me because I wanted to 4 reported that you personally hired McCrae Dowless understand what that meant. And it was the same 5 to come work for your campaign. Did you do that? thing I assumed he had done to have the success 6 MR. HARRIS: I did. And readily it goes 6 that he had in the past, and that was a two-stage 7 7 back to understanding the race of 2016. You program. 8 recall, Nick, that in 2016, they had redrawn the 8 Stage one is the absentee ballot 9 9 districts in North Carolina, and I felt led to step application, or absentee ballot request form. And 10 10 into the race for the U.S. House in the newly-drawn he said that he hired individuals that worked for 11 11 Ninth District. And we went through that race. It him that went out and canvassed door to door, 12 12 was three people. There was Robert Pittenger, it trying to encourage people to be involved and were 13 was myself, and there was Todd Johnson. And at the 13 they willing to fill out an absentee ballot request 14 14 end of that 2016 race, you know, I would see that I form. And they would fill out the absentee ballot 15 15 lost. I mean, I got beat. Johnson beat me request form, and they would take it and then would 16 16 significantly in that county, and with absentee return it to the Board of Elections. And that was 17 17 ballots. And I remember looking at that and going, what he was doing in phase one. 18 18 "Wow, that's unusual." Phase two was the absentee ballot part. 19 19 And it was just probably a couple weeks And so once an individual had turned in the 20 20 after all of that that I got a call and was talking absentee ballot, it was explained to me that they 21 21 with Judge Marion Warren, who used to be a Superior would -- Board of Elections would mail an absentee 22 22 Court Judge in that area, is now the Administrator ballot to that address. And then he would have two Page 2 Page 4 i 1 of the courts here in North Carolina. And he had people that would go and follow up on those 2 2 become a good friend through the years. And he absentee ballot requests once the ballot got there, 3 3 said, you know, "Man, I would have given anything and their job was basically to knock on the door, if I could have introduced you to McCrae Dowless to follow up with those people, and offer their 5 5 before Todd Johnson got to know him." And I said, services to -- if they need any assistance with 6 "Well, who's McCrae Dowless?" And he told me that their ballot. McCrae was a guy from Bladen County. He was a good And the ballots, as I understood it, 8 old boy that knew Bladen County politics, that he, 8 required two witnesses, if it was just being 9 9 you know, did things right, and that he knew witnessed, or the signature of one notary. And 10 10 election law as better -- better than just about they would offer to do that, and then they would 11 11 anybody he knew of. tell people, in that process, that -- you know, 12 12 And he said, you know, "I really wish they urged them to get their ballot in the mail 13 13 that I could connect you with him." And he said, that day. And I remember him saying specifically 14. 14 "If, in the future, you decide to run for this seat that they were not to take a ballot. They were not 1.5 15 again," he said, "I hope you'll reach out to me," to touch a ballot. 16 and he said, "I'll be more than happy to set up a 16 In fact, he used the illustration that I 1,7 17 meeting, and I'll even take you down there still recall that, "I don't care if it's a 18 18 personally and introduce you to some of the key 95-year-old woman in a wheelchair or a walker. You

cannot take her ballot. You can walk her to the

the flag, but you don't take the ballot."

mailbox and put the ballot in the mailbox and raise

So that was my understanding of what the

leaders there." And that's what we did.

Dowless did for your campaign in 2018?

MR. OCHSNER: So what do you think McCrae

MR. HARRIS: In 2018, McCrae Dowless

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absentee ballot program was that he was doing in 2 2018. So then, of course, there were other things 3 that he was doing. He got us in parades that we 4 were involved in the Peanut Festival down there. 5 We were involved in a fall festival called Beast 6 Fest down in Bladenboro that he lined us up. He 7 got me opportunities to speak down there at those 8 kind of social settings. He puts signs in yards 9 all over Bladen County and, you know, just built 10 crowds for events and things when we would be down 11 there. 12 MR. OCHSNER: At any time did you have 13

any indication that McCrae Dowless was doing something that might be illegal?

MR. HARRIS: No, absolutely not.

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MR. OCHSNER: And had you had that, would you still have continued to employ him?

MR. HARRIS: No, I would not have.

19 Again, we kept emphasizing again and again that 20 when he was describing the ballot to us -- and, in 21 fact, when you get down to his description of the

22 program, he was being vouched for by a number of into this political arena, because I believe in this country. I believe in our Constitution. I believe in our processes we use. And we know there's a reason that we vote on Election Day, and then if you lose an election, then you concede that evening or the next day. And then time passes, about ten days, before they count provisional ballots and count absentee ballots that come in after Election Day.

Then there's another period of waiting when the County Boards actually meet and certify these races and go through their process, and then there's another waiting period of another week before the Board of Elections meets to carry out their ministerial duty of making sure all the numbers came in and certified those races.

And there's a reason for all of those gaps, and the reason is that if anybody has seen anything to cause question, if anybody has seen anything to bring about concern or allegation, those are the times to make those protests. Those are the times to clearly say, wait a minute, time

Page 6

Page 8

1 other leaders down there. When I was introduced to

2 him in the initial meeting, first time that I had

met him in the meeting that Judge Warren was able

4 to set up for us, there was a County Commissioner

there by the name of Ray Britt, there was a

6 businessman there by the name of Pat Melvin, there

7 was a GOP Chairman there by the name of Walter

McDuffie, and there was McCrae Dowless and others.

9 And since that time, I'd spoken with Judge Scott

10 Ussery down there. I, of course, had seen the

sheriff was involved and used McCrae in his work,

12 as well. So, I mean, I had no reason to think that

13 what he was doing was illegal.

> MR. OCHSNER: Sure. Of course, this has now all led the State Board of Elections to not certify your race.

MR. HARRIS: Yes.

MR. OCHSNER: Did that catch you by

19 surprise?

20 MR. HARRIS: Oh, absolutely it caught us 21 by surprise. I mean, Nick, there's a reason that

22 we have processes, and there's a reason that I got out, something's wrong here, and bring it to light.

And we went through every one of those periods, and nothing, to my knowledge, was ever said, ever reported, ever lodged, formally or informally, to my knowledge, until we got to the Tuesday of the Board of Elections.

And, in fact, if you'd gone on the website, I'm told at 9:40 that morning that my name and District 9 was in the list of races to be certified that day. And then Vice Chairman Josh Malcolm, who since then has been promoted to Chairman, made the motion in that meeting to say that he wanted to pull the Ninth District race due to -- I think he called it unfortunate activities in his part of the state. And that was the first we had heard of anything, and that was extremely, extremely frustrating. I was in Washington at new member orientation at the second and final week when that came down.

MR. OCHSNER: It's got to be -- I'll call it interesting. It's got to be interesting for you to be in this limbo where you think you've won an

Page 9

1 1 election, but you may very well not be seated when not sure the thinking in that. But again you'll 2 2 have to ask the legislators what their thoughts are Congress starts in January. Are you prepared for 3 3 that to happen? there. 4 4 MR. HARRIS: Well, it's not only MR. OCHSNER: Do you --5 5 interesting, as you put it; it's frustrating. It's MR. HARRIS: But again I think it's 6 6 frustrating. frustrating for us because there's so many things 7 7 that we need to be doing in this transition period MR. OCHSNER: Do you feel under attack 8 8 to get ready. It's very frustrating because I've from your own party in some ways? 9 9 MR. HARRIS: Well, I certainly don't feel been elected to serve the Ninth District, and I 10 10 the circling of the wagons around Harris the way I don't feel like the Ninth District is getting 11 11 served. see the Democrats circling the wagons around 1.2 12 McCready. For instance, we had -- we're looking to 13 13 establish our district offices, where they were MR. OCHSNER: Yeah, of course. Just this 1.4 14 afternoon, the Republican Party Chairman in Robeson going to be located. And until we get 15 15 certification, that's put on hold because the House County in the Ninth District, part of the center of 1.6 16 this investigation --Administration Committee doesn't want to sign a 17 17 lease on where the offices will be, so it's very MR. HARRIS: Sure. 18 18 MR. OCHSNER: -- they just issued a frustrating. You know, getting committee 19 19 assignments for where I can serve that would best statement this afternoon calling on you to break 20 20 serve the people of the Ninth District, that's your silence and kind of criticizing you for not 21 2.1 being put on hold right now. having spoken out previously. Are you comfortable 22 22 with your decision to have remained silent until So there's a lot of people being hurt. Page 10 Page 12 1 1 There's a lot of frustration, obviously, that I this point? 2 2 feel in what we're going through right now. But, MR. HARRIS: Well, I am, and on a number 3 3 of different fronts. As I mentioned earlier, you know, we're trying to cooperate. We're trying 4 4 to do everything we can to help people get the people have got to think about the timing of all of 5 material and the answers they're looking for, and this, if they'll just stop for a moment and think. 6 6 This blindsided us when we were in Washington on that's where we find ourselves. 7 7 MR. OCHSNER: Of course, now your own Tuesday, November 27th. If you go back and look at 8 8 party, the state Republican Party, has come out and the motion, the motion said that we're going to 9 9 said, we think there likely needs to be a new maintain jurisdiction at least until Friday, which 10 10 election in the Ninth Congressional District. What would have been three days later. So again nobody 11 11 would you say about that? really knew what to do at that point, thinking that 12 1.2 MR. HARRIS: Well, you know, I don't know whatever the issues were that were being raised 13 13 all the ins and outs of that, and I would perhaps would be resolved by Friday. We had no 14 14 reason to think otherwise, and so we went through understand that may be slightly differently than 15 1,5 how you worded it, that there likely needs to be. that holding pattern. 16 1.6 I think they're stating that if there is going to I flew back at the end of orientation, 17 17 be a call for a new election, that there's evidence got back into town here on Saturday. I had 18 18 responsibilities on Sunday and Monday to actually to prove that somehow the outcome of this election 19 19 would have been changed seems to be the message do ten sheriff swearing-ins down in the eastern 20 20 that I've heard. part of the state, in Robeson County and Bladen 21 21 They've written into this bill that there County. They had their sheriff swearing-in that

day. And it was Monday afternoon on December --

Page 13

needs to be a primary and a general election. I'm

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what would that be? The 3rd was the very first communication we received from the Board of Elections. We have sent letters from the Tuesday when they stopped until Friday, letters were sent from our attorneys twice, on two different days, asking why are you holding this up, please tell us what the accusations are, please help us know something, and we were told nothing. 

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And on Monday the 3rd is when we received the subpoena. And at that point, it was the first time I had actually even had a conversation with our attorneys on the phone that night, driving back from Bladen, and we set up a meeting and opportunity to meet with them on Wednesday was the first chance that they had for us to communicate.

So I realize in the media world, you know, two, three days is a lifetime, but to process it, you know, two or three days is two or three days. And so we've had to try to get everything together that has been asked of us to get together before I wanted to come out and speak.

And so, yes, I'm comfortable that we've

MR. OCHSNER: When the facts come out, do you believe that your campaign will be exonerated of any wrongdoing?

MR. HARRIS: I hope so. I mean, I don't know. I mean, it is an investigation. I know what I was told, and I know the absentee ballot program that we entered into and the services with the Get Out the Vote that we entered into, and my hope is that McCrae hasn't done anything wrong. I don't know that. I'm waiting for the investigators to make that clear, and that's all we can do.

MR. OCHSNER: Mm-hmm. At the end of the day, if someone does find that McCrae or someone associated with your campaign did something wrong, are you prepared to accept whatever consequence that might come with it?

MR. HARRIS: Oh, I believe that anybody who has broken the law needs to be held accountable for it, and I've said that clearly, as well.

MR. OCHSNER: Sure. So what are you doing now? Are you preparing for a new election now?

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Page 16

that there is an investigation that's going on, and
we want that to be a full -- I put a statement out
last Friday, you might have seen, and that
statement said that we looked forward to a
transparent complete and fair investigation and

tried to do this right. I'm comfortable to say

transparent, complete, and fair investigation, and on both sides. And I think that's important to note, that this investigation has got to look on

both sides here to discover just what may be
 happening.

MR. OCHSNER: What led you to decide to sit down and speak on camera now?

MR. HARRIS: Well, I just felt like it was important. I felt like -- I've been wanting to get out here up to now every day because, you know, as I told you how I met McCrae Dowless is something I wanted people to understand and know and what led me to hire him. And -- but I felt like that the time needed to pass, we needed to make sure that everything was done decently and in order, and we

felt like today was the right day to have this

Page 15

MR. HARRIS: Well, you know, again, that's a great question. I'm trying to figure out -- quite frankly, our time is pretty occupied with Christmas events and Christmas parties with Republican events around the state and other locations, so we're, you know, going to be part of those

We are still maintaining -- we had put on the guy that we were going to have as our Chief of Staff in Washington, and so I'm in contact with him daily, although we've slowed down our hiring of staff right now, which again is another way that I feel like the district's being hurt because there was a great pool of talent after this last election that basically found themselves out of work, and we were having an opportunity to bring some of that best talent in to work for our Ninth District, and some of those opportunities are being lost by this delay.

So again, we feel like we won this race by 905 votes. I do think that it's possible that the Board of Elections can continue to investigate,

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conversation.

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        but if they can come to a numeric answer if it --
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        what they're looking at, would it have changed the
 3
        outcome of the election. They can still certify,
        continue the investigation. And again, if a crime
        has been committed, then the individuals need to be
        held accountable for that.
              MR. OCHSNER: Do you think there will be
 8
        a new election or do you think you will end up
 9
        being seated as the Congressman from the Ninth
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        District?
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              MR. HARRIS: I am hopeful. I am hopeful
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        that the investigation that's being done by the
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        Board currently will ultimately produce a report
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        that will make it clear that the outcome would not
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        have been changed and that they'll choose to go
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        ahead and certify, and I believe if we're certified
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        that I'll be seated.
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           (Recording ends)
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 1
                  CERTIFICATION
 3
               I, Ilene Watson, do hereby certify
 4
       that the foregoing is a correct transcript from the
 5
       electronic sound recording provided for
 Е
       transcription and prepared to the best of my
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       professional skills and ability.
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                                            January 4, 2019
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       Ilene Watson
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       AAERT Cert, No. 447
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       Certified Court Transcriptionist
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# Exhibit S



12/28/2018 Audio Transcription Page 1 AUDIO TRANSCRIPTION: Mark Harrison Interview.mp3 https://wbt.radio.com/media/audio channel/mark harrison interviewmp3 December 28, 2018 DIGITAL EVIDENCE GROUP 1730 M Street, NW, Suite 812 Washington, D.C. 20036 (202) 232 0646

(Recording begins) 1 I think everybody's still trying to sort 2 2 RECORDING: Congratulations. You've just through it. It was very clear in the court ruling. 3 been handed a huge new opportunity. Bravo. With 3 It was a three-judge panel, which I find 4 4 it comes the need for new skills, skills you'll fascinating, two Democrats and one Republican, so 5 need to master in short order. Every year, Harvard 5 it was heavily democratic. It was a 3-0 decision. 6 6 Business School Executive Education helps And basically they went back in this ruling to 7 7 executives like you develop the hard and soft October, when they were first formed, and began to 8 8 skills it takes to succeed in new roles. This is -- when the Board of Elections, as it was set up 9 9 your chance. Go. Start by going to hbs.me/go. currently, was considered unconstitutional, and 10 10 That's hbs.me/go. they began to move through the process, and they 11 MR. GARRISON: 7:35, WBT's morning news. 11 kept this Board of Elections specifically in place 12 12 I'm Mark Garrison in for Bo. Glad you're up with to get through the 2018 elections. And 13 13 December 3rd is when they were to go away. us on this Friday after Christmas. And the top 14 14 story on this morning is more chaos in the Ninth Well, when this came up November 27th, 15 15 Congressional race, which is still unsettled. As surprising everybody and blindsiding everybody, 16 16 you know, Republican Mark Harris won the race, that they were going to maintain jurisdiction over 17 17 beating Democrat Dan McCready by about 900 votes, the Ninth District and not certify the race, this 18 18 but the election is still up in the air because the court was then faced with having to extend, and 19 19 State Board of Elections would not certify the they extended. And as you read the report and get 2.0 20 results because of allegations of fraud in Bladen all the way down to the bottom, they make the point 21 County. Well, yesterday, the State Court of 21 that they have extended four times the date. 22 22 Appeals weighed in and said that as of noon today, And finally they just said they had no Page 2 Page 4 1 1 the State Board of Elections has to go out of reason to believe that this Board of Elections, who 2 2 business and a new board will have to be appointed had ignored everything they had said up to this 3 3 by the Governor. point, would even do what they said they were going 4 4 Well, Mark Harris is in the studio with to do on January 11th, and so therefore they were 5. 5 us this morning. Thank you for coming in on this taking the strong stand that their motion that this 6 6 rainy Friday. board would cease to end at noon today would take 7 7 MR. HARRIS: Mark, it's always glad -place. 8 8 good to see you, my friend. MR. GARRISON: So the question becomes, 9 9 MR. GARRISON: Good to see you. And what okay, in order for you to take office, this 10 10 do you make of this? I guess this took you by election has to be certified in the --11 11 surprise yesterday. MR. HARRIS: Correct. 12 12 MR. HARRIS: Well, it did take us by MR. GARRISON: -- state of North 13 13 surprise. In fact, we were actually meeting with a Carolina. If there's no Board of Elections to 14 14 certify it, if they don't certify it between now group for a prayer meeting, interestingly enough, 15 15 last night, and we were just arriving when suddenly and noon, which I assume is not likely, then what 16 16 I got this text from a reporter, who asked if we happens? 17 17 had any comment on the ruling that had just come MR. HARRIS: Well, our approach this 18 18 down. And I thought, what ruling? And so they had morning is to follow what protocol is, and we are 19 included an article, and so I clicked on it, and it 19 going to reach out to the Board of Elections with 20 20 was the first we had seen of this. This had the very language of this court order and ask them 21 happened I guess just literally minutes earlier for 21 and make an appeal to them to hold an emergency 22 22 this ruling to come down. meeting and to certify this race before they go

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away at noon. Again, that would be protocol. That would be following the proper channels.

All through this we have tried to cooperate in every way we could, in every way we can, and are cooperating to this day. And I've said all along that I believe in the process. We want to follow the process, and we want to get to where we need to be. We do believe that we won this election. We believe that we should be certified, and we continue to maintain that.

And the Board of Elections has continued to operate in less than transparent ways, and they have not given any evidence thus far, clearly, as to why or if the numbers of ballots in question would overturn an election victory of 905 votes. And by statute, that's really the role of the Board of Elections is to count votes, is to make sure that votes are being canvassed.

And that's what's interesting about this whole case, Mark. There's deadlines and there's reasons for them. There's a reason that -- on Election Day that a candidate who has lost concedes

There wasn't a single complaint that he filed. In fact, he conceded not once, but by Twitter he conceded twice after the provisional ballots went out.

and Dan McCready didn't file a single protest.

MR. GARRISON: Well, so what will happen here? I guess we don't really know. If this Board dissolves at noon today and there's no decision, I think I read you're going to go to federal court and try to ask the Court to certify this or order it certified somehow?

MR. HARRIS: Well, I think that, you know, we've got to find relief. We've got to find a remedy. And the remedy to your point that I think everybody is trying to figure out is, when this Board of Election is dissolved at noon by the action of the legislature yesterday to override the Governor's veto of the bill that they had -- this elections bill, which calls for January 31st to be the new appointment of a new Board of Elections --

MR. GARRISON: Right.
MR. HARRIS: -- we're about to go through

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at the end of the night, or in our case the next day because it was a close race. There's a reason that there's then a waiting period before you count the provisional ballots and the absentee ballots that have come in late.

MR. GARRISON: Right.

MR. HARRIS: Then there's a reason that there's another waiting period before you get to the county canvass, because again the counties have to make sure all the precincts have reported, everything's been done decently in order, and then there's a reason that there's another week that passes before the State Board of Election meets to do what the statute calls their ministerial duty, and that is to certify the races and what the counties have done.

The reason for those gaps in time are that, if there's any irregularities, if there's any protest, if there's any complaints that people would make about what they've seen, that is to be done during those periods. And so the very action of the Board of Elections to wait until the 27th --

it appears 34 days without a Board of Elections.

MR. GARRISON: Right.

MR. HARRIS: Using the language of the Court yesterday to disenfranchise 280,000-plus voters in the Ninth District, and for the Ninth District to not have representation over the course of the next month, waiting for a Board of Elections to even be appointed, and then these folks coming in with no knowledge or understanding of any of this that we've already been through is just -- it's unacceptable. And I think that the actions of this State Elections Board has finally caught up, and you've got a Court that says this is not right.

So yes, we -- there's got to be relief found, whether that's through state court, federal court or wherever. Something's going to have to give here.

MR. GARRISON: All right. We will continue this conversation here in just a couple minutes. First, check the headlines. Here's Jeff.

It's 11 minutes in front of eight o'clock, WBT's morning news. I'm Mark Garrison.

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1 We will continue now our conversation with got back from the attorney, who by the way had been 2 2 Republican Mark Harris, who won the Ninth District on the State Board of Elections, said there really 3 3 Congressional Race over Dan McCready, but he hasn't is no need to protest. He said there's no sign or 4 been certified as the winner. The Board that is 4 any sense that there's been any wrongdoing here. 5 5 supposed to certify him has now been ordered to go So two weeks after that, I got a call from a friend 6 out of business as of noon today. We were chatting of mine, Marion Warren, who had been a Superior 7 about that earlier. Court Judge in -- down in the eastern part of the 8 8 But let's get down then to what has sort state, now Chief Administrator over the courts, and 9 9 of bogged down this whole contest, Mark. The Board we were talking in the conversation, and he said, 10 10 of Elections voted not to certify you, and there "Mark," he said, "I'd have given anything if I'd 11 11 were Republicans on the board, too, who went along had the opportunity to connect you with McCrae 12 12 with this and said there's just too much -- well, I Dowless before Todd Johnson got hooked up with 13 13 mean, what we've learned is, at the time, they him." I said, "Well, tell me, who is this McCrae 1.4 14 didn't say why they weren't certifying it, but Dowless?" 15 15 we've come to learn that there's just allegations MR. GARRISON: So the -- yeah, the short 16 16 of fraud in Bladen County and a ton of reporting and -- the long and the short of it was he's sort 17 17 about this guy, McCrae Dowless, that you hired to of this Houdini who knew how to work absentee 1.8 18 work on absentee ballots. How did you get hooked ballots, and he would go door to door and get 19 19 up with him? people to agree to an absentee ballot, right? 20 20 MR. HARRIS: Well, that's interesting, MR. HARRIS: Right. And what I -- what 21 21 Mark, because in 2016, I ran in the primary, as you Marion told me, he said, "Look," he said, "this 22 recall. 22 guy, he does things right." He said, "He knows Page 10 Page 12 1 MR. GARRISON: Right. 1 what he's doing." And he said, "If you ever decide 2 2 MR. HARRIS: And I lost by 134 votes. to run again for this office, give me a call and 3 MR. GARRISON: Right. 3 I'll be more than willing to take you down to 4 4 MR. HARRIS: And actually, election Bladen County and introduce you to some of the key 5 5 night, I'd lost by 143, and so we were looking at people, including this guy." 6 6 having a recount. We went into the recount at that Well, so that was June, June of 2016. So 7 particular time, and so one of the things that fast forward to spring of 2017, I'm trying to make 8 8: some decisions. Beth and I had decided early in stood out to us is I got beat in Bladen County 9 9 pretty solidly that spring -- or that summer in the year that if we did this, that I was going to 10 10 resign from First Baptist that special election by absentee ballots, and Todd 11 11 Johnson won Bladen County. MR. GARRISON: Right. 12 12 MR. GARRISON: Right. MR. HARRIS: Church in Charlotte. We 13 13 MR. HARRIS: And so I began to -- in announced that in early July. So we got into that, 14 14 fact, I asked my attorney that was helping us in A date was set. I went down to Bladen County. I 15 1.5 that process, is there an outlier here? Because it met with a group of people. In there was -- not 16 16 was pretty substantial. I mean, there were 226 only had Marion Warren given me this word, another 17 17 absentee ballots, and Todd Johnson had gotten 221. judge had helped organize the meeting. I met Ray 18 18 MR. GARRISON: He got about all of them. Britt, who was a County Commissioner, Chairman of 19 19 MR. HARRIS: And I got four and Pittenger County Commission, who was at that meeting. Walter 2 0. 20 McDuffie, a fine businessman, Chairman of the GOP, 21 21 was there. I introduced myself to them. Pat MR. GARRISON: Yeah. Yeah. 2.2 22 Melvin, another businessman, was there. The MR. HARRIS: And so -- but the response I Page 11 Page 13

1 1 sheriff was coming. He had gotten tied up in a 95-year-old woman on a walker or in a wheelchair. 2 2 You cannot take her ballot. You can walk her to funeral up in Raeford, but he was on his way, so --3 3 MR, GARRISON: So was Dowless at that the mailbox and let her put it in and raise the 4 flag, but you don't take her ballot," and that was 4 meeting, too? 5 5 MR. HARRIS: Yes. And McCrae Dowless was emphasized. 6 6 there. And I described to them who I was, told MR. GARRISON: So what do you make now of them what I was doing, knew that I had run before. all the reporting that we've got of affidavits of 8 8 They talked about the changing politics of Bladen people who say, yeah, he came and took my ballot? 9 County. And Bladen County politics had changed a 9 Some say he marked it for them. Some say their 10 10 lot. I mean, they had gone from one Democrat -ballot was taken and disappeared. Do you believe 11 I'm sorry, one Republican County Commissioner prior 11 those affidavits? 12 12 to the 2016 elections to electing three more, and MR. HARRIS: Listen, I'm seeing the same 13 13 one more was changing over. So they had a majority thing that you are. I'm seeing these things come 14 14 on their County Commission Board of Republicans. through. I do think that there are some affidavits 15 15 MR. GARRISON: The thing I'm curious that are very weak. I think we've already seen one 16 16 about here is why the emphasis on absentee ballots of the initial ones that came out in that very 17 17 here? Typically, you think of an absentee ballot first week has already had to be updated and 18 18 as something that's used for somebody who's sick changed, if you will, about what happened to this 19 19 and can't go vote or they're going to be on person's ballot. I think you're going to see some 20 20 vacation and can't go vote. Are we dealing with a interesting things as those affidavits continue to 21 21 blue-collar county where a lot of people just be examined. 22 22 wouldn't vote unless somebody knocked on the door MR. GARRISON: Do you think Dowless was Page 14 Page 16 1 1 and made it easy for them? Is that kind of the playing dirty? I mean, do you think he was 2 2 strategy? dishonest? 3 3 MR. HARRIS: I have no idea. I really --MR. HARRIS: That's a part of the 4 4. strategy. And the other part of it is just the I hope not. I mean, what enraged me, to be honest, 5 relationships. I mean, when I asked -- I said, "So 5 Mark, is when I went back and looked at the 6 6 tell me what this program is that you do." And it document drop the Wednesday night before Christmas, 7 7 was explained to me that it was about, just as you the State Board of Elections put out this 8 said, going door to door, canvassing, getting 8 information about what had happened in the 2016 9 9 people to do an absentee ballot request form and election. What frustrated the daylights out of me 10 10 getting them to get engaged in it. And then, when is, as I read through all of the things that they 11 11 the absentee ballot is actually mailed, it's found then and that that material had been sat on 12 12 actually going back and following up -through 2017, all of this could have been avoided. 13 13 MR. GARRISON: To make sure they mail it. I could have not walked in to hire somebody if they 14 14 did do illegal activity without knowing it. I MR. HARRIS: Well, going and offering to 15 1.5 wouldn't have been in that situation had people witness it and -- because you've got to have two 16 16 done what they should have been doing. witnesses --17 17 MR. GARRISON: I think that is the core MR. GARRISON: Two witnesses on an 18 18 issue, at least to me, that the Board of Elections absentee ---

Pages 14 to 17

has known for at least two years that there are

questions about McCrae Dowless and his operation.

MR. HARRIS: And a lot of people down

MR. HARRIS: -- or you have to have a

notary, right, and to urge them. And he emphasized

to me, Mark, that they were not to pick up a

ballot. In fact, he said, "I don't care if it's a

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there.

Page 17

1 1 MR. GARRISON: Yeah. Or was it more sinister? Did they decide 2 2 MR. HARRIS: This Bladen Improvement PAC, they would sit on this and they would wait and they 3 3 as well. would see and that somehow, if \$11 million and Dan 4 4 MR. GARRISON: And so --McCready couldn't beat Mark Harris, this would be 5 5 MR. HARRIS: That's right. an insurance policy that they would play to get a 6 6 MR. GARRISON: And so I've talked to some do-over? I would hate to think that we had an 7 7 Republicans. In fact, I want to play you a sound agency in our state government that would operate 8 8 bite. This is Carter Wrenn. You know who he is. with that kind of sinister leadership, but I'm 9 9 He's a long-time Republican strategist, and he kind telling you, the facts are the facts. They've sat 10 10 of echoes what a number of Republicans are saying on these things. No one could have known what was 11 11 about you at this point. happening there, and I just -- I think it's -- I 12 12 MR. WRENN: Did Harris -- was he naive think it's sad. 13 13 and didn't realize what was going on? Was he MR. GARRISON: We're almost out of time, 14 14 guilty of bad judgment or was he involved in but of course you were a pastor here for a long 15 15 wrongdoing? time, and now a lot of people have called your 16 16 MR. GARRISON: And that's the -- yeah, character into question because of this. How is 17 17 did you know? Did you suspect? Did anybody go, that? 18 hey, you've got to watch out for this Dowless 18 MR. HARRIS: That's been the most painful 19 19 McCrae guy, or did you just trust him? part. I mean, I looked at Beth one day a couple 20 2.0 MR. HARRIS: Listen, I hired McCrae weeks ago. I said, you know, it hurt me. It hurt 21 2.1 Dowless because of two things. One, he had proven me badly when they took my sermons and twisted them success because he beat me in 2016. 22 and took them out of context to run ads to try to Page 18 Page 20 1 MR. GARRISON: Right. 1 win an election and try to make me look like 2 MR. HARRIS: And there was no indication 2 something that I'm not. That hurt me. 3 or sign. If I thought he had done something 3 This stuff has crushed my spirit to a 4 4 illegal in 2016, I would have protested. I mean, great degree because I have nothing that is more 5 5 why in the world would I have waited to run and put valuable than my name, my reputation, and my 6 6 my life through all of this two years later? I character that I have built through the years. And 7 7 would have protested. So he had beaten me was that's why we have simply been trusting God each 8 8 number one. And number two, the elected officials day that truth would be revealed, that everything 9 9 that were vouching for him and were telling me that would come to light, and that we would see truth in 10 10 -- what an incredible impact he had had in helping the end. And I'm still believing that, I'm still 11 11 their county make the changes. hoping that, and I'm still depending upon that each 12 12 And again I go back to the State Board of day. 13 13 Elections. Not only did they know this material, MR. GARRISON: So if this were to play 14 14 but to sit on it, it raises a really, really out that there's another election and now the State 15 15 important question to me. Number one, did nobody has passed a law that said, well, if there's 16 take action? Did the DA not take action? Did the 16 another election, there has to be another primary, 17 17 Federal Prosecutor not take action from the 2016 which opens it up to Republicans again, would you 18 stuff? Either, one, they didn't have enough 18 still run? 19 19 evidence. Was that the case? Number two, they MR. HARRIS: Yes. 20 20 just didn't care or they didn't want to stir up MR. GARRISON: Okay. So you're not going 21 Governor Cooper's election in 2016 and that whole 21 to back out under any circumstances?

Pages 18 to 21

MR. HARRIS: Not at all. I answered a

debacle.

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Page 19

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Page 21

7		1	CEDITIES ATTION
1 2	call to do this, and I have been running, and I	2	CERTIFICATION
3	will run until there's nowhere else for me to run	3	I Hono Wotson, do himshir invite.
4	for in this election. I mean, if I lose, I lose.	4	I, Ilene Watson, do hereby certify
5	But I am running because 280,000-plus people voted	5	that the foregoing is a correct transcript from the
6	in the Ninth District. They elected me to be	6	electronic sound recording provided for
	congressman in the Ninth District, and I will		transcription and prepared to the best of my
7	continue to finish the course that we have started.	7	professional skills and ability.
8	MR. GARRISON: And what would you say to	8	
9	voters some Republicans I did have one	9	
10	Republican leader in town say, I just don't know	10	
11	now, I don't know whether to trust him or not.	11	
1,2	What would you say?	12	
13	MR. HARRIS: Well, I would say that when	13	
14	you look at all of the facts and you look at the	14	
15	way this thing has been handled by the State Board	15	
16	of Elections that now, even last night, we have the	16	
17	judiciary stepping in and saying that there's	17	
18	something afoul here in the whole process. I just	18	
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1	MR. GARRISON: Mark, thank you so much	-	
2	for coming in this morning. I appreciate it very		
3	much.		
4	MR. HARRIS: Thank you, Mark. It's my		
5	pleasure.		
6	MR. GARRISON: And we'll be following		
7	this story. It's eight o'clock.		
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# Exhibit T





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# Pittenger Didn't Claim Election Fraud In Primary, Saying 'Nobody Likes A Whining Sore Loser'

By LISA WORF (/PEOPLE/LISA-WORF) • JAN 2, 2019

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SAEMIA / WIKIMEDIA COMMONS

As of Thursday, after six years, Robert Pittenger no longer represents North Carolina's 9th Congressional District. It's still unclear who the district's new representative will be, as the investigation into potential absentee ballot fraud continues. But Pittenger says there's no chance it'll be him.

Pittenger lost to Mark Harris in the Republican primary by only 828 votes and, in unofficial tallies, Harris leads Democrat Dan McCready by 905 votes. If a new election is ordered, it would include a primary election and Pittenger says he would not run.

He joined Morning Edition's Lisa Worf.

Lisa Worf: So, Mr. Pittenger, why wouldn't you run?

Robert Pittenger: Well, I think I have definitely been honored to serve the 9th district. I've really enjoyed my service. I will say to you that clearly, we're in a mess right now with the 9th District. But I do know that what I want to do is focus on the security forums that I've been hosting the last five to six years. Instead of, frankly, campaigning and fundraising for the next nearly two years.

**Worf:** You talk about campaigning. You've had some tough campaigns in the past and looking back to the 2018 primary, the absentee ballot results in Bladen County were even more lopsided in the primary. Harris got 96 percent of those votes. Do you feel you were a victim of election fraud?

**Pittenger:** Well, I met with it with a gentleman Mr. Harris hired. I spent maybe three or four minutes with him and determined quickly I didn't want to have anything to do it.

**Worf:** What made you come to that determination?

**Pittenger:** Well, anytime somebody is sitting down with you, they will say, "Pay me and I'll go get you some votes." [It] becomes very clear that's not a direction I want to be in.

So, our meeting ended pretty abruptly and he found someone else to go help. So that was in 2016. Then he helped another candidate and that other candidate did not run this time. Mark Harris then hired him.

Worf: But do you feel like you were a victim of election fraud in that primary?

**Pittenger:** Well, I'm going to let the people who are dealing with this issue right now — the various authorities — determine that. I don't want to speculate on what could have happened. And I think the facts speak for themselves. Let's let that run its course and we'll make that determination.

**Worf:** Well, you certainly had suspicions of impropriety as it sounds like. Did you have reports of potential fraud in Bladen County following the 2018 primary?

**Pittenger:** We were aware of it in 2016. I mean I was told then that there's a bad guy out there who delivered votes, but who helped win elections. And this guy came to meet with me for some time [and] as I said, I only gave him a few minutes.

Yeah. I think most folks in Bladen County — politically oriented [people] and elected officials — are very much aware of Mr. [McCrae] Dowless and what his interest was [and] what his actions were.

At the end of the 2018 election primary, we did report him and what he was doing to the elections board as well as to the Republican Party.

Worf: What kind of response did you get?

Pittenger: We left it with them. You know [the response] was kind of, "We'll look into it."

Worf: Why didn't you go public with it?

**Pittenger:** Well, again, I went to the people who I thought could do something about it. And, you know, you can sound like a sore loser. I went to the appropriate authorities and shared my concerns.

And nobody likes a whining sore loser that starts blaming somebody else. And that's usually the perception out there, that you start claiming fraud, you know?... You know, people don't pay a lot of attention to it. So, the best thing to do is get the right folks who have the authority to make that determination. I'm glad they finally did start looking into it.

I think this has been going on for probably a decade out there. And he was not, you know, selective. I mean he didn't just align himself the Republican Party. He worked for both sides. It didn't matter. He was a political prostitute.

**Worf:** Do you think your primary election should have been certified in 2018?

**Pittenger:** Well, we have to go back and review all that. I think there are certainly reasons to question it. But again, I'd like for the people who are reviewing that now that don't understand that the Board of Elections was heavy into it. I was told they'd already interviewed 100 people. Then they got disbanded by a three-judge panel. I can't figure that out. All that did was prolong the process. So I don't know where it's right now. I don't really follow it that closely.

Worf: Well, what do you think should happen now about the 9th Congressional District race?

**Pittenger:** Well, I think they need to complete the review and complete the investigation. As I said, I have no clue why a three-judge panel would disband what they've done. Now, somebody's got to start all over again. And that's not what happens, I'm told, until the end of the month when the new board is identified. This could go on for months.

Worf: But based on what you know now, what do you think should happen?

Pittenger: Well again, I don't make a subjective analysis. I don't believe in trial by media. I don't believe in trial by people's subjective thinking. I think you need to gather the facts. Let's get the facts together and assess the facts and then come to a determination.

Worf: And so it sounds like you're saying that Mark Harris should not be seated right away until there is an investigation.

Pittenger: Well, I think clearly there needs to be a complete investigation. I think any thoughtful person would agree to that. To not do that and to come back later on if there is something that becomes more conclusive — let's just get to the bottom of it. The parties that have been involved in this need to come out and say, "Here's what we've learned."

And remember Sergeant Friday?... I'm talking about [the show] "Dragnet," the famous line... It's just the facts ma'am. Just the facts. That's all I want. Show us the facts. Then we can make a good conclusion.

TAGS: TOP NEWS (/TERM/TOP-NEWS)

9TH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT RACE (/TERM/9TH-CONGRESSIONAL-DISTRICT-RACE)

ROBERT PITTENGER (/TERM/ROBERT-PITTENGER)

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# Exhibit U



The Washington Post

#### **Politics**

# Torth Carolina election-fraud investigation centers on operative with criminal history who worked for GOP congressional candidate

By Amy Gardner and Kirk Ross December 3, 2018

DUBLIN, N.C. — In a low-slung, aging commercial strip across the street from an online-gaming parlor here, a local operative named Leslie McCrae Dowless ran his command center for Republican Mark Harris in the 9th Congressional District primary this spring.

Dowless sat at a desk at the back of one of the strip's vacant storefronts, where he oversaw a crew of workers who collected absentee ballots from voters and updated the Harris campaign on the numbers, according to Jeff Smith, who is the building's owner and a former Dowless friend.

Smith provided his account about the primary campaign to state investigators, who are examining whether powless's activities then and in the general election violated North Carolina's election laws, which allow only avidual voters or designated close relatives to mail a ballot.

Dowless is now at the center of a burgeoning fraud investigation that has delayed the certification of Harris's narrow victory and could prompt officials to call for a new election between him and Democrat Dan McCready, who are separated by 905 votes, according to unofficial returns.

Dowless, who has denied any wrongdoing to the Charlotte Observer, did not respond to multiple requests for comment.

The possibility that November's vote will be tossed out has prompted an eruption of partisan accusations. The case is politically fraught for Republicans, who in North Carolina and across the country have pushed for voter-identification laws and other restrictions while warning without evidence about the threat of rampant voter fraud, particularly by immigrants in the country illegally.

Now, amid Democratic calls for investigations of a different kind of election fraud — one that allegedly benefited the GOP — Republicans have stayed largely silent about the allegations, instead accusing the state elections board of trying to steal the race.

Monday, the board issued a subpoena to the Harris campaign, according to campaign attorney John Branch. The board is expected to issue one soon to Red Dome Group, a GOP consulting firm based in the

North Carolina election fraud investigation centers on operative with criminal history who worked for GOP congressional candidate. The ...

suburbs of Charlotte that hired Dowless, according to two people familiar with the probe.

The elections board has collected information suggesting that high-level officials in the campaign may have been aware of Dowless's activities, according to the two people.

In statements to The Washington Post, Branch and Harris's chief consultant, Andy Yates, confirmed that Dowless was hired by Red Dome to work on the campaign but denied that officials were aware of any illegal activity.

The campaign "at all times believed he was working within the confines of North Carolina law," Branch said. "The campaign is now aware that the State Board of Elections is conducting an investigation, and media reports have identified Mr. Dowless as part of that investigation. We are awaiting the outcome of that investigation like everybody else."

Yates said that Harris, a pastor from the suburbs of Charlotte, "was aware of Red Dome's relationship with Mr. Dowless and believes like I do that Mr. Dowless operated within the bounds of the law." Yates said Dowless assured him he was not illegally collecting ballots.

Wayne Goodwin, chair of the state Democratic Party, said Monday that the legislature's newly proposed voter-ID law would do nothing to stop the kind of acts alleged in Bladen County. He said Republicans have repeatedly ignored absentee fraud and, in the face of the new allegations, have "gone silent, both here and nationally."

Some Republicans have argued that irregularities in the absentee vote in the 9th District were not widespread enough to make a difference in the outcome and have called on the board to certify Harris's win.

Absent that, "hundreds of thousands of legal voters would be disenfranchised and 750,000 people would be denied representation in Congress," said Dallas Woodhouse, executive director of the state GOP.

Two officials close to the investigation said it remains unclear how many mail-in absentee ballots were allegedly diverted.

Investigators with the bipartisan state elections board — which last week voted unanimously to delay certifying the race — have identified hundreds of potential witnesses to interview, many of them voters whose absentee ballots were never turned in, according to the people familiar with the probe. That raises the possibility of a weeks-long investigation and an uncertain start date for the next congressman from the 9th District.

Josh Lawson, general counsel for the board, declined to comment on the investigation, saying it was ongoing.

Separately, Wake County District Attorney Lorrin Freeman (D) told The Post on Monday that her office in Raleigh and the State Bureau of Investigation are also pursuing criminal investigations related to

"We are not yet at the point of having connected all of the dots," Freeman said, adding, "Certainly part of any estigation into these voting irregularities will include who may have knowledge and involvement."

State elections officials said they have been working with the FBI and the office of Robert Higdon, the U.S. attorney for the Eastern District of North Carolina. Higdon's office did not respond to requests for comment.

Harris's 28-year-old son, John, is an assistant U.S. attorney in Higdon's office, according to the North Carolina State Bar.

The state elections board's probe is homing in on irregularities in mail-in balloting in the 9th District general election — most of them in Bladen County, a rural swath about 20 miles south of Fayetteville where the largest employer is a Smithfield Foods pork-processing plant bought by a Chinese conglomerate in 2013.

Unusually high numbers of mail-in ballots were requested in the county — and unusually high numbers of those requested ballots were never returned, according to state records.

A disproportionate number of unreturned ballots had been sent to voters of color, who tend to vote Democratic. Nearly 55 percent of ballots mailed to Native American voters and 36 percent mailed to African American voters were not returned, while the non-return rate among white voters in the district was just percent, according to state records.

In one subsidized apartment complex in Bladenboro, called Village Oak, half a dozen voters interviewed by The Post on Sunday said they were approached this fall by a woman who asked them to hand over their absentee ballots. Two other voters in other parts of the county told The Post similar stories.

"I had it for like four days," said Datesha Montgomery, 27, who lives in a subsidized complex in Elizabethtown called Twisted Hickory. "And then she showed up and asked could she get my ballot. I still hadn't filled it out. I stood on the porch and I filled it out. I put two names down and she told me the rest wasn't important and she would fill it out herself."

Later, Montgomery said, Democratic activists warned her about rumors of ballot fraud, so she canceled her mail-in ballot and voted in person.

This fall, state election officials were so alarmed by the spike in ballot requests from Bladen County that they sent a flier in October to every voter in the 9th District's share of the county, warning them not to turn over their ballots to others.

"At one point, Bladen had 12 percent of its voters requesting absentee ballots," said one official with who requested anonymity because of the ongoing probe. "You know, that's

ridiculously high as a percentage. And so once we saw that, we knew immediately, like, okay, either they just became really enthused about the prospect of voting absentee or we have a massive effort underway."

State elections board investigators have spoken with witnesses who link Dowless to the irregularities, according to the two people familiar with the probe.

Dowless, 62, who serves as vice chairman of the Bladen Soil and Water Conservation District, has a criminal record. Court records show he was convicted of fraud, perjury and passing a worthless check in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

He first came under scrutiny from the state elections board in 2016, when officials began investigating similar ballot irregularities, leading to a public hearing.

That year, in the 9th District primary election, Dowless was on the campaign payroll of Todd Johnson, a Union County insurance salesman who also won a curious number of the mail-in ballots in Bladen County: 211, compared with four for Harris, who was also a candidate that year, and just one for the incumbent, Rep. Robert Pittenger (R), records show. Johnson did not respond to a request for comment.

The state elections board referred the case to the U.S. attorney, as well as the Wake County prosecutor, who is continuing to investigate, officials said.

Yates, Harris's consultant, said that Dowless was hired by the campaign this year to contact absentee voters and urge them to vote for Harris on their mail-in ballots.

Before the May primary, Dowless set up his operation inside an empty storefront that Smith said he allowed him to use. With an office next door, Smith said he visited regularly and got a good view of Dowless's operation.

He said Dowless told him he had a crew of about a dozen workers — many of whom he saw at the office — who moved from one precinct to the next, knocking on voters' doors and offering them ballot request forms.

Once the absentee ballots were mailed to voters, Dowless used public lists of mail-in ballot recipients and sent his crew to collect them and promise to turn them in, Smith said.

"He would report to the campaign every day, 'We got 50 today' or 'We turned in 60 today,' said Smith, who fell out with Dowless after this year's primary, when they supported different candidates for sheriff.

Yates, the campaign consultant, confirmed that another contractor for Red Dome gave Dowless electronic lists of voters who had been sent ballots.

The sole purpose, he said, was for Dowless to follow up with those voters to encourage them to cast their ballots for Harris.

"To be clear, I instructed Mr. Dowless on a number of occasions that neither he nor anyone working with him or volunteering with him could collect ballots," Yates said, adding that if he knew Dowless or his staff were ing ballots, he would have severed ties with the operative.

Smith said that in the primary, Dowless focused on three Bladen County precincts in particular: Bladenboro 1, Bladenboro 2 and Bethel, places that had high numbers of mail-in votes, according to state records.

Smith said he never saw Dowless destroy a ballot.

Yates said that Dowless called him regularly to give him updates on the number of absentee-ballot requests he had collected but that they did not discuss numbers of absentee votes he was delivering for Harris.

In the spring primary, Harris defeated the incumbent, Pittenger, by fewer than 1,000 votes — thanks in part to winning an overwhelming 96 percent of Bladen County's absentee mail-in ballots.

Smith said it was after the primary that he and Dowless had the falling out. Dowless moved his office after Smith learned that Dowless was helping the reelection campaign of Sheriff James McVicker (R), Smith said.

Smith, 48, who owns an online sweepstakes parlor across the street from his commercial strip in Dublin, was charged with running an illegal gambling operation after McVicker's office raided the parlor in 2015. He disputes the allegations, saying his business is legal.

ith said Dowless bragged about his ability to deliver as many as 900 absentee ballots in Bladen County, and Smith said he talked excitedly of expanding his operation beyond Bladen in his work for Harris in the 9th District, which stretches more than 100 miles from Charlotte to the Fayetteville area in the east.

Smith said Dowless also spoke of running the absentee-ballot programs for multiple candidates. Campaign records show that he was paid this year by a failed Charlotte City Council candidate, Pete Givens (R), as well as McVicker.

Smith was in the middle of an interview with The Post on Saturday when an investigator with the State Board of Elections called him. In front of a reporter, he told the investigator the story again, from the beginning.

In the primary and general elections, a large number of returned mail-in ballots came from a single street in Bladenboro, according to state records — Pecan Street, where the Village Oak Apartments, a cluster of publichousing units built around a giant oak tree, are located.

In the spring, 60 ballots for the Republican primary were mailed from that precinct on March 19 - 23 of them to Village Oak. All 23 were returned to the board on the same day — March 26, records show.

en residents of Village Oak interviewed Sunday recounted seeing the operation in action. Jeneva Legions, 30, who works at the Family Dollar store down the road, said several women came to her apartment in

October right after her absentee ballot had arrived in the mail.

Legions said one of the women urged her to fill out her name, Social Security number and signature. When that woman came back, "she just said, 'I'll take it,' and I gave it to her." The ballot wasn't sealed, Legions said. Legions said she does not remember filling out the ballot but would have voted a straight Democratic ticket. State records show that her mail-in ballot was never returned to county elections officials.

Asked why she turned over the ballot, Legions said: "You know, I'm thinking, she's with, you know, the voting people. So I'm thinking she's coming by to get my ballot."

Beverly Tyler, 45, also a resident of Village Oak, said a woman came to her as well, asking for her absentee ballot. Tyler said she remembers seeing a truck parked in front of her door with a Mark Harris logo on it. Tyler, who is unemployed and seeking disability benefits for a back injury, said she turned her ballot over as well. She said she does not remember whom she voted for. Her ballot was turned in to the county, records show.

"I didn't know what was going on," she said, to explain why she turned over her ballot. "I thought everything was okay."

Stacy Holcomb, 57, another resident who is on disability for a knee injury, described much the same — though he said the woman came by twice, first to prompt him to fill out a ballot request form and then, after the ballot had arrived in the mail, to collect it.

"I filled it out and gave it to her," he said. Holcomb said he recalls sealing the ballot before he handed it over. He said he does not remember whom he voted for. His ballot was turned in.

All of the voters described the woman as young with long, straight blond hair. The woman sometimes stays with her mother in the Village Oak complex, they said.

When The Post knocked on the door of that apartment Sunday, a woman fitting her description came to the door.

"I've got nothing to say," she said, two toddlers visible behind her, before shutting the door.

Alice Crites, Joe Fox and Reuben Fischer-Baum in Washington and Justin Kase Conder in Dublin, Elizabethtown and Bladenboro contributed to this report.

#### **Amy Gardner**

Amy Gardner joined The Washington Post in 2005. She has worked stints in the Virginia suburbs, covered the 2010 midterms and the tea party revolution, and covered the Republican presidential nominating contest in 2011-2012. She was a politics editor for five years and returned to reporting in 2018. Follow **Y** 

# Exhibit V





Exclusive: A second woman, Cheryl Kinlaw, tells me she was paid \$100 by McCrae Dowless to pickup absentee ballots. She said she never thought it was illegal because Dowless "has been doing it for years." She says needed extra money for Christmas presents. #NC09 #ncpol @wsoctv



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## Joe Bruno @ @JoeBrunoWSOC9 · 4 Dec 2018

Like the woman I interviewed yesterday, Kinlaw never mailed the ballots. She gave them to McCrae Dowless. She doesn't know what he did with them afterward. She says she has no doubt Dowless wanted Mark Harris and Sheriff Jim McVicker to win.



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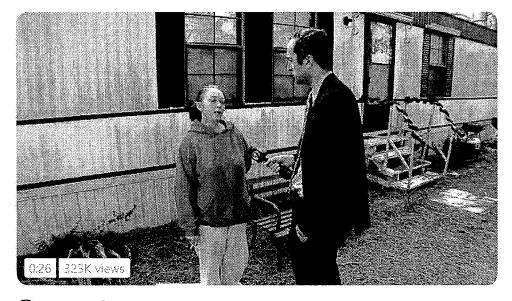
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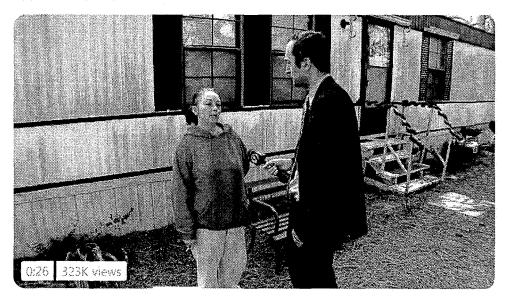
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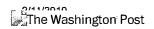
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Joe Bruno @ @JoeBrunoWSOC9 · 4 Dec 2018

# Exhibit W





#### **Politics**

# Republican officials had early warnings of voting irregularities in (North Carolina

By Amy Gardner and Beth Reinhard December 6, 2018

BLADENBORO, N.C. — When GOP Rep. Robert Pittenger lost his primary by a narrow margin in May, he suspected something was amiss.

The congressman turned to a group of friends and family who had gathered with him on election night at a steakhouse near Charlotte and blamed the "ballot stuffers in Bladen," according to three people at the gathering.

Pittenger's concern stemmed from the vote tallies in rural Bladen County, where his challenger, a pastor from the Charlotte suburbs named Mark Harris, had won 437 absentee mail-in votes. Pittenger, a three-term incumbent, had received just 17.

In the days immediately after the race, aides to Pittenger told the executive director of the North Carolina Republican Party and a regional political director for the National Republican Congressional Committee that they believed fraud had occurred, according to people familiar with their discussions.

GOP officials did little to scrutinize the results, instead turning their attention to Harris's general-election campaign against a well-funded Democratic opponent, the people said.

Their accounts provide the first indication that state and national Republican officials received early warnings about voting irregularities in North Carolina's 9th Congressional District, now the subject of multiple criminal probes.

A spokesman for the NRCC denied that Pittenger's campaign raised the possibility of fraud in the primary.

Allegations of fraud in November's general election have now put the outcome of the 9th Congressional District race in limbo. State investigators are examining the activities of a political operative named Leslie McCrae Dowless, who ran a get-out-the-vote effort for the Harris campaign during the primary and general elections.

While the investigation continues, the elections board has declined to certify the 9th District race, in which Harris leads Democrat Dan McCready by 905 votes, according to unofficial results.

On Thursday, McCready told television station WSOC that he was withdrawing his concession and accused Harris of bankrolling "criminal activity."

2(11/)010 Panululian officials had early varnings of voting irradularities in North Carolina. The Washington Past

Dowless, who has worked on political campaigns in Bladen for at least a decade, touts his ability to mobilize voters to cast ballots by mail, according to people who know him. He has been under scrutiny by state officials since 2016, when allegations surfaced about illegal ballot harvesting in that year's campaigns, leading to a lic hearing.

Dowless, who told the Charlotte Observer that he did not commit any wrongdoing, declined to comment Thursday. "I'm just not giving any comment at this time," he told reporters and photographers in front of his house in Bladenboro, adding, "No disrespect to anybody."

The Harris campaign has said it was not aware of any illegal activities.

Pittenger said Dowless tried to sell him his services in 2016 but that he declined to hire the operative.

"I just knew I didn't want to be involved with him," Pittenger said. "Dowless's efforts were widely known, and we did share our concerns with several people." He declined to elaborate on who he spoke to or what he said.

#### **Focus on Bladen County**

Since reports of irregularities in the 9th District emerged last month, GOP leaders in the state — including Dallas Woodhouse, the state GOP executive director — initially played down concerns that laws were broken. They repeatedly cast the situation in political terms, asserting that any voting irregularities were not lespread enough to change the outcome of the election.

In recent days, amid mounting allegations of a ballot-harvesting operation, state Republicans have shifted their rhetoric. Woodhouse told The Post on Thursday that if the state elections board can "show a substantial likelihood" that possible fraud could have changed the outcome of November's vote, "then we fully would support a new election."

In an interview this week, Woodhouse initially said he did not recall fielding complaints from Pittenger aides of possible fraud after the primary. But he called back a few moments later to say that he did remember hearing of anomalies — and took "a cursory look at the end of that race at the vote totals."

He recalled concluding that Harris had won the overall vote with a strong showing from evangelical voters, but he said: "We did not look real specifically at absentee ballots."

"If somebody said something about the absentee ballots, it is just very possible that it didn't register with us," Woodhouse said. "We had a lot of campaigns and a lot of people expressing concerns at the end of the election, and we were trying to quickly move on to the general election."

NRCC spokesman Matt Gorman denied that anyone affiliated with the Pittenger campaign brought up possible ...d to anyone at the committee, including Tyler Foote, who ran the southeast region for the NRCC.

2/14/2010 Population officials had carby warnings of voting irrogularities in North Carolina The:\Alestynates Doet

"We had them on the phone numerous times, and there was no mention of fraud," Gorman said. "It's unfortunate that there's a revisionist history going on."

Foote did not respond to multiple requests for comment. He has been named Harris's incoming chief of staff, ( although whether Harris will be seated in Congress in January remains uncertain.

Pittenger said he did not recall being told of fraud complaints his advisers made to Woodhouse and Foote, and he declined to confirm that he blamed "ballot stuffers" on election night.

But he said there was "a lot of angst" among his campaign aides, who "were all upset about what happened."

"I think there were a lot of frustrated feelings inside the room as we saw the results come in," he said.

The state elections board is investigating irregularities in mail-in balloting in the 9th District general election — many of them in Bladen County, which had the highest share of mail-in votes in the district, state records show.

Investigators have spoken with witnesses who link Dowless to an effort to collect absentee ballots from voters and are examining whether he or his associates filled out ballots or discarded them, according to people familiar with the probe. It is illegal to collect or tamper with someone else's ballot.

Multiple voters said in interviews that they handed over their ballots — some of which were not fully filled out and were left unsealed — to people who showed up at their doors and offered to collect them. Two Bladen County women said they worked for Dowless and went door to door asking voters to turn over their ballots, WSOC-TV in Charlotte has reported.

This week, the elections board issued subpoenas to the Harris campaign and its general consultant, Red Dome Group, as well as the local sheriff, James A. McVicker, a Republican who won reelection last month and also hired Dowless to run his absentee-ballot program, according to a person familiar with the investigation.

The Wake County district attorney's office in Raleigh and the State Bureau of Investigation are also conducting probes, Wake County District Attorney Lorrin Freeman (D) told The Post.

If the elections board concludes that irregularities tainted the results of November's vote, it could call for a new election. The board has announced plans for a hearing by Dec. 21.

Rep. Steny H. Hoyer (D-Md.), the incoming House majority leader, said this week that Democrats might refuse to seat Harris until "substantial" questions about the integrity of his election are resolved. On Thursday, incoming House speaker Nancy Pelosi (D-Calif.) was more cautious, saying that House Democrats were awaiting the determination of North Carolina elections officials.

'Look at the votes'

2/44/2010 Depublican officials had early warnings of voting irregularities in North Carolina. The Machineten Dani

Since the November election, Pittenger, 70, a real estate investor who lives in Charlotte, has hinted openly at his suspicions of wrongdoing. "Look at the votes. Follow the money," he told the Charlotte Observer last week.

enger also told Spectrum News that he was "fully aware" of voting irregularities in the district, adding that there were "some pretty unsavory people out there, particularly in Bladen County. And I didn't have anything to do with them."

Pittenger told The Post that after speaking to Dowless for "five or 10 minutes" in 2016, he knew he did not want to bring him onto his campaign.

"I didn't want to do business with him after I met him," Pittenger said. "I just didn't like the way it sounded. But he went other places, and I knew that was going to be an issue. But nonetheless, I was willing to live with" the possibility that opponents might hire the operative.

In the 2016 GOP primary, Dowless ended up working for Pittenger challenger Todd Johnson, a Union County insurance salesman, campaign finance records show. Johnson won an overwhelming number of mail-in ballots in Bladen County that spring: 211. Harris, who was also a candidate that year, logged four votes. Pittenger got just one, records show.

Two years later, Pittenger ignored the advice of his advisers to hire Dowless and have him do no work, just to keep him from working for his opponent, according to two people close to the campaign.

Lead, Dowless was hired by the Harris campaign. John Branch, Harris's attorney, and Andy Yates of Red Dome, his campaign consultant, confirmed in statements this week that Dowless was paid for a field effort but said they were not aware of any illegal activity.

The campaign "at all times believed he was working within the confines of North Carolina law," Branch said.

In the May 8 primary, Harris beat Pittenger by 828 votes — with half of his margin coming from mail-in ballots in Bladen.

"Bladen County was a factor" in the loss, Pittenger said, calling the situation "disconcerting."

In last month's general election, Harris drew 420 mail-in votes from Bladen compared with 258 for McCready, his Democratic opponent, state records show. Investigators are examining whether additional mail-in votes were discarded and whether the alleged ballot-harvesting operation extended beyond Bladen, according to people familiar with the probe.

State records show that a large number of absentee ballots across the 9th District — more than 3,400 — were requested by voters but never returned.

the time advisers to Pittenger expressed their frustration to Woodhouse and Foote, the campaign was unwinding, Pittenger had few resources to put up a fight and was under pressure from other Republicans to

rally around Harris, according to people familiar with the situation.

#### Pressure to concede

By June 30, Pittenger's campaign had just \$9,179 on hand and about \$792,000 in debt, much of it carried over from his first race in 2012, according to campaign finance records. Harris had \$295,658 in cash, while McCready, who faced a weak opponent in his primary, was heading into the general election with \$1.8 million in his campaign coffers.

"In order to beat Dan McCready, as strong a candidate as Dan McCready was, the general-election campaign needed to start right away," said a person familiar with the thinking in Pittenger's campaign and who spoke on the condition of anonymity to describe private conversations. "There wasn't time to go into a recount and use those financial resources. All the campaigns were financially strapped. The only way to beat Dan McCready was to put our weapons down within the party. Robert, being a good Republican, agreed that if he continued to try to raise an issue with this, it would only hurt the Republicans' abilities to win in the fall."

Pittenger was also hampered by poor rapport with his aides and other Republicans in North Carolina and Washington, so there was little appetite to take up a fight on his behalf, according to people familiar with the situation.

The congressman initially declined to endorse Harris, saying that he wanted an apology for what he described as "baseless attacks" on his voting record by the pastor. Pittenger did not mention election irregularities. At the end of May, however, Pittenger issued a statement supporting Harris. People familiar with his views said he did so reluctantly, under pressure from GOP leaders.

Kevin Seifert, political director for House Speaker Paul D. Ryan (R-Wis.), denied that, saying he had expressed sadness at Pittenger's defeat. "We never told him to get in line," he said. "It was a hard-fought race."

Now, Pittenger said, he's gratified by the intensifying scrutiny on Dowless and his tactics.

"I always told my people, 'They hadn't been able to catch him,' " he said. "I never had a lot of hope seeing a lot of resolution with this guy. I'm glad they're moving toward this now. I think it's a healthy thing to nip this thing in the bud and remove him from further campaigns."

Reinhard reported from Washington. Justin Kase Conder in Bladenboro and Alice Crites, Mike DeBonis, Paul Kane and John Wagner in Washington contributed to this report.

#### **Amy Gardner**

Amy Gardner joined The Washington Post in 2005. She has worked stints in the Virginia suburbs, covered the 2010 midterms and the tea party revolution, and covered the Republican presidential nominating contest in 2011 2012. She was a politics editor for five years and returned to reporting in 2018. Follow **Y** 

Beth Reinhard is a reporter on the investigative team at The Washington Post. She previously worked at the Wall Street Journal, National Journal, the Miami Herald and the Palm Beach Post. Follow >

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# Exhibit X

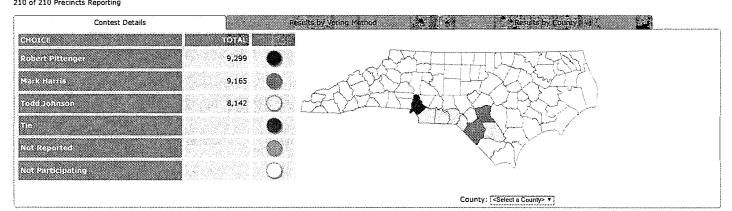




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#### 06/07/2016 OFFICIAL LOCAL ELECTION RESULTS - STATEWIDE

US HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES DISTRICT 9 - REP (VOTE FOR 1) 8 of 8 Counties Completely Reported 210 of 210 Precincts Reporting





Federal Council of State NC Senate NC House Judicial Referenda Cross-County Local

Text Size: A A

### 06/07/2016 OFFICIAL LOCAL ELECTION RESULTS - STATEWIDE

US HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES DISTRICT 9 - REP (VOTE FOR 1) 8 of 8 Counties Completely Reported 210 of 210 Precincts Reporting

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#### 06/07/2016 OFFICIAL LOCAL ELECTION RESULTS - STATEWIDE

US HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES DISTRICT 9 - REP (VOTE FOR 1) 8 of 8 Counties Completely Reported 210 of 210 Precincts Reporting

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e (e a popular)	Final Canvass Results (official)	115	224	284	
Robeson	Final Canvass Results (official)	141	301	169	
500/12 🐞 b	Final Canvass Results (official)	107	138	147	
(1)(76))	Final Canvass Results (official)	2,883	3,819	3,939	



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### 06/07/2016 OFFICIAL PRIMARY ELECTION RESULTS - BLADEN

#### US HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES DISTRICT 9 - REP (VOTE FOR 1)

#### 12 of 12 Precincts Reporting

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#### 06/07/2016 OFFICIAL PRIMARY ELECTION RESULTS - BLADEN

US HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES DISTRICT 9 - REP (VOTE FOR 1)

12 of 12 Precincts Reporting

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Robert Pittenger	52 6.82% 44	7 0



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#### 06/07/2016 OFFICIAL PRIMARY ELECTION RESULTS - BLADEN

US HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES DISTRICT 9 - REP (VOTE FOR 1)

12 of 12 Precincts Reporting

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# Exhibit Y



## Politics

# N.C. congressional candidate sought out aide, despite warnings over tactics

By Amy Gardner and Beth Reinhard December 13, 2018

North Carolina congressional candidate Mark Harris (R) directed the hiring of a campaign aide now at the center of an election-fraud investigation, according to three individuals familiar with the campaign, despite warnings that the operative may have used questionable tactics to deliver votes.

Harris sought out the operative, Leslie McCrae Dowless, after losing a 2016 election in which Dowless had helped one of Harris's opponents win an overwhelming share of the mail-in vote in a key county.

State and local investigators say that whether Harris knew that his campaign may have engaged in improper tactics has become a focus of the expanding probes into whether election irregularities affected the 9th District election, in which Harris leads Democrat Dan McCready by 905 votes.

That question is also roiling the state Republican Party, whose leaders had rallied around Harris, a 52-year-old evangelical pastor from the suburbs of Charlotte. Party leaders are now backing away from Harris and tryin limit the fallout of a scandal that has delayed certification of the last undecided federal contest of the 2018 election cycle.

The North Carolina elections board has issued subpoenas to the Harris campaign and its general consultant, Red Dome Group. In addition, the Wake County district attorney's office in Raleigh, the State Bureau of Investigation, the FBI and federal prosecutors are examining voting irregularities in the 9th District.

Dowless, 62, has declined multiple requests for interviews. Neither Todd Johnson, the primary candidate who had previously used Dowless's services, nor his political consultant, Zach Almond, could be reached for comment.

Harris and Andy Yates of Red Dome, Harris's campaign consultant, confirmed in statements last week that Dowless was paid for a field effort but said they were not aware of any illegal activity.

"I was absolutely unaware of any wrongdoing," Harris said in a video released Dec. 7. Harris attorney John Branch declined to comment for this article.

Harris was warned about possible fraud on primary day in June 2016, during his first bid for the 9th District congressional seat, according to people familiar with the conversation.

2/11/2010 N.C. congressional condidate cought out side despite wernings over testine. The Moshinsten Post

The incumbent congressman and winner of the primary had received just one mail-in vote in rural Bladen County. Harris, who came in second place, had won four. Johnson, the last-place contender, meanwhile, had received nearly all of them -221.

If only explanation, advisers told Harris that night in Charlotte, was that something shady had occurred on that third-place campaign, according to the people.

A year later, they said, when Harris resolved to run for Congress again, the candidate personally directed the hiring of Dowless, an adept field operative and Bladen County native who had helped deliver that unusual result in 2016.

Harris's wife, Beth Harris, said in a text message Thursday: "We actually don't recall any 'aide' saying anything on election night" of 2016. She added: "It was a crazy night where we were up and then went down."

One person said Harris's decision to hire Dowless stemmed partly from his realization that he would have defeated Rep. Robert Pittenger if he'd won the mail-in vote by as large a margin as third-place contender Johnson had.

Witnesses in interviews and affidavits say Dowless's allegedly fraudulent operation on Harris's behalf this year involved collecting incomplete and unsealed ballots, an illegal practice. Investigators are also examining whether Dowless or those working for him illegally discarded ballots.

B use Dowless was paid by Red Dome, which in turn billed the Harris campaign, the consulting firm is also under scrutiny.

Harris decided to hire Dowless before he brought on Red Dome in June 2017, according three people familiar with early campaign deliberations. And he decided to hire him despite warnings about Dowless's criminal record and Dowless's own public testimony describing questionable election tactics.

Around the same time in the spring of 2017, he also introduced Dowless to Pete Givens, a parishioner of Harris's and a candidate for Charlotte City Council that year.

Givens was running a long shot bid as a Republican in a heavily Democratic district with historically low turnout. "How do we get 75,000 people who never show up off their rears?" Givens wondered at the time, he said in an interview. Harris drove Givens to meet Dowless, and Givens ended up hiring him, paying him \$800 in May 2017.

Givens said that he didn't know of any wrongdoing and that he believes "there's no way that Mark Harris would have known that either."

We der McDuffie, the chairman of the Bladen County Republican Party, told The Washington Post that he warned the Harris campaign about Dowless's criminal record, which includes felony convictions for fraud and perjury and a misdemeanor charge for passing a worthless check in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

Harris also interacted regularly with Dowless during the 2018 primary campaign, according to Jeff Smith, a former associate of Dowless's who gave him office space during the spring primary and saw him nearly daily. Smith told The Post that Dowless spoke often of talking to Harris by telephone about the mail-in absentee-ballet program. Much like Johnson in 2016. Harris defeated Pittenger in the primary with an everywhelming

ballot program. Much like Johnson in 2016, Harris defeated Pittenger in the primary with an overwhelming performance among mail-in voters in Bladen, which he won 437-17.

Details of Dowless's absentee ballot operation came to light publicly in December 2016, when he told the state elections board that his get-out-the-vote operation included collecting absentee ballots.

- Dowless had been asked to testify about allegations he had leveled against an African American group that mostly supports Democratic candidates.
- But over a five-hour hearing, the board interrogated him about his own operation. He described paid staffers collecting mail-in ballots, though he said he told the staffers to return the ballots to the voters. Under North Carolina law, it is illegal to tamper with or collect someone else's ballot.
- Two members of the board at the time said in interviews this week that the hearing raised red flags about absentee ballot activities in Bladen County. "It all stunk to high heaven," said one member at the time, James L. Baker, a Republican and former Superior Court judge.
- Another elections board member at the 2016 hearing, Democrat Maja Kricker, said she concluded from Dowless's testimony that he was operating outside the law, adding that she thinks the Harris campaign show have known about his practices.
- "Apparently either the Harris campaign or Mark Harris never vetted him," she said.
- The GOP-controlled board unanimously referred the testimony to state and federal investigators, but no indictments or public reports were issued. Lorrin Freeman, the Wake County district attorney, said an investigation sparked then now includes the 2018 election.
- Freeman said her office is also examining whether anyone inside the Bladen County Board of Elections committed fraud.
- Dowless's testimony two years ago raised questions about his relationship with former Bladen County Elections Director Cynthia Shaw, who left her job in November ahead of her Jan. 1 scheduled retirement date.
- Dowless told the elections board that Shaw knew that his get-out-the-vote crew put their initials on the corner of the absentee ballot request forms when they turned them in "so if there is a problem you know who to contact," Dowless said.
- Election officials are supposed to reach out directly to voters who need to correct any omissions or discrepancies regarding their absentee ballot request forms. Multiple attempts to reach Shaw were unsuccessful.

Investigators are also examining evidence published by the state elections board last week that the county board improperly printed the results of early in-person voting three days before Election Day. They are looking into whether the information was improperly shared with a campaign.

S( law prohibits early-vote results from being drawn from tabulation machines until after 5 p.m. on Election Day to protect the security of the results and prevent campaigns from gaining an unfair advantage and redeploying resources in the final days.

Dallas Woodhouse, executive director of the North Carolina Republican Party, told reporters this week that if the early-vote results were prematurely shared, "that is a fundamental violation of the sanctity of fair elections," and a new election would have to be called.

The investigations into the 2018 vote in the 9th Congressional District are putting the GOP on the defensive at a time when Republican lawmakers in North Carolina and around the country have passed voter ID laws and other restrictions they said would crack down on voting fraud.

On Wednesday, the state legislature passed a bill requiring a new primary if the state elections board orders a new election in the 9th District — allowing Republicans to replace Harris on the ballot. It was the latest sign of state Republicans backing away from earlier demands that the state board immediately certify Harris as the winner.

The state board declined to do that last month, launching an investigation instead and planning to hold a hearing by Dec. 21. The board issued a statement this week saying investigators may need more time before a hearing can be called.

Alice Crites contributed to this report.

#### **Amy Gardner**

Amy Gardner joined The Washington Post in 2005. She has worked stints in the Virginia suburbs, covered the 2010 midterms and the tea party revolution, and covered the Republican presidential nominating contest in 2011-2012. She was a politics editor for five years and returned to reporting in 2018. Follow **9** 

#### Beth Reinhard

Beth Reinhard is a reporter on the investigative team at The Washington Post. She previously worked at the Wall Street Journal, National Journal, the Miami Herald and the Palm Beach Post. Follow

# Exhibit CC



### **BuzzFeed News**

Grammys 2020 Election Virginia Political Scandals New Aladdin Trailer Venezuela Crisi

# Inside The North Carolina Republican Vote Machine: Cash, Pills — And Ballots

McCrae Dowless and his family worked with "wads of cash" — and workers illegally handled absentee ballots, a woman who worked for him says.

#### By Brianna Sacks and Otillia Steadman



Reporting From Bladenboro, North Carolina

Updated on December 5, 2018, at 5:21 p.m. ET Posted on December 5, 2018, at 12:56 a.m. ET



McCrae Dowless; Lisa Britt
Travis Long/Charlotte News & Observer; Facebook

BLADENBORO, North Carolina — The allegations that <u>Republicans tampered</u> with absentee ballots in a close <u>North Carolina election</u> represent the most serious federal election tampering case in years, one that allegedly stole votes from elderly black voters in the state's rural south.

Now two women <u>intimately involved</u> with McCrae Dowless's absentee ballot machine have revealed to BuzzFeed News its grim and chaotic workings, in which Dowless tracked votes on yellow paper and paid his workers, including family members, from stacks of cash, and that some were on opioids while they worked.

The accounts of the women, Jessica Karen Dowless and Lisa Britt, add significant new details to those that have come out from investigators and other news reports, as the state election board considers whether it should order a new election between Republican Mark Harris and Democrat Dan McCready. The women, both related to McCrae Dowless, paint a picture of American political chicanery at its lowest levels — though with sweeping consequences both for voters allegedly denied the franchise, and for the outcome of a pivotal national election, which Harris won by 905 votes.

Jessica Dowless described the scene in the small office at the intersection of two highways, where she worked on Harris's behalf for the last two months as chaotic. One worker, she said, "was so fucking high the other day she passed out at the fucking computer." One of the workers who collected absentee ballots from residents was a "pill head," she said.

Dowless, whose husband is distantly related to McCrae Dowless, described herself as a "housewife [who] needed a part-time job" and said she was one of about six employees. She often worked six days a week tallying the number of Democrats and Republicans who had recently voted. However, she explained, there were times when she did not quite understand what she was doing or what the grand purpose was

She did say, though, that campaign workers delivered sealed absentee ballots from the homes of people who requested them to McCrae Dowless's office — though North Carolina law forbids third parties from handling those ballots.

She said she spent her time tracking the number of ballots sent in to the county board of elections — and then tallying up the number that were collected by employees of McCrae Dowless, who <a href="the Washington Post reported">the Washington Post reported</a> would keep the Harris campaign updated on the latest figures.

Jessica Dowless said she would also note voters' race and party affiliation.

"My job was at the office and I read emails and counted how many Republicans and Democrats and non-affiliated people voted every day... I added up how many voted that day and wrote it on a piece of paper and then they read it and then I don't know what it did with it. McCrae was the only one who saw it," she said. "I would go down each page and count how many black Republicans, white Republicans and I did the opposite, black unaffiliated, black Democrats, and add them up and then calculate the percentage of how many people voted that way each day."

McCrae, she said, bought a woman who worked in the office "a car a week later after she started." Another employee got a van that she used on the job, she said.

"Mark Harris was writing him checks left and right," Jessica Dowless said, referring to McCrae, although she said she never saw the checks. McCrae, she said, "paid me a certain amount in cash and then the Board of Elections paid me the rest."

Valeria Peacock McKoy, the interim director of the Bladen County Board of Elections, denied to BuzzFeed News that it paid Jessica Dowless. The office has three full time employees and one part time employee internally, she said, and

hires about 50 to 60 people to work at 17 polling precincts. The board doesn't pay people working for outside groups, she said.

But <u>public records</u> made available Wednesday show that Jessica Dowless was paid \$240 by the Bladen County Republican Executive Committee.

Red Dome, a political consulting firm that contracted McCrae Dowless, was paid more than \$428,000 by the Harris campaign, <u>WSOCTV.com reported</u>. Harris's representatives also didn't return requests for comment.

"He had wads and wads of cash," Jessica Dowless said of McCrae, who didn't return requests for comment.

She would not say how much she was paid.

Lisa Britt, McCrae Dowless's stepdaughter, told BuzzFeed News that she started working for him at the end of July or beginning of August.

"I've never worked for him before," she said. "I was on payroll just like everybody else."

"McCrae Dowless was in charge of pay and no one else," Britt added. According to Britt's mother, Sandra Dowless, who is also McCrae's ex-wife, Britt was paid in cash.

Britt and Jessica Dowless paint very different pictures of the work McCrae's team was doing. Jessica, who said her work was largely confined to an office, said women he paid would go out and collect absentee ballots from people who requested them; it is illegal for a third party to submit an absentee ballot in North Carolina.

McCrae's workers "would come to your house, they would get you to fill out an

then seal it and then find two witnesses. They [brought] them in and said for me to witness them and I told McCrae I didn't want to do that but we had no else," Jessica Dowless said, referring to the state law that requires all absentee ballots be witnessed by two people.

All the ballots that she saw come into the office were already sealed, she said.

Jessica Dowless, who also goes by her middle name Karen, said Britt was part of that operation — which Britt <u>vehemently denied to BuzzFeed News.</u>

"I didn't take any of them," Britt said.

"Everybody thought they were helping Mr. Harris get elected," Britt said. "As far as going and telling anybody who to vote for, we weren't."

"It didn't affect me any way as to how people voted," she said.

"I'm not giving a statement to you that can cause me to end up in prison. I'm really not sure about the legal aspects," Britt said. At the time, she said, she believed everything she was doing was legal.

Jessica Dowless said she personally dropped absentee ballot applications off at the Board of Elections one time. <u>Records show</u> she dropped off 185 requests on Oct. 15.

"I was there just to do what I was told," she said.

Those same records show McCrae Dowless dropped off 592 absentee ballot applications out of more than 1,300 requests from Aug. 22 through Oct. 30. Two of the requests were "reissued."

Copies of more than 160 absentee ballots flagged as having common signatures

affiliated with McCrae, were serving as witnesses on absentee ballots dozens of times — some having signed their name more than 40 times. <u>This is considered unusual.</u>

State investigators have much work to do to untangle a narrative that remains marked by conflicting and confusing accounts, often from people uncertain of their own roles in the plot.

Jessica Dowless, for instance, at one point told BuzzFeed News: "McCrae only had ballots from people who were voting for Democrats. They were only Democrats. No Republican absentee ballots."

"Everything McCrae did was Republican," she emphasized.

But shortly after she said she wasn't quite sure about that.

There is also criticism that McCrae's operation targeted black Democratic voters.

"That's not true at all," Britt said. "It's not really that anyone was targeted, it's that we were giving everybody the opportunity to vote. You've got more people in low-income areas that don't have a vehicle to go vote."

"If we were gonna get those kind of people we could've gone to the pig processing plant and get them when they're coming off work," she added.

Britt's mother, Sandra Dowless, added they were trying to reach "just people with no rides."

As Jessica Dowless put it, "I don't know Democrat from Republican from a hole in my ass."

# Exhibit CC



### **BuzzFeed News**

Grammys 2020 Election Virginia Political Scandals New Aladdin Trailer Venezuela Crisi

# Inside The North Carolina Republican Vote Machine: Cash, Pills — And Ballots

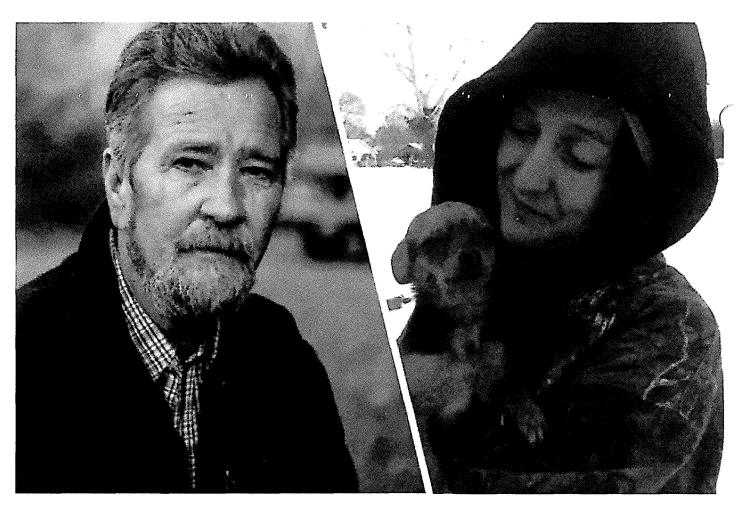
McCrae Dowless and his family worked with "wads of cash" — and workers illegally handled absentee ballots, a woman who worked for him says.

#### By Brianna Sacks and Otillia Steadman



Reporting From Bladenboro, North Carolina

Updated on December 5, 2018, at 5:21 p.m. ET Posted on December 5, 2018, at 12:56 a.m. ET



McCrae Dowless; Lisa Britt
Travis Long/Charlotte News & Observer; Facebook

BLADENBORO, North Carolina — The allegations that <u>Republicans tampered</u> with absentee ballots in a close <u>North Carolina election</u> represent the most serious federal election tampering case in years, one that allegedly stole votes from elderly black voters in the state's rural south.

Now two women <u>intimately involved</u> with McCrae Dowless's absentee ballot machine have revealed to BuzzFeed News its grim and chaotic workings, in which Dowless tracked votes on yellow paper and paid his workers, including family members, from stacks of cash, and that some were on opioids while they worked.

The accounts of the women, Jessica Karen Dowless and Lisa Britt, add significant new details to those that have come out from investigators and other news reports, as the state election board considers whether it should order a new election between Republican Mark Harris and Democrat Dan McCready. The women, both related to McCrae Dowless, paint a picture of American political chicanery at its lowest levels—though with sweeping consequences both for voters allegedly denied the franchise, and for the outcome of a pivotal national election, which Harris won by 905 votes.

Jessica Dowless described the scene in the small office at the intersection of two highways, where she worked on Harris's behalf for the last two months as chaotic. One worker, she said, "was so fucking high the other day she passed out at the fucking computer." One of the workers who collected absentee ballots from residents was a "pill head," she said.

Dowless, whose husband is distantly related to McCrae Dowless, described herself as a "housewife [who] needed a part-time job" and said she was one of about six employees. She often worked six days a week tallying the number of Democrats and Republicans who had recently voted. However, she explained, there were times when she did not quite understand what she was doing or what the grand purpose was

She did say, though, that campaign workers delivered sealed absentee ballots from the homes of people who requested them to McCrae Dowless's office — though North Carolina law forbids third parties from handling those ballots.

She said she spent her time tracking the number of ballots sent in to the county board of elections — and then tallying up the number that were collected by employees of McCrae Dowless, who <a href="the Washington Post reported">the Washington Post reported</a> would keep the Harris campaign updated on the latest figures.

Jessica Dowless said she would also note voters' race and party affiliation.

"My job was at the office and I read emails and counted how many Republicans and Democrats and non-affiliated people voted every day... I added up how many voted that day and wrote it on a piece of paper and then they read it and then I don't know what it did with it. McCrae was the only one who saw it," she said. "I would go down each page and count how many black Republicans, white Republicans and I did the opposite, black unaffiliated, black Democrats, and add them up and then calculate the percentage of how many people voted that way each day."

McCrae, she said, bought a woman who worked in the office "a car a week later after she started." Another employee got a van that she used on the job, she said.

"Mark Harris was writing him checks left and right," Jessica Dowless said, referring to McCrae, although she said she never saw the checks. McCrae, she said, "paid me a certain amount in cash and then the Board of Elections paid me the rest."

Valeria Peacock McKoy, the interim director of the Bladen County Board of Elections, denied to BuzzFeed News that it paid Jessica Dowless. The office has three full time employees and one part time employee internally, she said, and

hires about 50 to 60 people to work at 17 polling precincts. The board doesn't pay people working for outside groups, she said.

But <u>public records</u> made available Wednesday show that Jessica Dowless was paid \$240 by the Bladen County Republican Executive Committee.

Red Dome, a political consulting firm that contracted McCrae Dowless, was paid more than \$428,000 by the Harris campaign, <u>WSOCTV.com reported.</u> Harris's representatives also didn't return requests for comment.

"He had wads and wads of cash," Jessica Dowless said of McCrae, who didn't return requests for comment.

She would not say how much she was paid.

Lisa Britt, McCrae Dowless's stepdaughter, told BuzzFeed News that she started working for him at the end of July or beginning of August.

"I've never worked for him before," she said. "I was on payroll just like everybody else."

"McCrae Dowless was in charge of pay and no one else," Britt added. According to Britt's mother, Sandra Dowless, who is also McCrae's ex-wife, Britt was paid in cash.

Britt and Jessica Dowless paint very different pictures of the work McCrae's team was doing. Jessica, who said her work was largely confined to an office, said women he paid would go out and collect absentee ballots from people who requested them; it is illegal for a third party to submit an absentee ballot in North Carolina.

McCrae's workers "would come to your house, they would get you to fill out an

then seal it and then find two witnesses. They [brought] them in and said for me to witness them and I told McCrae I didn't want to do that but we had no else," Jessica Dowless said, referring to the state law that requires all absentee ballots be witnessed by two people.

All the ballots that she saw come into the office were already sealed, she said.

Jessica Dowless, who also goes by her middle name Karen, said Britt was part of that operation — which Britt <u>vehemently denied to BuzzFeed News.</u>

"I didn't take any of them," Britt said.

"Everybody thought they were helping Mr. Harris get elected," Britt said. "As far as going and telling anybody who to vote for, we weren't."

"It didn't affect me any way as to how people voted," she said.

"I'm not giving a statement to you that can cause me to end up in prison. I'm really not sure about the legal aspects," Britt said. At the time, she said, she believed everything she was doing was legal.

Jessica Dowless said she personally dropped absentee ballot applications off at the Board of Elections one time. <u>Records show</u> she dropped off 185 requests on Oct. 15.

"I was there just to do what I was told," she said.

Those same records show McCrae Dowless dropped off 592 absentee ballot applications out of more than 1,300 requests from Aug. 22 through Oct. 30. Two of the requests were "reissued."

Copies of more than 160 absentee ballots flagged as having common signatures

affiliated with McCrae, were serving as witnesses on absentee ballots dozens of times — some having signed their name more than 40 times. <u>This is considered unusual.</u>

State investigators have much work to do to untangle a narrative that remains marked by conflicting and confusing accounts, often from people uncertain of their own roles in the plot.

Jessica Dowless, for instance, at one point told BuzzFeed News: "McCrae only had ballots from people who were voting for Democrats. They were only Democrats. No Republican absentee ballots."

"Everything McCrae did was Republican," she emphasized.

But shortly after she said she wasn't quite sure about that.

There is also criticism that McCrae's operation targeted black Democratic voters.

"That's not true at all," Britt said. "It's not really that anyone was targeted, it's that we were giving everybody the opportunity to vote. You've got more people in low-income areas that don't have a vehicle to go vote."

"If we were gonna get those kind of people we could've gone to the pig processing plant and get them when they're coming off work," she added.

Britt's mother, Sandra Dowless, added they were trying to reach "just people with no rides."

As Jessica Dowless put it, "I don't know Democrat from Republican from a hole in my ass."

# Exhibit EE



# NC GOP 'pretty certain' vote totals leaked in Bladen County and would back new election | Raleigh News & Observer

newsobserver.com/news/politics-government/article222949325.html

#### Politics & Government

NC GOP 'pretty certain' vote totals leaked in Bladen County and would back new election

December 11, 2018 01:10 PM

State Sen. Tommy Tucker: 'We are being once again embarrassed in this state that our elections don't count'

North Carolina State Senator Tommy Tucker talk about voting issues in Bladen County during a press conference at the Legislative Building in Raleigh, N.C., Thursday, Dec. 6, 2018.

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North Carolina State Senator Tommy Tucker talk about voting issues in Bladen County during a press conference at the Legislative Building in Raleigh, N.C., Thursday, Dec. 6, 2018.

#### CHARLOTTE

Top officials with the North Carolina Republican Party said they believe early vote totals in Bladen County were leaked before the election and, if confirmed, "a new election is appropriate" in the state's 9th Congressional District.

The Charlotte Observer and The News & Observer reported Monday that early voting totals from Bladen County may have been leaked. Documents released by the State Board of Elections and Ethics Enforcement show that early voting tabulations were run several days before the Nov. 6 election in Bladen County. A witness who signed that vote tabulation wrote in a sworn affidavit that the totals were "viewed by officials at the one-stop site who were not judges."

"We are pretty certain that happened. And if it is confirmed, a new election is appropriate," said Dallas Woodhouse, the party's executive director, in a late afternoon press conference. "It is key because it tells you what the electorate is looking like, what the

turnout is looking like. If that information was leaked out, it clearly is a competitive advantage."

Woodhouse did not reveal what evidence he has seen.

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### politics-government

Bladen counted early votes too soon in 2018. Witness alleges numbers were leaked.

December 10, 2018 5:47 PM

Woodhouse's comments echoed a statement released earlier in the day by Robin Hayes, the party's chairman.

"This action by election officials would be a fundamental violation of the sense of fair play, honesty, and integrity that the Republican Party stands for. The people involved in this must be held accountable and should it be true, this fact alone would likely require a new election," Hayes said.

The state board is investigating voter irregularities in the 9th district. Republican Mark Harris topped Democrat Dan McCready by 905 votes, but the board has yet to certify the election amid allegations of fraud with mail-in absentee ballots. The board plans to hold a hearing before Dec. 21.

A three-judge panel ruled on Tuesday that the current nine-member board can remain in place until Dec. 28 or until the November elections are certified, whichever is first.

The state board has issued subpoenas to the Harris campaign, Harris' top consulting firm Red Dome Group and the campaign of Sheriff Jim McVicker. The board <u>has identified</u> <u>McCrae Dowless</u>, who was paid by Red Dome Group, as a person of interest in its investigation. Dowless has been accused in affidavits and in press interviews of paying workers to collect absentee ballots in Bladen County.

The board has the authority to order a new election with the same general election candidates on the ballot — Harris, McCready and Libertarian Party candidate Jeff Scott.

Woodhouse said the party is "not ready to address" whether or not a special election should include a new primary. Harris defeated incumbent Rep. Robert Pittenger in May's primary, a race that also had voting irregularities among mail-in absentee ballots.

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## politics-government

NC lawmakers want a new primary in 9th Congressional District if a new election ordered

December 11, 2018 4:47 PM

But Republican officials do have a strong opinion on who should be in charge of the special election.

"State elections officials must take over all the elections in Bladen County if and when there is a special election," Woodhouse said, again echoing a call by Hayes.

"The professionals at the State Board of Elections must assume control of the county board of elections operations in Bladen County, which has shown itself incapable of managing fair elections," Hayes said.

The current investigation <u>is</u>, at <u>least</u>, the <u>fifth investigation into Bladen County elections</u> since 2010.

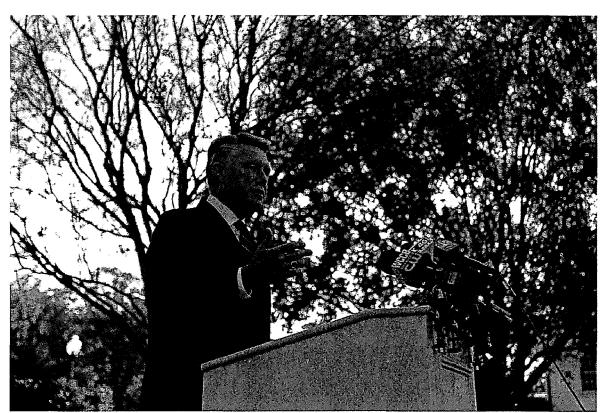
Jens Lutz, the vice chair of the Bladen County Board of Elections, <u>resigned Friday</u>. Lutz is a Democrat.

"This, and the resignation of (Lutz) after the inquiry began, further represents the systematic failure of the election process in this area of the state going on for at least the last decade," Hayes said.

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Exhibit FF





The earlier allegations of election fraud that originally shook the race revolve around McCrae Dowless, an independent contractor working for Mark Harris' campaign. | AP Photo/Chuck Burton

#### ELECTIONS

#### N.C. GOP says fresh misconduct allegation should trigger new House election

By **ZACH MONTELLARO** | 12/11/2018 03:09 PM EST | Updated 12/11/2018 05:00 PM EST

The North Carolina Republican Party said Tuesday that a new election should be held in North Carolina's 9th Congressional District if a new allegation regarding the leak of early-voting results before Election Day is proven.

The results of the race between Republican Mark Harris and Democrat Dan McCready have already been held up over allegations of election fraud against a contractor for one of Harris' campaign consultants. But the state Democratic Party has highlighted another incident in the inquiry into the House race, releasing a signed affidavit from a Bladen County poll worker alleging that the results of early votes were shared improperly before the election.

"On Saturday, 11/3/18, the last day of early voting, the 'tape' showing election results at the one-stop polling site was run after the polls closed, and was viewed by officials at the one-stop site who were not judges. It is my understanding that this was improper," wrote Agnes Willis, a precinct worker in the state, in an affidavit dated Nov. 29, according to The Charlotte Observer.

North Carolina Republican Party chair Robin Hayes released a statement on Tuesday saying that if these allegations were true, they alone would be cause to hold a new election.

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"This action by election officials would be a fundamental violation of the sense of fair play, honesty, and integrity that the Republican Party stands for,' he said in a statement. "We can never tolerate the state putting its thumb on the scale. The people involved in this must be held accountable and should it be true, this fact alone would likely require a new election."

Dallas Woodhouse, the executive director of the state Republican party, said it was likely early votes were leaked.

"We're almost sure those early vote totals were leaked out," Woodhouse told POLITICO. "That's where we are. The [state elections] board's got to do whatever it does."

In a press conference later Tuesday afternoon, Woodhouse echoed the call for a new election to be held if the allegations proved true and said that the state board of elections needed to take over any special election. He also defended Harris.

"We have seen nothing that makes us think Mark Harris participated or would condone this behavior," Woodhouse said at the press conference. "We believe it is against his character."

 $The earlier all egations of election fraud that originally shook the race revolve around \ McCrae \ Dowless, an independent contractor working for \ Harris' campaign.$ 

Dowless reportedly <u>oversaw an operation</u> that collected absentee ballots from voters before submitting them, which is against the law in the state. The activity also allegedly took place in Bladen County.

# LETTER FROM NORTH CAROLINA DISTRUSTFUL, Desperate and Forgotten: A Recipe for Election Fraud By MICHAEL GRAFF

On Tuesday, the state Democratic Party called on Harris to answer questions regarding this scandal.

"Mark Harris is hiding behind his lawyers," North Carolina Democratic Party chair Wayne Goodwin said in a press conference. "Mark Harris must answer to the voters about what he knew and when he knew it."

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On Monday, McCready said his campaign team was getting ready for a potential special election.

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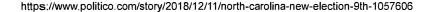


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#### ELECTIONS

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LETTER FROM NORTH CAROLINA

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# Exhibit HH



#### **AGENDA**

### HOUSE COMMITTEE ON ELECTION LAW AND CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM

April 24, 2003 Room 1228 12 p.m.

#### OPENING REMARKS

Representative Mickey Michaux, Chairman Representative Paul Stam, Chairman Election Law and Campaign Finance Reform

#### AGENDA ITEMS

HB 737 - Durham School Recall Election - Rep. Miller HB 756 - Same Day Registration - Rep. Ross HB 1057 - Recall Elections - Rep. Blust HB 1120 - High School Students as Poll workers - Rep. Alexander

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HB 737 - Durham School Recall Election - Rep. Miller
HB 756 - Same Day Registration - Rep. Ross
HB 1057 - Recall Elections - Rep. Blust

HB 1120 - High School Students as Poll workers - Rep. Alexander

## Minutes House Committee on Election Law and Campaign Finance Reform

April 24, 2003

The House Committee on Election Law and Campaign Finance Reform met on Thursday, April 24, 2003 in Room 1228 of the Legislative Building at 12:00 p.m. The following members were present: Co-Chair Mickey Michaux, Co-Chair, Paul Stam, Vice-Chair, Hugh Holliman, Representatives Alexander, Blust, Bonner, Crawford, Daughtridge, Daughtry, Kiser, Nesbitt, Parmon, Rayfield, Ross, Starnes and Wood. Bill Gilkeson and Erika Churchill, Staff Counselors were in attendance. A Visitor Registration List is attached and made part of these minutes.

Co-Chair Michaux called the meeting to order to consider the following bills:

Representative Miller was recognized to explain HB 737, A BILL TO BE ENTITLED AN ACT TO AUTHORIZE RECALL ELECTIONS FOR THE DURHAM BOARD OF EDUCATION. Upon motion made by Representative Rayfield, the bill received a favorable report.

The Chair recognized Co-Chair Stam to explain HB 1120, A BILL TO BE ENTITLED AN ACT TO PERMIT THE APPOINTMENT OF CERTAIN HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS AS PRECINCT ASSISTANTS. A proposed substitute committee bill was sent forth for discussion and upon motion made by Representative Bonner, the Committed voted to discuss the substitute bill. Bill Gilkeson, Staff Counselor gave further explanation of the bill. Upon motion made by Representative Holliman, the bill was given a favorable report to the committee substitute bill and an unfavorable to the original bill.

The next order of business was HB 756, a bill that was discussed previously on April 17, 2003 in our meeting. Upon motion made by Representative Starnes, a favorable vote was given to consider the proposed committee substitute bill for discussion to make a technical change. The amendment was sent forward by Representative Ross and the Committee voted favorable to adopt the amendment. Representative Holliman made the motion to incorporate the amendment to the committee substitute bill and that the it be given a favorable report and an unfavorable report to the original bill, and the Committee voted a favorable report to the Committee Substitute bill. Representative Ross sent forward a proposed Committee Substitute that replaces the original bill, but will not make the crossover and does not have to be discussed at this time.

The Chair recognized Representative Blust to explain HB 1057, A BILL TO BE ENTITLED AN ACT TO AMEND THE CONSTITUTION OF NORTH CAROLINA TO ALLOW RECALL ELECTIONS FOR ANY OFFICE ESTABLISHED BY THE CONSTITUTION.

Page 2 April 24, 2003

A proposed committee substitute bill was sent forward and upon a motion made by Representative Holliman, a favorable vote was given adopt the amended bill. Upon motion made by Representative Nesbitt to give the bill an unfavorable report, the Committee voted to give an unfavorable report.

There being further business for discussion, the meeting was adjourned at 12:50.

Respectfully submitted,

Representative H. M. Michaux, Jr.

Co-Chair (Presiding Chair)

Anita Wilder

Committee Assistant

### 2003 COMMITTEE RUPORT HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

The following report(s) from standing committee(s) is/are presented:  By Representatives Michaux and Stam (Chairs) for the Committee on ELECTION LAW  AND CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM.
Committee Substitute for  H.B. 737 A BILL TO BE ENTITLED AN ACT TO AUTHORIZE RECALL ELECTIONS FOR THE DURHAM BOARD OF EDUCATION.
With a favorable report.
☐ With a favorable report and recommendation that the bill be re-referred to the Committee on Appropriations ☐ Finance ☐ ☐.
☐ With a favorable report, as amended.
☐ With a favorable report, as amended, and recommendation that the bill be re-referred to the Committee on Appropriations ☐ Finance ☐ ☐.
☐ With a favorable report as to the committee substitute bill (# ), ☐ which changes the title, unfavorable as to (the original bill) (Committee Substitute Bill # ), (and recommendation that the committee substitute bill # ) be re-referred to the Committee on .)
☐ With a favorable report as to House committee substitute bill (# ), ☐ which changes the title, unfavorable as to Senate committee substitute bill.
With an unfavorable report.
☐ With recommendation that the House concur.
☐ With recommendation that the House do not concur.
☐ With recommendation that the House do not concur; request conferees.
☐ With recommendation that the House concur; committee believes bill to be material.
☐ With an unfavorable report, with a Minority Report attached.
☐ Without prejudice.
☐ With an indefinite postponement report.
☐ With an indefinite postponement report, with a Minority Report attached.
☐ With recommendation that it be adopted. (HOUSE RESOLUTION ONLY)



### HOUSE BILL 1120: High School Students as Pollworkers.

BILL ANALYSIS

Committee: House Election Laws and

Campaign Finance Reform

Date: Version:

April 24, 2003 First Edition

Introduced by: Representative Alexander

Summary by:

William R. Gilkeson Committee Co-Counsel

SUMMARY: House Bill 1120 would authorize the appointment of high students 17 years and older as precinct assistants. Effective January 1, 2004.

CURRENT LAW: The voting place in each precinct is staffed on election day by a chief judge, two judges, and at the discretion of the county board of elections, two or more assistants. The assistants perform many of the same duties as the chief judge and the judges, but they do not enter into the quasijudicial duties of the chief judge and judges, such as making an initial ruling on a challenge to a voter.

The standard way that precinct assistants are named is by nomination by the county chair of the political party in the county, and appointment by the county board from the party's list of nominations. Each precinct shall have an equal number of assistants from different political parties. If the parties' nominations are insufficient, the county board may appoint someone else.

Precinct assistants must be registered voters in the precinct, unless the number is insufficient, in which case the county board by unanimous vote may appoint registered voters from elsewhere in the county. The county board by unanimous vote may also appoint and assign emergency election-day assistants to serve anywhere in the county where there is a last-minute need.

BILL ANALYSIS: House Bill 1120 would allow the county board of elections to appoint high school students 17 years old and older to serve as precinct assistants. Although some would be too young to register to vote, they would have to have the following qualifications:

- U.S. citizenship.
- 2. Residence in the county.
- 3. Enrollment in a secondary educational institution, with an exemplary academic record as determined by that institution.
- 4. Recommendation by the principal or director of that institution.
- 5. Consent from a parent, legal custodian, or guardian.

The bill would prohibit more than 2 student assistants per polling place. They would have to work under the supervision of the judges.

County boards of elections report that they have a hard time recruiting enough BACKGROUND: precinct officials to staff the polls.

The Help America Vote Act of 2002 (HAVA) contains a provision creating a "Help America Vote Foundation" whose purpose is to "mobilize secondary school students (including students educated in the home) in the United States to participate in the election process in a nonpartisan manner as poll workers or assistants (to the extent permitted under applicable State law)." The Foundation must also establish cooperative efforts between election officials, educational agencies, and nonprofits. It can accept private donations. HAVA authorizes the appropriation of \$5 million for the foundation.

HAVA contains another provision to encourage college students to be nonpartisan pollworkers.

Legislative Services Office

North Carolina General Assembly

Research Division, 733-2578

### Minutes House Committee on Election Law and Campaign Finance Reform June 18, 2003

The House Committee on Election Law and Campaign Finance Reform met on Wednesday, June 18, 2003 in Room 1228 of the Legislative Building at 12:00 p.m. The following members were present: Co-Chair Mickey Michaux, Co-Chair Paul Stam, Vice-Chair Hugh Holliman, Representatives Nesbitt, Parmon, Ross and Starnes. Bill Gilkeson and Erika Churchill, Staff Counselors were in attendance. A Visitor Registration list is attached and made part of these minutes.

Co-Chair Michaux called the meeting to order to consider the following bill sent back from the Senate for concurrence:

Bill Gilkeson was recognized to explain the changes made by the Senate HB 1120, A BILL TO BE ENTITLED AN ACT TO PERMIT THE APPOINTMENT OF CERTAIN HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS AS STUDENT ELECTION ASSISTANTS AND TO MAKE OTHER CHANGES TO THE ELECTION LAWS. This bill is a combination of HB 1120 and HB 1119. Representative Stam made a motion for concurrence to the Senate Committee substitute, and the Committee voted to concur.

There being no further business, Co-Chair Michaux adjourned the meeting.

Respectfully submitted,

Representative H. M. Miohaux, Jr.

Co-Chair (Presiding Chair)

Africa Wilder

Committee Assistant

### 2003 COMMITTEE REPORT HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

The following report(s) from standing committee(s) is/are presented: By Representatives Michaux and Stam (Chairs) for the Committee on Election Law and Campaign Finance Reform. Committee Substitute for H.B. 1120 A BILL TO BE ENTITLED AN ACT TO PERMIT THE APPOINTMENT OF CERTAIN HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS AS STUDENT ELECTION ASSISTANTS AND TO MAKE OTHER CHANGES TO THE ELECTION LAWS With a favorable report. With a favorable report and recommendation that the bill be re-referred to the Committee on Appropriations Finance With a favorable report, as amended. With a favorable report, as amended, and recommendation that the bill be re-referred to the Committee on Appropriations 
Finance ☐ With a favorable report as to the committee substitute bill (# ), which changes the title, unfavorable as to (the original bill) (Committee Substitute Bill # ), (and recommendation that the committee substitute bill # ) be re-referred to the Committee With a favorable report as to House committee substitute bill (# ), which changes the title, unfavorable as to Senate committee substitute bill. With an unfavorable report. With recommendation that the House concur. With recommendation that the House do not concur. With recommendation that the House do not concur; request conferees. With recommendation that the House concur; committee believes bill to be material. With an unfavorable report, with a Minority Report attached. Without prejudice. With an indefinite postponement report. With an indefinite postponement report, with a Minority Report attached. With recommendation that it be adopted. (HOUSE RESOLUTION ONLY)

03/19/03

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03/19/03

### GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF NORTH CAROLINA SESSION 2003

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# HOUSE BILL 1120 Committee Substitute Favorable 4/24/03 Senate Judiciary I Committee Substitute Adopted 6/4/03

Short Title: Student Pollworkers/Other Changes. (Public)

Sponsors:

Referred to:

### April 10, 2003

### A BILL TO BE ENTITLED

AN ACT TO PERMIT THE APPOINTMENT OF CERTAIN HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS AS STUDENT ELECTION ASSISTANTS AND TO MAKE OTHER CHANGES TO THE ELECTION LAWS.

The General Assembly of North Carolina enacts:

SECTION 1. Article 5 of Chapter 163 of the General Statutes is amended by adding a new section to read:

"§ 163-42.1. Student election assistants.

A student of at least 17 years of age at the time of any election or primary in which the student works shall be eligible to be appointed as a student election assistant. To be eligible a student must have all the following qualifications:

- (1) Be a United States citizen.
- (2) Be a resident of the county in which the student is appointed.
- (3) Be enrolled in a secondary educational institution, including a home school as defined in G.S. 115C-563(a), with an exemplary academic record as determined by that institution.
- (4) Be recommended by the principal or director of the secondary educational institution in which the student is enrolled.
- (5) Have the consent of a parent, legal custodian, or guardian.

The county board of elections may appoint student election assistants, following guidelines which shall be issued by the State Board of Elections. No more than two student election assistants shall be assigned to any voting place. Every student election assistant shall work under the direct supervision of the election judges. The student election assistants shall attend the same training as a precinct assistant, shall be sworn in the same manner as a precinct assistant, and shall be compensated in the same manner as precinct assistants. The county board of elections shall prescribe the duties of a student election assistant, following guidelines which shall be issued by the State Board

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statement that the voter has good reason to believe that the physical safety of the voter or a member of the voter's family residing with the voter would be jeopardized if the voter's address were open to public inspection, that voter's address is a public record but shall be kept confidential as long as the protective order remains in effect or the voter remains a certified program participant in the Address Confidentiality Program, That voter's name, precinct, and the other date contained in that voter's registration record shall remain a public record. That voter's signed statement submitted under this subsection is a public record but shall be kept confidential as long as the protective order remains in effect or the voter remains a certified program participant in the Address Confidentiality Program. It is the responsibility of the voter to provide the county board with a copy of the valid protective order in effect or a current and valid Address Confidentiality Program authorization card issued pursuant to the provisions of Chapter 15C of the General Statutes. The voter's actual address shall be used for any election-related purpose by any board of elections. That voter's address shall be available for inspection by a law enforcement agency or by a person identified in a court order, if inspection of the address by that person is directed by that court order. It shall not be a violation of this section if the address of a voter who is participating in the Address Confiden aftry Program is discovered by a member of the public in public records disclosed by a county board of elections prior to December 1, 2001. Addresses required to be kept confidential by this section shall not be made available to the jury commission under the provisions of G.S. 9-2."

SECTION 7. G.S. 163-221 reads as rewritten:

"§ 163-221. Persons may not sign name of another to petition.

- (a) No person may sign the name of another person to: to any of the following:
  - (1) Any petition calling for an election or referendum: referendum.
  - (2) Any petition under G.S. 163-96 for the formulation of a new political party:party.
  - (3) Any petition under G.S. 163-107.1 requesting a person to be a candidate; candidate.
  - (4) Any petition under G.S. 163-122 to have the name of an unaffiliated candidate placed on the general election ballot, or under G.S. 163-296 to have the name of an unaffiliated or nonpartisan candidate placed on the regular municipal election ballot; orballot.
  - (5) Any petition under G.S. 163-213.5 to place a name on the ballot under the Presidential Preference Primary Act.
  - (6) Any petition under G.S. 163-123 to qualify as a write-in candidate.
- (b) Any name signed on a petition, in violation of this section, shall be void.
- (c) Any person who willfully violates this section is guilty of a Class 2 misdemeanor."

SECTION 8.(a) G.S. 163-182.13(a) reads as rewritten:

"(a) When State Board May Order New Election. – The State Board of Elections may order a new election, upon agreement of at least four of its members, in the case of any one or more of the following:

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- (1) Ineligible voters sufficient in number to change the outcome of the election were allowed to vote in the election, and it is not possible from examination of the official ballots to determine how those ineligible voters voted and to correct the totals.
- (2) Eligible voters sufficient in number to change the outcome of the election were improperly prevented from voting.
- (3) Other irregularities affected a sufficient number of votes to change the outcome of the election.
- (4) Irregularities or improprieties occurred to such an extent that, although it is not possible to determine "means are although or improprieties affected the outcome of the election, that they taint the results of the entire election and cast doubt on its fairness."

SECTION 8.(b) G.S. 163-182.14 reads as rewritten:

### "§ 163-182.14. Appeal of a final decision to superior court.

A copy of the final decision of the State Board of Elections on an election protest shall be served on the parties personally or by certified mail. A decision to order a new election is considered a final decision for purposes of seeking review of the decision. An aggrieved party has the right to appeal the final decision to the Superior Court of Wake County within 10 days of the date of service.

After the decision by the State Board of Elections has been served on the parties, the certification of nomination or election or the results of the referendum shall issue pursuant to G.S. 163-182.15 unless an appealing party obtains a stay of the certification from the Superior Court of Wake County within 10 days after the date of service. The court shall not issue a stay of certification unless the petitioner shows the court that the petitioner has appealed the decision of the State Board of Elections, that the petitioner is an aggrieved party, and that the petitioner is likely to prevail, and that the results of the election would be changed in the petitioner's favor. Mere irregularities in the election which would not change the results of the election shall not be sufficient for the court to issue a stay of certification, prevail in the appeal."

SECTION 9.(a) G.S. 163-213.4 reads as rewritten:

#### "§ 163-213.4. Nomination by State Board of Elections.

The State Board of Elections shall convene in Raleigh on the first Tuesday in February March preceding the presidential preference primary election. At the meeting required by this section, the State Board of Elections shall nominate as presidential primary candidates all candidates affiliated with a political party, recognized pursuant to the provisions of Article 9 of Chapter 163 of the General Statutes, who have become eligible to receive payments from the Presidential Primary Matching Payment Account, as provided in section 9033 of the U.S. Internal Revenue Code of 1954, as amended Immediately upon completion of these requirements, the Board shall release to the news media all such nominees selected. Provided, however, nothing shall prohibit the partial selection of nominees prior to the meeting required by this section, if all provisions herein have been complied with."

SECTION 9.(b) G.S. 163-213.5 reads as rewritten:

"§ 163-213.5. Nomination by petition.

Any person seeking the endorsement by the national political party for the office of President of the United States, or any group organized in this State on behalf of, and with the consent of, such person, may file with the StateBoard of Elections petitions signed by 10,000 persons who, at the time they signed are registered and qualified voters in this State and are affiliated, by such registration, with the same political party as the candidate for whom the petitions are filed. Such petitions shall be presented to the county board of elections 10 days before the filing deadline and shall be certified promptly by the chairman of the board of elections of the county in which the signatures were obtained and shall be filed by the petitioners with the State Board of Elections no later than 5:00 P.M. on the Monday prior to the date the State Board of Elections is required to meet as directed by G.S. 163-213.4.

The petitions must state the name of the candidate for nomination, along with a letter of approval signed by such candidate. Said petitions must also state the name and address of the chairman of any such group organized to circulate petitions authorized under this section. The requirement for signers of such petitions shall be the same as now required under provisions of G.S. 163-96(b)(1) and (2). The requirement of the respective chairmen of county boards of elections shall be the same as now required under the provisions of G.S. 163-96(b)(1) and (2) as they relate to the chairman of the county board of elections.

The State Board of Elections shall forthwith determine the sufficiency of petitions filed with it and shall immediately communicate its determination to the chairman of such group organized to circulate petitions. The form and style of petition shall be as prescribed by the State Board of Elections."

SECTION 10.(a) G.S. 163-182.5(b) reads as rewritten:

"(b) Canvassing by County Board of Elections. – The county board of elections shall meet at 11:00 A.M. on the third day (Sunday excepted) seventh day after every election to complete the canvass of votes cast and to authenticate the count in every ballot item in the county by determining that the votes have been counted and tabulated correctly. If, despite due diligence by election officials, the initial counting of all the votes has not been completed by that time, the county board may hold the canvass meeting a reasonable time thereafter. The canvass meeting shall be at the county board of elections office, unless the county board, by unanimous vote of all its members, designates another site within the county. The county board shall examine the returns from precincts, from absentee official ballots, and from provisional official ballots and shall conduct the canvass."

SECTION 10.(b) G.S. 163-182.7(b) reads as rewritten:

"(b) Mandatory Recounts for Ballot Items Within the Jurisdiction of the County Board of Elections. — In a ballot item within the jurisdiction of the county board of elections, a candidate shall have the right to demand a recount of the votes if the difference between the votes for that candidate and the votes for a prevailing candidate is not more than one percent (1%) of the total votes cast in the ballot item, or in the case of a multiseat ballot item not more than one percent (1%) of the votes cast for those two candidates. The demand for a recount must be made in writing and must be received by the county board of elections by noon on the fourth 5:00 P.M. on the first day after the

canvass. The recount shall be conducted under the supervision of the county board of elections."

SECTION 10.(c) G.S. 163-182,7(c) reads as rewritten:

- "(c) Mandatory Recounts for Ballot Items Within the Jurisdiction of the State Board of Elections. In a ballot item within the jurisdiction of the State Board of Elections, a candidate shall have the right to demand a recount of the votes if the difference between the votes for that candidate and the votes for a prevailing candidate are not more than the following:
  - (1) For a nonstatewide ballot item, one percent (1%) of the total votes east in the ballot item, or in the case of a multiseat ballot item, one percent (1%) of the votes cast for those two candidates.
  - (2) For a statewide ballot item, one-half of one percent (0.5%) of the votes cast in the ballot item, or in the case of a multiseat ballot item, one-half of one percent (0.5%) of the votes cast for those two candidates, or 10.000 votes, whichever is less.

The demand for a recount must be in writing and must be received by the State Board of Elections by noon on the second Wednesday Thursday after the election. If on that Wednesday Thursday the available returns show a candidate not entitled to a mandatory recount, but the Executive Director determines subsequently that the margin is within the threshold set out in this subsection, the Executive Director shall notify the eligible candidate immediately and that candidate shall be entitled to a recount if that candidate so demands within 48 hours of notice. The recount shall be conducted under the supervision of the State Board of Elections."

SECTION 10.(d) G.S. 163-111(c) reads as rewritten:

- "(c) Procedure for Requesting Second Primary. -
  - (1) (Effective with respect to primaries and elections held on or after January 1, 2004) A candidate who is apparently entitled to demand a second primary, according to the unofficial results, for one of the offices listed below, and desiring to do so, shall file a request for a second primary in writing or by telegram with the Executive Director of the State Board of Elections no later than 12:00 noon on the seventh ninth day (including Saturdays and Sundays) following the date on which the primary was conducted, and such request shall be subject to the certification of the official results by the State Board of Elections. If the vote certification by the State Board of Elections determines that a candidate who was not originally thought to be eligible to call for a second primary is in fact eligible to call for a second primary, the Executive Director of the State Board of Elections shall immediately notify such candidate and permit him to exercise any options available to him within a 48-hour period following the notification:

Governor.

Lieutenant Governor,

All State executive officers,

District Attorneys of the General Court of Justice,

United States Senators,

2	Members of the United States House of Representatives,
3	State Senators in multi-county senatorial districts, and
4	Members of the State House of Representatives in multi-county
5	representative districts.
6	<ol><li>A candidate who is apparently entitled to demand a second primary,</li></ol>
7	according to the unofficial results, for one of the offices listed below
8	and desiring to do so, shall file a request for a second primary in
9	writing or by telegram with the chairman or director of the county
10	board of elections no later than 12:00 noon on the seventh-ninth day
11	(including Saturdays and Sundays) following the date on which the
12	primary was conducted, and such request shall be subject to the
13	certification of the official results by the county board of elections:
14.	State Senators in single-county senatorial districts,
<b>l</b> 5	Members of the State House of Representatives in
lδ	single-county representative districts, and
17	All county officers.
18	(3) Immediately upon receipt of a request for a second primary the
9	appropriate board of elections, State or county, shall notify all
20	candidates entitled to participate in the second primary, by telephone
2)	followed by written notice, that a second primary has been requested
22	and of the date of the second primary."
23	SECTION 10.(e) G.S. 163-291(5) reads as rewritten:
!4	"(5) The canvass of the primary and second primary shall be held on the
25	third seventh day (Sunday excepted) following the primary or second
26	primary. In accepting the filing of complaints concerning the conduct
17	of an election, a board of elections shall be subject to the rules
8	concerning Sundays and holidays set forth in G.S. 103-5."
9	SECTION 10.(f) G.S. 163-291(6) reads as rewritten:
0	"(6) Candidates having the right to demand a second primary shall do so
1	not later than 12:00 noon on the Monday Thursday following the
2	canvass of the first primary."
3	SECTION 10.(g) G.S. 163-293(c) reads as rewritten:
4	"(c) The canvass of the first election shall be held on the third seventh day
5	(Sunday excepted) after the election. A candidate entitled to a runoff election may do so
6	by filing a written request for a runoff election with the board of elections no later than
7	12:00 noon on the Monday Thursday after the result of the first election has been
8	officially declared. In accepting the filing of complaints concerning the conduct of an
9	election, a board of elections shall be subject to the rules concerning Sundays and holidays set forth in G.S. 103-5."
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2	SECTION 10.(h) G.S. 163-294(b) reads as rewritten:  "(b) In the primary, the two candidates for a single office receiving the highest
3	number of votes, and those candidates for a group of offices receiving the highest
4	number of votes, and those candidates for a group of offices receiving the nighest number of votes, equal to twice the number of positions to be filled, shall be declared

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nominated. In both the primary and election, a voter should not mark more names for any office than there are positions to be filled by election. If two or more candidates receiving the highest number of votes each received the same number of votes, the board of elections shall determine their relative ranking by lot, and shall declare the nominees accordingly. The canvass of the primary shall be held on the third-seventh day (Sunday excepted) following the primary. In accepting the filling of complaints concerning the conduct of an election, a board of elections shall be subject to the rules concerning Sundays and holidays set forth in G.S. 103-5."

SECTION 10.(i) G.S. 163-300 reads as rewritten:

"§ 163-300. Disposition of duplicate abstracts in municipal elections.

Within five nine days after a primary or election is held in any municipality, the chairman of the county or municipal board of elections shall mail to the chairman of the State Board of Elections, the duplicate abstract prepared in accordance with G.S. 163-182.6. One copy shall be retained by the county or municipal board of elections as a permanent record and one copy shall be filed with the city clerk."

SECTION 10.(j) G.S. 163-322(b) reads as rewritten:

"(b) Determination of Nominees. – In the primary, the two candidates for a single office receiving the highest number of votes, and those candidates for a group of offices receiving the highest number of votes, equal to twice the number of positions to be filled, shall be declared nominated. If two or more candidates receiving the highest number of votes each receive the same number of votes, the State Board of Elections shall determine their relative ranking by lot, and shall declare the nominees accordingly. The canvass of the primary shall be held on the same date as the primary canvass fixed under G.S. 163-188.—163-182.5. The canvass shall be conducted in accordance with Article 16 15 A of this Chapter."

SECTION 10.(k) G.S. 163-182.15 reads as rewritten:

## "§ 163-182.15. Certificate of nomination or election, or certificate of the results of a referendum.

- (a) Issued by County Board of Elections. In ballot items within the jurisdiction of the county board of elections, the county board shall issue a certificate of nomination or election, or a certificate of the results of the referendum, as appropriate. The certificate shall be issued by the county board five six days after the completion of the canvass pursuant to G.S. 163-182.5, unless there is an election protest pending. If there is an election protest, the certificate of nomination or election or the certificate of the result of the referendum shall be issued in one of the following ways, as appropriate:
  - (1) The certificate shall be issued five days after the protest is dismissed or denied by the county board of elections, unless that decision has been appealed to the State Board of Elections.
  - (2) The certificate shall be issued 10 days after the final decision of the State Board, unless the State Board has ordered a new election or the issuance of the certificate is stayed by the Superior Court of Wake County pursuant to G.S. 163-182.14.
  - (3) If the decision of the State Board has been appealed to the Superior Court of Wake County and the court has stayed the certification, the

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certificate shall be issued five days after the entry of a final order in the case in the Superior Court of Wake County, unless that court or an appellate court orders otherwise. (b) Issued by State Board of Elections. - In ballot items within the jurisdiction of the State Board of Elections, the State Board of Elections shall issue a certificate of nomination or election, or a certificate of the results of the referendum, as appropriate. The certificate shall be issued by the State Board five six days after the completion of the canvass pursuant to G.S. 163-182.5, unless there is an election protest pending. If there is an election protest, the certificate of nomination or election or the certificate of the result of the referendum shall be issued in one of the following ways, as appropriate: The certificate shall be issued 10 days after the final decision of the State Board on the election protest, unless the State Board has ordered a new election or the issuance of the certificate is stayed by the Superior Court of Wake County pursuant to G.S. 163-14. If the decision of the State Board has been appealed to the Superior Court of Wake County and the court has stayed the certification, the certificate shall be issued five days after the entry of a final order in the case in the Superior Court of ake County, unless that court or an appellate court orders otherwise.

(c) Copy to Secretary of State. – The State Board of Elections shall provide to the Secretary of State a copy of each certificate of nomination or election, or certificate of the results of a referendum, issued by it. The Secretary shall keep the certificates in a form readily accessible and useful to the public."

SECTION 11. G.S. 163-227.2(a) reads as rewritten:

"(a) Except as provided in subsection (a1) of this section, a person expecting to be absent from the county in which that person is registered during the entire period that the polls are open on the day of an election in which absentee ballots are authorized or is eligible under G.S. 163 226(a)(2), 163 226(a)(3a), or 163 226(a)(4) Any voter eligible to vote by absentee ballot under G.S. 163-226 may request an application for absentee ballots, complete the application, and vote under the provisions of this section."

SECTION 12. Sections 1 and 10 of this act become effective January 1, 2004. The remainder of this act becomes effective when this act becomes law.



### **HOUSE BILL 1120:** Student Pollworkers/Other Changes.

BILL ANALYSIS

Committee: House Election Laws &

Campaign Finance Reform

June 18, 2003 Date: Third Edition Version;

Summary by:

Introduced by: Representative Alexander

William R. Gilkeson

Committee Co-Counsel

SUMMARY: The Senate version of House Bill 1120 would authorize the appointment of high school students 17 years and older as student election assistants, move the canvass from the 3rd to the 7th day after election day, and make several other election-law changes, Effective 1-1-04 for the student assistants and the canvass; other changes, effective when the bill becomes law.

#### Senate Changes

The Senate version of H1120 is a combination of the House-passed versions of H1120 and H1119.

Sections 1 through 9 of the new H1120 were substantially approved by the House in either HB 1120 or in HB 1119. The Senate made minor changes in Sections 6 and 9.

The Senate added Section 10 (moving the canvass day from the 3" to the 7" day after election day) and Section 11 (correcting the one-stop statute).

The Senate did not include 3 sections of H 1119;

- The repeal of what the State Board of Elections described as outdated party reporting requirements. Concern was expressed that the repeal might have unintended consequences involving federal law.
- The expansion of the definition of "political party organization." Concern was expressed that the repeal might have unintended consequences involving federal law.
- The repeal of restrictions added in 2002 on requesting absentee ballots. That provision had been added to H1119 on the House floor.
- Section 1
- Student Election Assistants. Allows county boards of elections to appoint students of at least 17 years old as "student election assistants." The State Board of Elections would adopt guidelines as to how the student election assistants would be appointed. The students would have to be U.S. citizens, residents of the county, enrolled in a secondary school (including a home school) with an exemplary academic record, be recommended by the principal or director of the school, and have the consent of a parent, legal custodian or guardian. The student election assistants would work at the voting place under the supervision of the election judges there. Although they would not be precinct officials, they would receive the same training and pay as a precinct assistant. There could not be more than 2 of them per precinct. (The Help America Vote Act of 2002 (HAVA) contains a provision creating a "Help America Vote Foundation" whose purpose is to "mobilize secondary school students (including students educated in the home) in the United States to participate in the election process in a nonpartisan manner as poll workers or assistants (to the extent permitted under applicable State law)." The Foundation must also establish cooperative efforts between election officials, educational agencies, and nonprofits. It can accept private donations. HAVA authorizes the appropriation of \$5 million for the foundation.) House passed in H1120.
- Section 2 -- Technical Change to Judicial Public Financing Act. Makes a technical change to the statute setting up voluntary public financing of appellate judicial candidates. That statute (163-278.67) entitles a candidate for appellate judge who has volunteered to abide by the fundraising and spending restrictions of the program to receive "rescue funds" if the candidate's opponent spends in excess of

the limitation, or if someone makes an independent expenditure in opposition to the candidate in the program, or in support of an opponent of that candidate. Another statute (163-278.66) sets up a reporting requirement of independent expenditures to make that work, but the language is not quite parallel: The reporting statute requires reporting of independent expenditures "in support of or opposition to a certified candidate." This section makes the language in the rescue funds statute and the reporting statute parallel. House passed in H1119.

- Section 3 No Extra Compensation of Election Officials. Provides that if an election official is being paid an
  hourly wage or fee on election day and the official is performing additional election duties away from
  the assigned precinct; the official will be entitled to no additional compensation for the extra work
  other than reimbursement for expenses. House passed in H1119.
- Section 4 <u>Technical Change to Primary Vacancy Statute</u>. Makes a technical change to the statute about the death of a candidate in a primary. The current language talks about two candidates filing for a "single office." Because all candidates file for only one office, a change is made to "single-seat office" to clarify that the statute is referring to a race in which only one is to be nominated. House passed in H1119.
- Section 5 <u>Definition of "Referendum."</u> Broadens the definition of "referendum" in the Campaign Reporting Act to include a ballot item triggered by an initiative that is authorized by local act or city charter. Recall elections are specifically excluded from the definition of referendum. One of the consequences of a vote being a referendum is that contribution limits and corporate/union contribution restrictions do not apply courts have said they cannot apply because no candidate is involved. With a recall vote, a candidate or candidates would be involved. House passed in H1119.
- Section 6 <u>Conforming Change on Address Confidentiality Jurors.</u> The 2001 General Assembly enacted legislation designed to protect people in danger of being stalked and threatened it required custodians of public records about these people to keep their addresses confidential. Election boards are covered by the new confidentiality requirement with respect to addresses of registered voters. This section extends that confidentiality to the disclosure of registered voters' addresses to the county jury commissions. House passed in H1119. Part of the House-passed version was included in H 842, the HAVA bill, so is not included here.
- Section 7 <u>Technical Change to Petition Statutes</u>. Current law prohibits signing someone else's name to a
  petition that has a legal effect. Doing so is a Class 2 misdemeanor. G.S. 163-221 contains a list of
  the types of petitions that are included, but inadvertently petitions for write-in candidates was left
  out. This section remedies that omission. *House passed in H1119*.
- Section 8 <u>Technical Change to New Statute on New Elections</u>. The SBOE has the sole authority in the election system to order a new election. The SBOE may order a new election only if 4 of its 5 members vote to do so, guaranteeing at least some bipartisan agreement. The standards for new elections are basically one of two:
  - "The Math." That irregularities affected more votes than the margin of victory, rendering the outcome uncertain mathematically.
  - "The Cloud," That irregularities occurred to such an extent that they taint the entire election and cast doubt on its fairness.

In the election law rewrite of 2001, the new G.S. 163-182.13 makes clear that both the Math and the Cloud are still standards for a new election, but the new 163-182.14 concerning appeals is not parallel. Sections 8 (a) and 8 (b) change both statutes to make them parallel. House passed in H1119.

Section 9 — Conforming Change: Presidential Primary/New Filling Period. The general candidate filling deadline was recently moved from the 1st Monday in February to the last business day in February. SBOE designation of presidential primary candidates is still on the 1st Tuesday in February, formerly the day after the candidate filling deadline. That was not changed in 2001 when the filling deadline was moved. Section 9.(a) moves the SBOE presidential primary designation day to the 1st Tuesday in March. Current law directs the SBOE to designate for a party's presidential

### **HOUSE BILL 1120**

Page 3

primary all candidates who have qualified to receive matching funds under the federal public financing program for presidential candidates. But other candidates may get on the presidential primary ballot if they collect 10,000 signatures on petitions and submit them to the SBOE by the day the SBOE meets to designate the candidates. Section 9.(b) moves that petition filling deadline to the day before the designation day. House passed in H1119, Senate changed "day after" language to a fixed date.

Section 10 — Moving Canvass Date from 3rd to 7th Day after Election. Currently the county canvass (the day when the county board of elections meets to certify the official results of the vote) is the third day after the primary or election. It is usually the Friday after a Tuesday election. The main thrust of Section 10 is to move that canvass forward to the seventh day after the election, the next Tuesday, on the theory that boards of elections will need more time to count the additional provisional ballots required by HAVA. That change is in Section 10.(a). But moving the canvass has a ripple effect on the rest of the post-election schedule, necessitating Sections 10.(b) through 10.(k) Added by Senate.

Sec.#	Event	Date under current law	Date under H 1120
10.(a)	Canvass Day	3rd day after election – 11-5-04 3 rd day after primary – 5 –7-04	7 th day after election – 11-9-04 7 th day after primary – 5-11-04
10.(b)	Demand Deadline for Mandatory Recount in County Race	4 th day after election canvas - 11-9-04 4 th day after primary canvass - 5-11-04	1 day after election canvass - 11-10-04 1 day after primary canvass - 5-12-04
10.(c)	Demand Deadline for Mandatory Recount in Multi-County Race	2"4 Wed, after election - 11-10-04 2"4 Wed, after primary - 5-12-04	2 rd Thurs, after election – 11-11-04 2 rd Thurs, after primary – 5-13-04
10.(d)	Demand Deadline for 2 rd Primary	7th day after primary = 5-11-04	9" day ofter primary – 5-13-04
10.(e)	Canvass Day for Municipal Partisan Primary and Second Primary	3° day after primary - 9-30-05 3° day after 2° primary - 10-21-05	7** day after primary = 10-4-05 7** day after 2** primary = 10-25-05
10.(1)	Demand Deadline for Municipal Partisan Second Primary	Monday after canyass - 10-3-05	Thursday after canvass 10-6-05
10.(g)	Canvass and Demand Deadline for Municipal Nonpartisan Runoff	Canvass 3 rd day after election = 10-14-05 Demand Mon, after canvass = 10-17-05	Canvass 7° day after election – 10-18-05 Demand Thurs, after canvass – 10-20-05
10.(h)	Canvass for Municipal Nonpartisan Primary	3 st day after primary – 10-14-05	7 th day after primary – 10-18-05
10:(i)	Municipal Abstract Due to SBOE	5* day after election - 11-13-05	9" day after election - 11-17-05
10, (j)	Canvass for Nonparlisan Judicial Primary	3* day after primary + 5-7-04	7" day after primary - 5-11-04
10,(k)	Issuance of Certificate	County; 5 th day after canvass Multi-county; 5 th day after canvass	County: 6" day after canvass  Multi-county: 6" day after canvass

Section 11 — Correction to One-Stop Statute. In 2001 the General Assembly voted to remove the excuse requirement from all absentee voting – one-stop and mail. However, through a drafting oversight in 2001, some language was inadvertently left in the statute that leaves the appearance that excuses are still required for one-stop voting. This section removes that nonconforming language, making clear that no excuse is required for a person to vote one-stop, as the General Assembly intended and as statute was enforced in the 2002 election. Added by Senate – error was discovered after House passed its bills.

### VISITOR REGISTRATION SHEET

Election Law	and Campaign	<u>a Financa Rel</u>	<u>Am</u>	June 1	<u>8.2003</u>
Name of Co	mmittee			Dat	P

### <u>VISITORS: PLEASE SIGN IN RELOW AND RETURN TO COMMITTEE CLERK</u>

NAME

FIRM OR AGENCY AND ADDRESS

Gary a Bartlett	SBOE
John Phulps	NELM
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Carty Knight	
Elsie Smaluk	Concerned Women for america
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### VISITOR REGISTRATION SHEET

June 18, 2003 Date

Election Law and Campaign Finance Reform
Name of Committee

VISITORS: PLEASE SIGN I	N BELOW AND RETURN TO COMMITTEE CLERK
NAME	FIRM OR AGENCY AND ADDRESS
Tadiya Oueca	Wake Co Bl y Elections
Bob Hare	Democracy Newto Cardina
Reggle Mathis	Denocary North Carolina
Jennifer Trye	Democracy North Carolina
VERONICA JOICE	DEMOCRACY NORTH CAROLINA
Chase Gover	Democry NC

#### Anita Wilder (Rep. Michaux)

From: Jana Stam (Rep Stam)

Sent: Wednesday, June 16, 2004 9.41 AM

Subject: Election Law and Campaign Finance Reform Notice

# NORTH CAROLINA HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES COMMITTEE MEETING NOTICE AND BILL SPONSOR NOTIFICATION 2003-2004 SESSION

You are hereby notified that the Committee on ELECTION LAW AND CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM will meet as follows:

DAY & DATE:

Thursday, June 17, 2004

TIME:

9:00 am

LOCATION:

1228

The following bills will be considered (Bill # & Short Title & Bill Sponsor): For Discussion Only SB 760- Local Campaign Finance Options

> Respectfully, Representatives Michaux and Stam Chairs

I hereby certify this notice was filed by the committee assistant at the following offices at 10:00am on June 16, 2004.

Principal Clerk
Reading Clerk - House Chamber

Jana Stam (Committee Assistant)

## ATTENDANCE

# Election Law and Campaign Finance Reform (Name of Committee)

DATES	902190													
Rep. Martha Alexander	EX													
Rep, John Blust	<u>  </u> レ													
Rep. Donald Bonner	1	•												
Rep. Jim Crawford														
Rep. Bill Daughtridge												2,440		
Rep. Leo Daughtry	V			1		<u> </u>							<u> </u>	
Rep. Susan Fisher	٧	,								1000				
Rep. Joe Kiser	<u> </u>			<u> </u>										
Rep. Earline Parmon	」ビ		1		<u> </u>				<u> </u>					
Rep. John Rayfield	V						<u> </u>							
Rep. Deborah Ross	14			1			L				<u> </u>			
Rep, Edgar Starnes			1			<u> </u>								
Rep. Steve Wood	12						<u> </u>							
Rep. Mickey Michaux - Chair	ب ا	-		<u> </u>			<u> </u>						<u> </u>	
Rep. Paul Stam - Chair	14				<u> </u>		1							
Rep. Hugh Holliman - Vice-Chair	14													
Rep. Brubaker – ex-officio														
Rep. Culpepper - ex-officio							<u> </u>						<u> </u>	
Rep. Cunningham - ex-officio							<u> </u>							
Rep. Eddins - ex-officio								<u> </u>						
Erica Churchill	1	,												
Bill Gilkerson	14						L							

# MINUTES HOUSE COMMITTEE ON ELECTION LAW AND CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM

June 17, 2004

The House Committee on Election Law and Campaign Finance Reform met on Thursday, June 17, 2004, in Room 1228 of the Legislative Building at 9:00 AM. The following members were present: Co-Chairman Mickey Michaux, Co-Chairman Paul Stam, Vice-Chairman Hugh Holliman, Representatives Blust, Bonner, Daughtry, Kiser, Fisher, Parmon, Rayfield, Ross and Wood, Bill Gilkerson and Erica Churchill, Staff Counselors were in attendance. A Visilor Registration list is attached and made a part of these minutes.

Co-Chairman Michaux called the meeting to order. Representative Susan Fisher was introduced at this time as the replacement for Representative Martin Nesbitt. Our pages for the day were Sarah Ann Hill from Gates County, Amanda Pressley from Jackson County, Christen Holcombe from Wake County, Lauren Bollinger from Mecklenburg County, Lauren Ross from Mecklenburg County and David Epps from Wake County. Our Sergeant At Arms for the day were Thomas Wilder, James Worth, James Womack and Leslie Oakley.

Co-Chairman Michaux called the meeting for discussion only of Senate Bill 760.

Representative Joe Hackney who stood in for Senator Gulley, was recognized to explain SB 760, A BILL TO BE ENTITLED AN ACT TO CLARIFY THAT GRANTS FROM UNIFORM PROGRAMS FOR PUBLIC CAMPAIGN FINANCING DO NOT CONSTITUTE "CONTRIBUTIONS" AND ARE NOT SUBJECT TO RESTRICTIONS ON CONTRIBUTIONS; TO CLARIFY THAT GOVERNMENTS IN CITIES AND COUNTIES OF A CERTAIN SIZE ARE AUTHORIZED TO CONDUCT THOSE PROGRAMS: AND TO REQUIRE A REVIEW OF LOCAL PUBLIC CAMPAIGN FINANCING PROGRAMS. Upon motion made by Representative Bonner to accept the Proposed Committee Substitute, the Committee passed the motion.

After much discussion and hearing from several visitors which included Paul Williams, Friends of Governor's Home Builders Assoc.; Chris Haggerty, N. C. Center for Voter Education, Bob Hill. Democracy for North Carolina; Bruce Thompson, Town of Cary and Michael Crouse, an attorney who represented Cary in the past regarding this issue.

There being no further business, Co-Chairman Michaux adjourned the meeting at 9:47 AM.

### ELECTION LAW AND CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM June 17, 2004 Page 2

Respectfully submitted,

Representative Mickey Michaux, Jr. Co-Chairman (Presiding)

Committee Assistant

Representative Paul Stam Co-Chairman

Pri	nci	pa	CI	erk
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# SENATE NOTICE OF COMMITTEE MEETING AND BILL SPONSOR NOTICE

### REVISED NOTICE/ HB-497 REMOVED FROM AGENDA

The Senate Committee on Judiciary I will meet at the following time:

DAY		DATE	ALT.	1E	ROOM
Tuesday	Titr	ie 3, 2003	10:00	AM	1027 LB
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The following will be considered:

BILL NO.	SHORT TITLE	SPONSOR
HB-786	Civil Parking/Red Light Prima Facie Rule	Rep. Culpepper
HB-926	Assault In The Presence of A Child	Rep. Dickson
HB-1114	School Volunteer Records Are Confidential	Rep. Saunders
HB-1120	H.S. Students As Poll Workers	Rep. Alexander
HB-1171	Amend Hazing Laws	Rep. Dickson
SB-760	Local Campaign Finance Reform	Sen. Gulley

Senator Daniel G. Clodfelter, Chair

Princi	pa	C	lerk
Readi	ng	Cl	erk

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The following will be considered:

BILL NO.	SHORT TITLE	SPONSOR
HB-786	Civil Parking/Red Light Prima Facie Rule	Rep. Culpepper
HB-926	Assault In The Presence of A Child	Rep. Dickson
HB-1114	School Volunteer Records Are Confidential	Rep. Saunders
HB-1120	H.S. Students As Poll Workers	Rep. Alexander
HB-1171	Amend Hazing Laws	Rep. Dickson
SB-760	Local Campaign Finance Reform	Sen. Gulley

Senator Daniel G. Clodfelter, Chair

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# SENATE NOTICE OF COMMITTEE MEETING AND BILL SPONSOR NOTICE

### REVISED NOTICE/ HB-497 REMOVED FROM AGENDA

The Senate Committee on Judiciary I will meet at the following time:

DAY	DATE	TIM	Œ	ROOM
Tuesday	June 3, 2003	10:00	AM	1027 LB

The following will be considered:

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SB-760	Local Campaign Finance Reform	Sen. Gulley

Senator Daniel G. Clodfelter, Chair

### GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF NORTH CAROLINA SESSION 2003

H

### HOUSE BILL 1120

D

## Committee Substitute Favorable 4/24/03 PROPOSED SENATE COMMITTEE SUBSTITUTE H1120-PCS70332-RR-29

Short Title: Student Pollworkers/Other Changes. (Public)

Sponsors:

Referred to:

April 10, 2003

### A BILL TO BE ENTITLED

AN ACT TO PERMIT THE APPOINTMENT OF CERTAIN HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS AS STUDENT ELECTION ASSISTANTS AND TO MAKE OTHER CHANGES TO THE ELECTION LAWS.

The General Assembly of North Carolina enacts:

SECTION 1. Article 5 of Chapter 163 of the General Statutes is amended by adding a new section to read:

"§ 163-42.1. Student election assistants.

A student of at least 17 years of age at the time of any election or primary in which the student works shall be eligible to be appointed as a student election assistant. To be eligible a student must have all the following qualifications:

- (1) Be a United States citizen.
- (2) Be a resident of the county in which the student is appointed.
- (3) Be enrolled in a secondary educational institution, including a home school as defined in G.S. 115C-563(a), with an exemplary academic record as determined by that institution.
- (4) Be recommended by the principal or director of the secondary educational institution in which the student is enrolled.
- (5) Have the consent of a parent, legal custodian, or guardian.

The county board of elections may appoint student election assistants, following guidelines which shall be issued by the State Board of Elections. No more than two student election assistants shall be assigned to any voting place. Every student election assistant shall work under the direct supervision of the election judges. The student election assistants shall attend the same training as a precinct assistant, shall be sworn in the same manner as a precinct assistant, and shall be compensated in the same manner as precinct assistants. The county board of elections shall prescribe the duties of a student election assistant, following guidelines which shall be issued by the State Board

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chairman, and such precinct election officials shall be paid the sum of fifteen dollars (\$15.00) for attending the instructional meetings required by this section.

In its discretion, the board of county commissioners of any county may provide funds with which the county board of elections may pay chief judges, judges, assistants, and ballot counters in addition to the amounts specified in this section. Observers shall be paid no compensation for their services.

A person appointed to serve as chief judge, or judge of election when a previously appointed chief judge or judge fails to appear at the voting place or leaves his post on the day of an election or primary shall be paid the same compensation as the chief judge or judge appointed prior to that date.

For the purpose of this section, the phrase "the State minimum wage," means the amount set by G.S. 95-25,3(a). For the purpose of this section, no other provision of Article 2A of Chapter 95 of the General Statutes shall apply."

SECTION 4. G.S. 163-112(b) reads as rewritten;

"(b) Death of One of More Than Two Candidates within 10 Days after the Filing Period Closes. — If at the close of the filing period more than two candidates have filed for a single-seat office, and within 10 days after the filing period closes the board of elections receives notice of a candidate's death, the board shall immediately open the filing period for that party contest, for three additional days in order for candidates to file for that office. The name of the deceased candidate shall not be printed on the ballot.

In the event a candidate's death occurs more than 10 days after the closing of the original filing period, the names of the remaining candidates shall be printed on the ballot. If the ballots have been printed at the time death occurs, the ballots shall not be reprinted and any votes cast for a deceased candidate shall not be counted or considered for any purpose. In the event the death of a candidate or candidates leaves only one candidate, then such candidate shall be certified as the party's nominee for that office."

SECTION 5. G.S. 163-278.6(18a) reads as rewritten:

"(18a) The term 'referendum' means any question, issue, or act referred to a vote of the people of the entire State by the General Assembly, a unit of local government, or by the people under any applicable local act and includes constitutional amendments and State bond issues. The term 'referendum' includes any type of municipal, county, or special district referendum: referendum and any initiative or referendum authorized by a municipal charter or local act. A recall election shall not be considered a referendum within the meaning of this Article."

SECTION 6. G.S. 163-82.10(d) reads as rewritten:

"(d) Exception for Address of Certain Registered Voters. - Notwithstending subsections (b) and (c) of this section, if a registered voter submits to the county board of elections a copy of a protective order without attachments, if any, issued to that person under G.S. 50B-3 or a lawful order of any court of competent jurisdiction restricting the access or contact of one or more persons with a registered voter or a current and valid Address Confidentiality Program authorization card issued pursuant to the provisions of Chapter 15C of the General Statutes, accompanied by a signed

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statement that the voter has good reason to believe that the physical safety of the voter or a member of the voter's family residing with the voter would be isopardized if the voter's address were open to public inspection, that voter's address is a public record but shall be kept confidential as long as the protective order remains in effect or the voter remains a certified program participant in the Address Confidentiality Program. That voter's name, precinct, and the other data contained in that voter's registration record shall remain a public record. That voter's signed statement submitted under this subsection is a public record but shall be kept confidential as long as the protective order remains in effect or the voter remains a certified program participant in the Address Confidentiality Program. It is the responsibility of the voter to provide the county board with a copy of the valid protective order in effect or a current and valid Address Confidentiality Program authorization card issued pursuant to the provisions of Chapter 15C of the General Statutes. The voter's actual address shall be used for any election-related purpose by any board of elections. That voter's address shall be available for inspection by a law enforcement agency or by a person identified in a court order, if inspection of the address by that person is directed by that court order. It shall not be a violation of this section if the address of a voter who is participating in the Address Confidentiality Program is discovered by a member of the public in public records disclosed by a county board of elections prior to December 1, 2001. Addresses required to be kept confidential by this section shall not be made available to the jury commission under the provisions of G.S. 9-2."

SECTION 7. G.S. 163-221 reads as rewritten:

### "§ 163-221. Persons may not sign name of another to petition.

- No person may sign the name of another person to to any of the following:
  - Any petition calling for an election or referendum referendum. (1)
  - Any petition under G.S. 163-96 for the formulation of a new political (2)party:party.
  - (3) Any petition under G.S. 163-107.1 requesting a person to be a eandidate; candidate.
  - Any petition under G.S. 163-122 to have the name of an unaffiliated (4) candidate placed on the general election ballot, or under G.S. 163-296 to have the name of an unaffiliated or nonpartisan candidate placed on the regular municipal election ballot; orballot.
  - (5) Any petition under G.S. 163-213.5 to place a name on the ballot under the Presidential Preference Primary Act.
  - (6)Any petition under G.S. 163-123 to qualify as a write-in candidate.
- (b) Any name signed on a petition, in violation of this section, shall be void.
- Any person who willfully violates this section is guilty of a Class 2 (c) misdemeanor."

**SECTION 8.(a)** G.S. 163-182.13(a) reads as rewritten:

When State Board May Order New Election. - The State Board of Elections may order a new election, upon agreement of at least four of its members, in the case of any one or more of the following:

б

15.

nominated. In both the primary and election, a voter should not mark more names for any office than there are positions to be filled by election. If two or more candidates receiving the highest number of votes each received the same number of votes, the board of elections shall determine their relative ranking by lot, and shall declare the nominees accordingly. The canvass of the primary shall be held on the third-seventh day (Sunday exception) following the primary. In accepting the filing of complaints concerning the conduct of an election, a board of elections shall be subject to the rules concerning Sundays and holidays set forth in G.S. 103-5."

SECTION 10.(i) G.S. 163-300 reads as rewritten:

"§ 163-300. Disposition of duplicate abstracts in municipal elections.

Within five nine days after a primary or election is held in any municipality, the chairman of the county or municipal board of elections shall mail to the chairman of the State Board of Elections, the duplicate abstract prepared in accordance with G.S. 163-182.6. One copy shall be retained by the county or municipal board of elections as a permanent record and one copy shall be filed with the city clerk."

SECTION 10.(i) G.S. 163-322(b) reads as rewritten:

"(b) Determination of Nominees. — In the primary, the two candidates for a single office receiving the highest number of votes, and those candidates for a group of offices receiving the highest number of votes, equal to twice the number of positions to be filled, shall be declared nominated. If two or more candidates receiving the highest number of votes each receive the same number of votes, the State Board of Elections shall determine their relative ranking by lot, and shall declare the nominees accordingly. The canvass of the primary shall be held on the same date as the primary canvass fixed under G.S. 163-188-163-182.5. The canvass shall be conducted in accordance with Article 16 15A of this Chapter."

SECTION 10.(k) G.S. 163-182,15 reads as rewritten:

# "§ 163-182.15. Certificate of nomination or election, or certificate of the results of a referendum.

- (a) Issued by County Board of Elections. In ballot items within the jurisdiction of the county board of elections, the county board shall issue a certificate of nomination or election, or a certificate of the results of the referendum, as appropriate. The certificate shall be issued by the county board five six days after the completion of the canvass pursuant to G.S. 163-182.5, unless there is an election protest pending. If there is an election protest, the certificate of nomination or election or the certificate of the result of the referendum shall be issued in one of the following ways, as appropriate:
  - (1) The certificate shall be issued five days after the protest is dismissed or denied by the county board of elections, unless that decision has been appealed to the State Board of Elections.
  - (2) The certificate shall be issued 10 days after the final decision of the State Board, unless the State Board has ordered a new election or the issuance of the certificate is stayed by the Superior Court of Wake County pursuant to G.S. 163-182.14.
  - (3) If the decision of the State Board has been appealed to the Superior Court of Wake County and the court has stayed the certification, the

- certificate shall be issued five days after the entry of a final order in the case in the Superior Court of Wake County, unless that court or an appellate court orders otherwise.
  - (b) Issued by State Board of Elections. In ballot items within the jurisdiction of the State Board of Elections, the State Board of Elections shall issue a certificate of nomination or election, or a certificate of the results of the referendum, as appropriate. The certificate shall be issued by the State Board five six days after the completion of the canvass pursuant to G.S. 163-182.5, unless there is an election protest pending. If there is an election protest, the certificate of nomination or election or the certificate of the result of the referendum shall be issued in one of the following ways, as appropriate:
    - (1) The certificate shall be issued 10 days after the final decision of the State Board on the election protest, unless the State Board has ordered a new election or the issuance of the certificate is stayed by the Superior Court of Wake County pursuant to G.S. 163-14.
    - (2) If the decision of the State Board has been appealed to the Superior Court of Wake County and the court has stayed the certification, the certificate shall be issued five days after the entry of a final order in the case in the Superior Court of Wake County, unless that court or an appellate court orders otherwise.
  - (c) Copy to Secretary of State. The State Board of Elections shall provide to the Secretary of State a copy of each certificate of nomination or election, or certificate of the results of a referendum, issued by it. The Secretary shall keep the certificates in a form readily accessible and useful to the public."

SECTION 11. G.S. 163-227.2(a) reads as rewritten:

- "(a) Except as provided in subsection (a1) of this section, a person expecting to be absent from the county in which that person is registered during the entire period that the polls are open on the day of an election in which absentee ballots are authorized or is eligible under G.S. 163 226(a)(2), 163 226(a)(3a), or 163 226(a)(4) Any voter eligible to vote by absentee ballot under G.S. 163-226 may request an application for absentee ballots, complete the application, and vote under the provisions of this section."
- SECTION 12. Sections 1 and 10 of this act become effective January 1, 2004. The remainder of this act becomes effective when this act becomes law.



### **HOUSE BILL 1120:** Student Pollworkers/Other Changes.

BILL ANALYSIS

Committee: Senate Judiciary I Date:

May 22, 2003

H1120-CSRR-29 [v.6] Version:

Introduced by: Representative Alexander

Summary by: William R. Gilkeson

Committee Co-Counsel

SUMMARY: This PCS for House Bill 1120 would authorize the appointment of high school students 17 years and older as student election assistants, move the canvass from the 3rd to the 7th day after election day, and make several other election-law changes. Effective 1-1-04 for the student assistants and the canvass; other changes, effective when the bill becomes law.

- Section 1 Student Election Assistants. Allows county boards of elections to appoint students of at least 17 years old as "student election assistants." The State Board of Elections would adopt guidelines as to how the student election assistants would be appointed. The students would have to be U.S. citizens, residents of the county, enrolled in a secondary school (including a home school) with an exemplary academic record, be recommended by the principal or director of the school, and have the consent of a parent, legal custodian or guardian. The student election assistants would work at the voting place under the supervision of the election judges there. Although they would not be precinct officials, they would receive the same training and pay as a precinct assistant. There could not be more than 2 of them per precinct. (The Help America Vote Act of 2002 (HAVA) contains a provision creating a "Help America Vote Foundation" whose purpose is to "mobilize secondary school students (including students educated in the home) in the United States to participate in the election process in a nonpartisan manner as poll workers or assistants (to the extent permitted under applicable State law)." The Foundation must also establish cooperative efforts between election officials, educational agencies, and nonprofits. It can accept private donations. HAVA authorizes the appropriation of \$5 million for the foundation.)
- Section 2 Technical Change to Judicial Public Financing Act. Makes a technical change to the statute setting up voluntary public financing of appellate judicial candidates. That statute (163-278.67) entitles a candidate for appellate judge who has volunteered to abide by the fundraising and spending restrictions of the program to receive "rescue funds" if the candidate's opponent spends in excess of the limitation, or if someone makes an independent expenditure in opposition to the candidate in the program, or in support of an opponent of that candidate. Another statute (163-278.66) sets up a reporting requirement of independent expenditures to make that work, but the language is not quite parallel. The reporting statute requires reporting of independent expenditures "in support of or opposition to a certified candidate." This section makes the language in the rescue funds statute and the reporting statute parallel.
- No Extra Compensation of Election Officials. Provides that if an election official is being paid an hourly wage or fee on election day and the official is performing additional election duties away from the assigned precinct, the official will be entitled to no additional compensation for the extra work other than reimbursement for expenses.
- Section 4 Technical Change to Primary Vacancy Statute. Makes a technical change to the statute about the death of a candidate in a primary. The current language talks about two candidates filing for a "single office." Because all candidates file for only one office, a change is made to "single-seat office" to clarify that the statute is referring to a race in which only one is to be nominated.

### GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF NORTH CAROLINA SESSION 2003

H

### **HOUSE BILL 1120**

Short Title: H.S. Students as Pollworkers. (Public)

Sponsors: Representatives Alexander; and Insko.

Referred to: Election Law and Campaign Finance Reform.

April 10, 2003

### A BILL TO BE ENTITLED

AN ACT TO PERMIT THE APPOINTMENT OF CERTAIN HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS AS PRECINCT ASSISTANTS.

The General Assembly of North Carolina enacts:

SECTION 1. G.S. 163-42 reads as rewritten:

"§ 163-42. Assistants at polls; appointment; term of office; qualifications; oath of office.

Each county and municipal board of elections is authorized, in its discretion, to appoint two or more assistants for each precinct to aid the chief judge and judges. Not more than two assistants shall be appointed in precincts having 500 or less registered voters. Assistants shall be qualified voters of the county in which the precinct is located. When the board of elections determines that assistants are needed in a precinct an equal number shall be appointed from different political parties, unless the requirement as to party affiliation cannot be met because of an insufficient number of voters of different political parties within the county.

In the discretion of the county board of elections, a precinct assistant may serve less than the full day prescribed for chief judges and judges in G.S. 163-47(a).

The chairman of each political party in the county shall have the right to recommend from three to 10 registered voters in each precinct for appointment as precinct assistants in that precinct. If the recommendations are received by it no later than the thirtieth day prior to the primary or election, the board shall make appointments of the precinct assistants for each precinct from the names thus recommended. If the recommendations of the party chairs for precinct assistant in a precinct are insufficient, the county board of elections by unanimous vote of all of its members may name to serve as precinct assistant in that precinct registered voters in that precinct who were not recommended by the party chairs. If, after diligently seeking to fill the positions with registered voters of the precinct, the county board still has an insufficient number of precinct assistants for the precinct, the county board by unanimous vote of all of its members may appoint to the positions registered voters in other precincts in the same county who meet the

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qualifications other than residence to be precinct officials in the precinct. In making its appointments, the county board shall assure, wherever possible, that no precinct has precinct officials all of whom are registered with the same party. In no instance shall the county board appoint nonresidents of the precinct to a majority of the positions as precinct assistant in a precinct.

In addition, a county board of elections by unanimous vote of all of its members may appoint any registered voter in the county as emergency election-day assistant, as long as that voter is otherwise qualified to be a precinct official. The State Board of Elections shall determine for each election the number of emergency election-day assistants each county may have, based on population, expected turnout, and complexity of election duties. The county board by unanimous vote of all of its members may assign emergency election-day assistants on the day of the election to any precinct in the county where the number of precinct officials is insufficient because of an emergency occurring within 48 hours of the opening of the polls that prevents an appointed precinct official from serving. A person appointed to serve as emergency election-day assistant shall be trained and paid like other precinct assistants in accordance with G.S. 163-46. A county board of elections shall apportion the appointments as emergency election-day assistant among registrants of each political party so as to make possible the staffing of each precinct with officials of more than one party, and the county board shall make assignments so that no precinct has precinct officials all of whom are registered with the same party.

A student of at least 17 years of age at the time of any election or primary in which the student works shall be eligible to be appointed as an election assistant. To be eligible a student must have all the following qualifications:

- Be a United States citizen. (1)
- (2) Be a resident of the county in which the student is appointed.
- Be enrolled in a secondary educational institution with an exemplary (3) academic record as determined by that institution.
- Be recommended by the principal or director of the secondary (4) educational institution in which the student is enrolled.
- Have the consent of a parent, legal custodian, or guardian. (5)

No more than two student election assistants shall be assigned to any voting place. Every student election assistant shall work under the direct supervision of the election judges. The student election assistants shall attend the same training as any other election assistant and shall be compensated in the same manner as other election assistants. Under no circumstances may students ineligible to register to vote be appointed and act as precinct judges or observers in any election.

Before entering upon the duties of the office, each assistant shall take the oath prescribed in G.S. 163-41(a) to be administered by the chief judge of the precinct for which the assistant is appointed. Assistants serve for the particular primary or election for which they are appointed, unless the county board of elections appoints them for a term to expire on the date appointments are to be made pursuant to G.S. 163-41."

**SECTION 2.** This act becomes effective January 1, 2004.

# Exhibit II



Home > Campaign finance data > Browse data > Disbursements

### **Disbursements**

Viewing 31 filtered results for: Clear all filters

Data type: processed

MARK HARRIS FOR CONGRESS (C00649236)

red dome

01/01/2017

12/31/2018

Spender	Recipient	State	Description	Disbursement date	Amount	
MARK HARRIS FOR CONGRESS	RED DOME GROUP	NC	REIMBURSEMENT FOR PRINTING	11/26/2018	\$2,051.79	,
MARK HARRIS FOR CONGRESS	RED DOME GROUP	NC	PAYROLL AND GRASSROOTS	11/26/2018	\$32,634.00	(
MARK HARRIS FOR CONGRESS	RED DOME GROUP	NC	DIGITAL ADS	11/05/2018	\$15,000.00	
MARK HARRIS FOR CONGRESS	RED DOME GROUP	NC	DIGITAL ADS	11/02/2018	\$5,000.00	
MARK HARRIS FOR CONGRESS	RED DOME GROUP	NC	DIGITAL ADS	11/01/2018	\$10,000.00	
MARK HARRIS FOR CONGRESS	RED DOME GROUP	NC	GRASSROOTS AND DIGITAL	11/01/2018	\$31,494.81	(

Spender	Recipient	State	Description	Disbursement date	Amount
MARK HARRIS FOR CONGRESS	RED DOME GROUP	NC	GRASSROOTS	10/09/2018	\$13,750.00
MARK HARRIS FOR CONGRESS	RED DOME GROUP	NC	GRASSROOTS AND SALARIES FOR STAFF	09/28/2018	\$22,790.00
MARK HARRIS FOR CONGRESS	RED DOME GROUP	NC	GRASSROOTS AND SALARIES	09/28/2018	\$14,463.14
MARK HARRIS FOR CONGRESS	RED DOME GROUP	NC	GRASSROOTS AND SALARIES FOR STAFF	09/11/2018	\$3,260.00
MARK HARRIS FOR CONGRESS	RED DOME GROUP	NC	GRASSROOTS	09/04/2018	\$7,628.38
MARK HARRIS FOR CONGRESS	RED DOME GROUP	NC	GRASSROOTS AND SALARIES FOR STAFF	09/04/2018	\$24,512.00
MARK HARRIS FOR CONGRESS	RED DOME GROUP	NC	GRASSROOTS [*]	08/21/2018	\$6,030.92
MARK HARRIS FOR CONGRESS	RED DOME GROUP	NC	ADMIN AND SALARY FOR STAFF GRASSROOTS AND MEDIA	08/02/2018	\$22,433.00
MARK HARRIS FOR CONGRESS	RED DOME GROUP	NC	ADMIN AND SALARY FOR STAFF GRASSROOTS AND MEDIA	08/02/2018	\$4,973.67

Spender	Recipient	State	Description	Disbursement date	Amount	
MARK HARRIS FOR CONGRESS	RED DOME GROUP	NC	ADMIN AND SALARY FOR STAFF GRASSROOTS AND MEDIA	07/03/2018	\$28,637.50	(
MARK HARRIS FOR CONGRESS	RED DOME GROUP	NC	ADMIN AND SALARY FOR STAFF GRASSROOTS AND MEDIA	06/04/2018	\$13, <b>7</b> 10. <b>7</b> 9	
MARK HARRIS FOR CONGRESS	RED DOME GROUP	NC	ADMIN AND SALARY FOR STAFF GRASSROOTS AND MEDIA	06/04/2018	\$9,712.50	
MARK HARRIS FOR CONGRESS	RED DOME GROUP	NC	ADMIN AND SALARY FOR STAFF GRASSROOTS AND MEDIA	05/17/2018	\$3,665.00	
MARK HARRIS FOR CONGRESS	RED DOME GROUP	NC	ADMIN AND SALARY FOR STAFF GRASSROOTS AND MEDIA	05/03/2018	\$18,233.00	(
MARK HARRIS FOR CONGRESS	RED DOME GROUP	NC	ADMIN AND SALARY	04/18/2018	\$19,217.64	
MARK HARRIS FOR CONGRESS	RED DOME GROUP	NC ⁻	ADMIN AND SALARY	04/05/2018	\$20,903.83	
MARK HARRIS FOR CONGRESS	RED DOME GROUP	NC	ADMIN AND SALARY FOR STAFF AND GRASSROOT	03/27/2018	\$14,495.00	
MARK HARRIS FOR CONGRESS	RED DOME GROUP	NC	ADMIN AND SALARY FOR STAFF AND GRASSROOTS	02/28/2018	\$26,680.88	

Spender	Recipient	State	Description	Disbursement date	Amount			
MARK HARRIS FOR CONGRESS	RED DOME GROUP	NC	ADMIN AND SALARY FOR STAFF GRASSROOTS AND MEDIA	02/06/2018	\$26,374.99			
MARK HARRIS FOR CONGRESS	RED DOME GROUP	NC	ADMIN AND SALARY FOR STAFF AND PRINTING	01/08/2018	\$27,837.52			
MARK HARRIS FOR CONGRESS	RED DOME GROUP	NC	ADMIN AND SALARY	12/06/2017	\$19,145.00			
MARK HARRIS FOR CONGRESS	RED DOME GROUP	NC	ADMIN AND SALARY	11/06/2017	\$25,158.00			
MARK HARRIS FOR CONGRESS	RED DOME GROUP	NC	ADMIN AND SALARY	10/11/2017	\$24,935.00			
MARK HARRIS FOR CONGRESS	RED DOME GROUP	NC	ADMIN AND SALARY	09/05/2017	\$17,683.59			
MARK HARRIS FOR CONGRESS	RED DOME GROUP	NC	ADMIN AND SALARY	08/01/2017	\$12,677.00			
Results per page:	Results per page: 50							

## 40 - 7.1.2.1 (b) - Exhibit LL, Second woman claims she was paid to pick up ballots in US House District 9 race.mp4

Video: Joe Bruno, Second woman claims she was paid to pick up ballots in U.S. House District 9 race, WSOCTV.COM (Dec. 5, 2018), <a href="https://www.wsoctv.com/news/local/second-woman-claims-she-was-paid-to-pick up-ballots-in-us-house-district-9-race/883177036?nowrap.">https://www.wsoctv.com/news/local/second-woman-claims-she-was-paid-to-pick up-ballots-in-us-house-district-9-race/883177036?nowrap.</a>



## 41 - 7.1.2.1 (b) - Exhibit MM, Channel 9 uncovers similarities between absentee ballots in U.S. House.mp4

Video: Joe Bruno, Channel 9 uncovers similarities between absentee ballots in U.S. House District 9 race, WSOCTV.COM (Dec. 4, 2018), <a href="https://www.wsoctv.com/news/local/channel-9-uncovers-similarities-between-absentee-ballots-in-us-house-district-9-race/882660808">https://www.wsoctv.com/news/local/channel-9-uncovers-similarities-between-absentee-ballots-in-us-house-district-9-race/882660808</a>.



#### AFFIDAVIT OF CALLIE'S, LOCKLEAR

North Carolina

County of Robeson

Callie S. Locklear, appearing before the undersigned notary and being duly sworn, says that:

I, Callie S. Locklear, do declare the following under penalty of perjury:

- 1. I am over the age of 18 and a resident of the state of North Carolina. I have personal knowledge of the facts here, and if called as a witness, can testify completely thereto.
- 2. I suffer no legal disabilities and have personal knowledge of the facts set forth herein.
- I reside at 1185 N. Roberts Avenue, #A3, Lumberton, North Carolina. I am a registered North Carolina voter at this address and was eligible to vote in the November 6, 2018 general election.
- 4. I requested an absentee ballot for the 2018 general election.
- When I received my absentee ballot, I filled out the ballot and sealed the ballot inside the absentee ballot envelope.
- 6. During the early in-person voting period, I decided to bring my sealed ballot envelope to a "one-stop" absentee voting location.
- 7. When I arrived at the one-stop absentee voting location a man standing outside the location was collecting ballots envelopes.
- 8. I did not know this man personally.
- This man offered to deliver my sealed absentee ballot envelope to the proper county officials inside the one-stop absentee voting location.
- 10. I gave my sealed absentee ballot envelope to the man to deliver to the proper county elections officials.

11. I do not know	whether my absentee	ballot envelope	was submitted to	the proper county
officials.				

 n Mr. 36 No 10 No		 
	1000000	



I declare that to the best of my knowledge and belief, the information herein is true, correct, and complete.

Name: Callie S. Locklear	
Signature: Calle & Footlean	
Date: /2//8//8	
Sworn to (or affirmed) and subscribed before me this the	day of Deenber, 20 18.
*********	Inson Furt
SIARON HUW	Notary Public
NOTARY PUBLIC ROBESON CO. NY COMM. EXP	Sharon Hunt
2/22/11	Notary's printed or typed name
NORTH CAROL	,
My commission expire	$\frac{2}{22}$ 20 19.

North Carolina
County of Bladen
Letire Retenat, appearing before the undersigned notary and being duly sworn, says that:
I, <u>Letite Retimat</u> , do declare the following under penalty of perjury:
<ol> <li>I am over the age of 18 and a resident of the state of North Carolina. I have personal knowledge of the facts here, and if called as a witness, can testify completely thereto.</li> </ol>
2. I suffer no legal disabilities and have personal knowledge of the facts set forth herein.
3. I reside at
4. I received an absentee ballot by mail which
I did not request,
5. I went to early voting on Friday, Nov. 2, 2018,
I brought the bullet with me. An election
official asked for my aboute ballot, so
I handed . I to Ler. I do not know what she
and with it.



## Exhibit 7.1.2.2

I declare that to the best of my knowledge and belief, the information herein is true, correct, and complete.

Name:

Signature:

Date:

Let Cetive D. Retama

12-18-18

Witness:

Printed Name: Matter J. // Xon



# State Absentee Ballot Rendest Form North Carolina

DR 04200

TIME RECIDIBY

TO:

BLADEN COUNTY BOARD OF ELECTIONS

Physical Address 301 S Cypress St Elizabethtown NC

28337

Mailing Address PO Box 512 Elizabethtown

1064 of 2469

PHONE: 910-862-6951 bladen.boe@ncsbe.gov FAX: 910-852-7820

FRAUDULENTLY OR FALSELY COMPLETI	GTHIS FORM IS A	CLASS I FELONY UND	er Chapter 163 of	THE NC GEN	ERAL STATU	TËS.
l am requesting an absentee ballot for the:		RAL ELECTION y, General, Municipal, Spe		OVEMBER 6		
Voter Information	, the section of	e transfer en en en ger⊈gen en transfer Transfer en en en en en en en en en en en en en		7	i an ist	**************************************
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Home Address (NC Residential Address.) 769 Martin Luturk	INSTA O	8	(If different than home	e address,)		
Bladenbore	State Zip Code  NC 2932		·			Zip Code
Have you lived at this address for more than 30 days? If "No," indicate the date of your move:	Tres □ No:	Blade	lence Previous Na	me (if applicat	ile)	
You must provide at least one identification number be structure for Sumber XXXX -		ris) Voter Registret Optens		onal) Email	(optional)	•
		•	<u>***</u>	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·		
Absentee Voting Information		es el el el el el el el el el el el el el			4.7 ( <del>5</del> 3.8 (7.9	# 10 A
Absentee Mailing Address (Where should the ballot be n	nailed?)	City		State	Zip Co	de
Rome as above	e oo ee oo ee oo ee oo ee oo ee		Principal Colonia			<u> </u>
If voter is registered as Unoffiliated and requesting a ba	llot for a partisan prir Republican		dallot prejerence. ] Libertarian		☐ Non-p	artisan
If voter is a patient in a hospital, clinic, nursing home or  If "Yes;" what is the name and address of the hospit  If requesting an absentee ballot on being the property of the hospital and the property of the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the hospital and the	al onfacility:	list your name, addres	s, contact information of the contact information of the contact information of the contact information of the contact information of the contact information of the contact information of the contact information of the contact information of the contact information of the contact information of the contact information of the contact information of the contact information of the contact information of the contact information of the contact information of the contact information of the contact information of the contact information of the contact information of the contact information of the contact information of the contact information of the contact information of the contact information of the contact information of the contact information of the contact information of the contact information of the contact information of the contact information of the contact information of the contact information of the contact information of the contact information of the contact information of the contact information of the contact information of the contact information of the contact information of the contact information of the contact information of the contact information of the contact information of the contact information of the contact information of the contact information of the contact information of the contact information of the contact information of the contact information of the contact information of the contact information of the contact information of the contact information of the contact information of the contact information of the contact information of the contact information of the contact information of the contact information of the contact information of the contact information of the contact information of the contact information of the contact information of the contact information of the contact information of the contact information of the contact information of the contact information of the contact information of the contact information of the contact information of the contact informatio	and relationsh ent ☐ gra ichild ☐ mo	ip to the vota	is now them through the
Requestor's Address		Name of Corpo	ration (If appointed leg	(al guardian		
City	State Zip Code	Requestor's Pl	Requesto	r's Email		*
For Militarý/Overseas Citizens Only (	may only be sig	ned by the voter	: may not be sign	ed by a ne	ar relativ	e/guardian)
Select one of the options below to qualify as a million Member of the Uniformed Services or Merchant Ma	ilitary or overseas v rine on active duty an	oter:				,
U.S. citizen residing outside the U.S. temporarily or i Current Address (Address where you are currently station		[Military/Ove	rseas Voters Only)	☐ Majl	☐ Fax	☐ Email
		Fax Number o	or Email Address			
Šī		Signature	e of Near Relati	ve/Legal	Guardian	(if applicable
	Q 1/12	<u>x</u>	**	· -	<del>-</del>	Date
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#### AFFIDAVIT OF CHRISTOPHER EASON

North Carolina

County of Bladen

Christopher Eason, appearing before the undersigned notary and being duly sworn, says that:

- I, Christopher Eason, do declare the following under penalty of perjury:
  - 1. I am over the age of 18 and a resident of the state of North Carolina. I have personal knowledge of the facts here, and if called as a witness, can testify completely thereto.
  - 2. I suffer no legal disabilities and have personal knowledge of the facts set forth herein.
  - I reside at 401 Edwards Ave, Bladenboro, North Carolina. I am a registered North Carolina voter at this address and was eligible to vote in the November 6, 2018 general election.
  - 4. I received an absentee ballot for the 2018 general election.
  - Leslie McCrae Dowless Jr., also known as McCrae Dowless, came to my residence and asked that I give him my absentee ballot.
  - I signed the absentee ballot envelope but left the ballot completely blank. I did not make any selections in any of the contests on the ballot.
  - I gave McCrae Dowless the absentee ballot envelope and ballot. I did not seal the ballot in the absentee ballot envelope.

8.	IKNW	MeCyae	Powless	personally.	
			- / JPT - JULY - T		
0			***************************************		
			·		



I declare that to the best of my knowledge and belief, the information herein is true, correct, and complete.

Name: Christopher Pason

Signature:

Date: 12

Sworn to (or affirmed) and subscribed before me this the day of De Clamber 2018.

Notary Public

Notary Public

Notary's printed or typed name

My commission expires



## State Absentee BallopRoguest Form

North Carolina

SEP 21 2018

TIME. _REC'D BY_ BLADEN CO. BD. OF ELECTIONS **BLADEN COUNTY BOARD OF ELECTIONS** 

Physical Address 301 S Cypress St

Mailing Address PO Box 512 Elizabethtown

Elizabethtown NC 28337

FAX: 910-862-7820

PHONE: 910-862-6951 bladen.boe@ncsbe.gov

FRAUDULENTLY OR FALSELY COMPLETING THIS FORM IS A CLASS I FELONY UNDER CHAPTER 163 OF THE NC GENERAL STATUTES.

I am requesting an absentee ballot for the:	GENERAL ion Type (Primary, Gen	ELECTION eral, Municipal, Special, etc.	on <u>NOVEN</u>	1BER 6	2019	
Voter Information						
Last Name First Name	<u> </u>	Mic	idle Name			
EASON Cha	isTophe		D			
Home Address (NC Residential Address.)		Mailing Address (If diff	erent than home addre	ess.)		
40 Edwards AVN						
Bladen botto 1.C.	Zip Code 28320	City			State	Zip Code
Have you lived at this address for more than 30 days? 🛮 Yes [	No	County of Residence	Previous Name (if	applicable	2)	
If "No," indicate the date of your move:	1704 - Danmarin, et 2012 august 111 - 2012 (1880) (1880) (1880)	i lade		-		
You must provide at least one identification num		r Registration No.	Phone (optional)	Email (d	optional)	
NC License of ID Number SSN		Optional				
						•
Absence voung information						
Absentee Mailing Address (Where should the ballot be mailed?)		City	** *** *** *** *** ** * * * * * * * *	State	Zip	Code
SAME			_			
If voter is registered as Unoffiliated and requesting a ballot for  Democratic Rep		hoose a primary ballot p: Libert				-partisan
If voter is a patient in a hospital, clinic, nursing home or rest ho  If "Yes," what is the name and address of the hospital or fac  If requesting an absentee ballot on behalf of o	cility:		anna de minorantement	evencen		180200000000000000000000000000000000000
Requestor's Name		pouse Drother/si		u <i>aonsnip</i> Grand		stepparent
		hild 🔲 grandchild	stepchild	moth		father-in-law
	s	on-in-law daughter-i				
Requestor's Address		Name of Corporation	If appointed legal guar	rdian)		
City State	Zip Code	Requestor's Phone	Requestor's Ema	iil		
						-
For Military/Overseas Citizens Only (may o	only be signed l	by the voter; may	not be signed by	, a nea	r relati	ve/guardian)
Select one of the options below to qualify as a military of Member of the Uniformed Services or Merchant Marine on			of residence <u>or</u> an elig	ible spous	se/depen	dent.
_			in the			
U.S. citizen residing outside the U.S. temporarily or indefinit	ely.					
U.S. citizen residing outside the U.S. temporarily or indefinit Current Address (Address where you are currently stationed or		Transmit my ballot by (Military/Overseas Vo		Mail	☐ Fa	ax 🔲 Email
			oters Only)	Mail	☐ Fa	ax 🔲 Email
Current Address (Address where you are currently stationed or		(Military/Overseas V Fax Number or Email	oters Only)			
Current Address (Address where you are currently stationed or	living overseas.)	(Military/Overseas Vo	oters Only)			
Current Address (Address where you are currently stationed or		(Military/Overseas Vo	oters Only)			

# Exhibit 7.1.2.2



# State Absentee Ballot Request Form North Carolina

12-0 fr 26 BLADEN COUNTY BOARD OF ELECTIONS

AD EN COUNTY BOARD OF ELECTIONS

Physical Address

301 S Cypress St Elizabethtown NC

Meiling Address PO Box 512 Elizabethtown

PHONE: 910-862-6951 bladen.boe@ncsbe.gov FAX: 910-862-7820

Est

FRAUDULENTLY OR FALSELY COMPLETIN	G THIS FORM IS A C	ASS I FELONY UNDE	R CHA	PTER 163 OF THE NO	GENERAL ST	ATUTES.
lam requesting an absentee ballot for the:		AL ELECTION General, Municipal, Speci	al, etc.)		BER 6, 2018 Election Date	<del></del>
Voter Information						
Last Name First Na	ame		Midd	lle Name	Suffix	Date of Birth
By Hard Do	inale c		1	Farl		
Home Address (NC Residential Address.)	314.3	Mailing Address	_	rent than home address	5.)	自己是 <b>是是</b>
	nglas Nd					
01 1-1	NC 2832	19 an	it.		State	Zip Code
Have you lived at this address for more than 30 days?	Yes No	County of Reside	nce	Previous Name (if ap	pplicable)	- I
If "No," indicate the data of your move:	/					
You must provide at least one identification number belong transfer of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of t		Voter Registration	in No.	Phone (optional)	Email (optional	)
	HALLEN		1	1. 15 1.		
Absentee Voting Information			-11:-	בייים מיי		
Absentee Mailing Address (Where should the ballot be m	ailed?)	бty			State Zi	p Code
If "Yes," what is the name and address of the hospital  If requesting on absentee ballot on behing Requestor's Name		st your name, address,			tionship to the	
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Requestor's Address				fappointed legal guard	And the second second	
Citý	State Zip Code	Requestor's Pho	ne	Requestor's Email	1	
For Military/Overseas Citizens Only (r	Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Contro		may i	not be signed by	a near rela	tive/guardian)
Select one of the options below to qualify as a mil  Member of the Uniformed Services or Merchant Mar	A DESCRIPTION OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY		ought o	of residence ne se alleit	nle sonuse Idens	endent
U.S. citizen residing outside the U.S. temporarily or in		carrettly gogeth north	Junty C	or residence or an eligit	ar showetness	modil.
Current Address (Address where you are currently station		Transmit my bi (Military/Over			nall []	Fax Emai
		Fax Number of	Email /	Address		
Signature of Voter (voter only)		Signature	of N	ear Relati	EXHIBIT	polica

I declare that to the best of my knowledge and belief, the information herein is true, correct, and complete.

Name: Douglas Bullard

Signature: Wa

Date: /

Sworn to (or affirmed) and subscribed before me this the

day of De Center,

20 10

Notary Public

Jandra Whitle

•

My commission expires

March 12

20 23

#### AFFIDAVIT OF HAZEL GUYTON

North Carolina

County of Bladen

Hazel Guyton, appearing before the undersigned notary and being duly sworn, says that:

- l, Hazel Guyton, do declare the following under penalty of perjury:
  - 1. I am over the age of 18 and a resident of the state of North Carolina. I have personal knowledge of the facts here, and if called as a witness, can testify completely thereto.
  - 2. I suffer no legal disabilities and have personal knowledge of the facts set forth herein.
  - 3. I reside at 208 West Walnut Street, Apartment 6D, Bladenboro Apartments, Bladenboro, North Carolina. I am a registered North Carolina voter at this address and was eligible to vote in the November 6, 2018 general election.
  - 4. I requested an absentee ballot in the recent election and it was mailed to me. I do this because I am disabled.
  - 5. I filled out the absentee ballot and put it in the envelope and sealed it. Leslie McCrae Dowless Jr., also known as McCrae Dowless, came by to pick it up. He has been doing that for me for several years.
  - 6. There was a woman with McCrae Dowless when he picked up my ballot. I didn't know her and don't recall her name.
  - 7. I assume but don't know for sure whether McCrae Dowless turned in my ballot. I thought he was going to do that. I have known him since he was a little boy.
  - 8. I did not vote at the polling place on Election Day.
  - 9. McCrae Dowless told me that he was picking up ballots for other people who live in the Bladenboro Apartments.

[Signature on the Following Page]



### Exhibit 7.1.2.2

I declare that to the best of my knowledge and belief, the information herein is true, correct, and complete.

Name: Emma Shipman

Signature shepman

Date: 12,27.18

Sworn to (or affirmed) and subscribed before me this the 20 day of Decom-

Son dia White

Notary Public

Sandra Whitele Notary's printed or typed name

My commission expires, March 12, 2023

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA	Ň	Exhibit 7.1.2.2	21 of 96
STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA	)	AFFIDAVIT OF LULY M.	YOUNG
COUNTY OF BLADEN	)	•	

The undersigned, being first duly sworn, upon personal knowledge and belief, does say and depose as follows:

- I am over the age of eighteen (18) years old, I am of sound mind and body, and I suffer no legal disabilities. If called as a witness, I can testify completely to the matters set forth herein.
- I am a resident of Bladen County, North Carolina, and I am a registered voter of said county and state.
- 3. My contact information is as follows:

  Address: 32-J&L Dring

  Sike WacCamew N.C. 28450

  Telephone: 910645-4819

  Email:

  4. I allege and state as follows: Dam Med July Found

  Mode My Wolk Early in act 2018, 30 d did

  Neline an abentie Ballating but d did not format



STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA  Exhibit 7.1.2.2  AFFIDAVIT OF LUCY M. YOUNG					
COUNTY OF BLADEN ) AFFIDAVIT OF LACTON (1997)					
The undersigned, being first duly sworn, upon personal knowledge and belief, does say and depese	as				
follows:					
1. I am over the age of eighteen (18) years old, I am of sound mind and body, and I suffer no	legal				
disabilities. If called as a witness, I can testify completely to the matters set forth herein.					
2. I am a resident of Bladen County, North Carolina, and I am a registered voter of said count	y and				
state.					
3. My contact information is as follows:					
Address: 32 J & L. Drine Like Waccaman N.C. 28450	Like Waccamen N.C. 28450				
Telephone: 910645-4819					
mail:					
4. I allege and state as follows: A Med Jucy Journ	<u>-</u>				
Made My Wolk Early in act 2018, 50 d dul					
riceine an abentie Bollating but I did not to					
sixfairs t far it.					
	<del>vice and a partial</del>				

EXHIBIT

This the 25 day of November, 2018.

Jucy M. Jaunes
Signature
Witness to Signature

LUCY M. YOUNG

Trelena C. Brown

Printed Name

#### STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA

#### COUNTY OF BLADEN

I, ________, a Notary Public, do hereby certify that _______
personally appeared before me this day and acknowledged the due execution of the foregoing instrument for the purposes therein described.

Witness my hand and notarial seal, this the day of November, 2018.

NOTARY PUBLIC

My Commission expires: _____

# I MITCHELL YOUNG

MITCHEL C32 J AND L DR XAKE WACCAMAW, NC 28450

DEM - BLADEN COUNTY

### 

CIV Ballot: G002 TCHELL YOUNG :P75/P75 11/06/2018 - GENERAL

Board Approval Date _

Second Primary Request or Runoff Request in the event that a Second Primary (or Runoff Election) is o request that an absertee application and ballot be soued and mailed to me. (Check the box to receive eligible ba

Annual Request for Illness/Disability
Due to continued or expected illness or disability, i request that
this application be a request for absentee ballots for any other
elections to be held this calendar year in which I am eligible to
participate. (Check the box to receive elegible ballots)

Signature of Voter (1 applicable)

advices where are sources and paliets should be mailed

#### Voter's Certification (Required)

Voter's Certification (Required)
I am applying for an absentee ballot *I am a duly qualified voter, regislered as an affiliate of the political party indicated on this application
All information represented on this application is correct *I am entitled to vote in this election *If I am an original voter voting in a primary
election. I am voting in the party primary indicated on the attached
label *If the party indicated is (UNA). I am voting a nonpartisan ballot.

**Absentee Application and Certificate** Fraudulently or Falsely completing this form is a Class I felony under Chapter 163 of the N.C. General Statutes

The following people are PROHIBITED from signing the Witnesses' Certification:

For all voters: a candidate, UNLESS the candidate is the voter's near relative;

For voters who are patients or residents of a hospital, clinic, nursing home, or adult care home: (1) an owner, manager, director, or employee of that facility; (2) an individual who holds any federal, State, or local elective office; and (3) an individual who holds office in a State, congressional district, county or precinct political party or organization, or who is a campaign manager or treasurer for any candidate or political party.

I further cert fy that I marked the enclosed ballot (or it was marked for me according to my instructions) in the presence of:

two (2) witnesses who are at least 18 years of age and who are not disqualified by law to witness the casting of my absentee ballot (the witnesses must complete the Option 1 of the Witnesses' Certification)

OR

a notary public (the notary must complete Option 2 of the Weness Cortification)

Signature of Voter(Bergunick)

Name Correction (if applicable)

Voter Assistant Certification (if applicable)
I certify that: • The voter requested my assistance • I assisted the
Voter by marking the ballot only according to the Voter's instruction;
and/or I assisted the Voter in completing the Absentee Application and
Certificate • I assisted the Voter only in the Voter's presence • I am
the Voter's near relative or verifiable legal guardian, or I am providing
assistance because a near relative or legal guardian is unavailable to
assist the Voter.

Name of Assistant Address of Assistant X Signature of Assistant

NCSBE v2018.02

Date

#### Witnesses' Certification

#### Option 1: Two (2) Witnesses (Required Unless a Notary Public is the Witness)

I certify that • I am at least 18 years old • I am not disqualified from witnessing the ball described in the WARNING on the flap of this envelope • The Voter marked the enclosed be my presence, or caused it to be marked in it be voter's presence according to hisher Instruct. The Voter signed this Absentee Application and Certificate, or caused it to be signed • I respectively of this Absentee Application and Certificate, or caused it to be signed • I respectively of this Absentee Application and Certificate, or caused it to be signed • I respectively of this ball or all this her respectively.

Witness #1	Witness #2			
Segnature (Fingured)	Signal at (Fogur of)			
Seem Address (Rappered )	Street Falon to Tilling and 1			
City, State and Zip (Heleaster)	City, State and Zip (Ringuised)			
Date	Date			

I centry that on the _day of 

STATE OF

COUNTY OF Correspon Espiration (

Hotary Public

5:

- գոլիկաիներներ մարժիկարհրդներների կիրեր ի

Bladen County 301 S. Cypress PO Box 512

Elizabethtown, NC 28337-0512

* ELECTION MAIL

Charlotte P&DC MC 182

OFFICIAL ABSENTEE BALLOTING MATERIAL - FIRST CLASS MAIL

TO:

LUCY MITCHELL YOUNG 32 J AND L DR LAKE WACCAMAW, NC 28450

#### AFFIDAVIT OF MELISSA WILLIAMS

North Carolina

County of Bladen

Melissa Williams, appearing before the undersigned notary and being duly sworn, says that:

- I, Melissa Williams, do declare the following under penalty of perjury:
  - 1. I am over the age of 18 and a resident of the state of North Carolina. I have personal knowledge of the facts here, and if called as a witness, can testify completely thereto.
  - 2. I suffer no legal disabilities and have personal knowledge of the facts set forth herein.
  - 3. I reside at 10987 S College St # 2, Clarkton, North Carolina. I am a registered North Carolina voter at this address and was eligible to vote in the November 6, 2018 general election.
  - 4. I requested an absentee ballot for the 2018 general election.
  - 5. After I received my absentee ballot, a woman came to my residence.
  - 6. I did not know this woman personally.
  - 7. This woman offered to deliver my absentee ballot and absentee ballot envelope to the county elections officials.
  - 8. I gave my absentee ballot and absentee ballot envelope to this woman to deliver to the county elections officials.
  - 9. The absentee ballot was not sealed inside the absentee ballot envelope when I gave the absentee ballot and absentee ballot envelope to the woman.
  - 10. I do not know whether my absentee ballot and absentee ballot envelope were submitted to the proper county officials.

	self	ballot	the	O.A	filled	Ţ.	11
						_	12
<del></del>							_
							_

Blumberg No. 51 (8)

I declare that to the best of my knowledge and belief, the information herein is true, correct, and complete.

Name: Melissa Williams

Signature: Moluza Wellian

Date: 12/18/2018

Sworn to (or affirmed) and subscribed before me this the 19 day of December, 20 18.

WHITTHE AUBLIC OF

Notary Public

Notary's printed or typed name

My commission expires 03-12=2,2023

-6

#### AFFIDAVIT OF MELODY COVINGTON

North Carolina

County of Bladen

Melody Covington, appearing before the undersigned notary and being duly sworn, says that:

- I, Melody Covington, do declare the following under penalty of perjury:
  - 1. I am over the age of 18 and a resident of the state of North Carolina. I have personal knowledge of the facts here, and if called as a witness, can testify completely thereto.
  - 2. I suffer no legal disabilities and have personal knowledge of the facts set forth herein.
  - I reside at 303 Pecan Street, Apt. 11B, Bladenboro, North Carolina. I am a registered North Carolina voter at this address and was eligible to vote in the November 6, 2018 general election.
  - 4. I requested an absentee ballot for the 2018 general election.
  - 5. After I received my absentee ballot, a woman came to my residence.
  - 6. This woman offered to deliver my absentee ballot to the county elections officials.
  - 7. I did not know this woman personally.
  - 8. I refused to give my absentee ballot to this woman.

m	ny absentee ballot.			
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_		-		
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-				

9. After this incident, I decided to go vote in-person on Election Day instead of submitting



I declare that to the best of my knowledge and belief, the information herein is true, correct, and complete.

Name: Melody Covington

Sworn to (or affirmed) and subscribed before me this the day of _

Notary Public

My commission expires

#### AFFIDAVIT OF NICHOLE M. NIMMONS

North Carolina

County of Bladen

Nichole M. Nimmons, appearing before the undersigned notary and being duly sworn, says that:

- 1, Nichole M. Nimmons, do declare the following under penalty of perjury:
  - 1. I am over the age of 18 and a resident of the state of North Carolina. I have personal knowledge of the facts here, and if called as a witness, can testify completely thereto.
  - 2. I suffer no legal disabilities and have personal knowledge of the facts set forth herein.
  - 3. I reside at 10898 S. College Street, #42, Clarkton, North Carolina. I am a registered North Carolina voter at this address and was eligible to vote in the November 6, 2018 general election.
  - 4. I have been told that my name is on a public records list of voters who requested an absentee ballot for the 2018 general election.
  - 5. I never requested an absentee ballot for the 2018 general election and never received an absentee ballot for the general election.
  - 6. I do not know why my name is on a list of voters who requested an absentee ballot for the 2018 general election.




I declare that to the best of my knowledge and belief, the information herein is true, correct, and complete.

Name: Nichole M. Nimmons

Signature: Typule Ten

Date: Dec 20,2018

Sworn to (or affirmed) and subscribed before me this the odday of Decemba, 2018.

TAR VHIZER

Notary Public Notary Public

Notary's printed or typed name

My commission expires March 12, 2023

#### AFFIDAVIT OF STEPHANIE E. PAGE

North Carolina

County of Robeson

Stephanie E. Page, appearing before the undersigned notary and being duly sworn, says that:

- I, Stephanie E. Page, do declare the following under penalty of perjury:
  - 1. I am over the age of 18 and a resident of the state of North Carolina. I have personal knowledge of the facts here, and if called as a witness, can testify completely thereto.
  - 2. I suffer no legal disabilities and have personal knowledge of the facts set forth herein.
  - I reside at 2112 Turner Place, Lumberton, North Carolina. I am a registered North
    Carolina voter at this address and was eligible to vote in the November 6, 2018 general
    election.
  - 4. I requested an absentee ballot for the 2018 general election.
  - 5. When I received my absentee ballot, I filled out the ballot and sealed the ballot inside the absentee ballot envelope.
  - 6. After I sealed my absentee ballot envelope, a man came to my residence and offered to deliver my absentee ballot envelope to the county elections officials.
  - 7. I did not know this man personally.
  - 8. I gave my absentee ballot envelope to this man to deliver to the county elections officials.
  - I do not know whether this man delivered my absentee ballot envelope to the county elections officials.

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I declare that to the best of my knowledge and belief, the complete.	e information herein is true, correct, and
Name: Stephanie E, Page	
Signature: Stephi Vage	
Date: 12/18/18	
Sworn to (or affirmed) and subscribed before me this the	
	Sharon Hunt
	Notary Public
	Sharon Hunt
	Notary's printed or typed name
My commission ex	pires 2/22 .20/9.

#### AFFIDAVIT OF BEN SNYDER

North Carolina

County of Bladen

Ben Snyder, appearing before the undersigned notary and being duly sworn, says that:

I, Ben Snyder, do declare the following under penalty of perjury:

- 1. I am over the age of 18 and a resident of the state of North Carolina. I have personal knowledge of the facts here, and if called as a witness, can testify completely thereto.
- 2. I suffer no legal disabilities and have personal knowledge of the facts set forth herein.
- 3. I am the current Chairman of the Bladen County Democratic Party.
- 4. Following the November 6, 2018, election, I obtained information regarding a new tactic that Leslie McCrae Dowless, Jr., was using in the 2018 election cycle; namely, intentionally losing voters' absentee ballots. This information was conveyed to me by Bladen County Board of Elections member Bobby Ludlum.
- 5. According to Mr. Ludlum, Mr. Dowless described this new tactic to Ms. Cynthia Shaw, Bladen County Board of Elections Director, at the Board of Elections, on some date prior to my conversation with Mr. Ludlum. While the exact language of each party is not certain, I understand the substance of this conversation was generally as follows:

Dowless: "Well, I have added a new trick"

Shaw: "What is it?"

Dowless: "I am throwing ballots into the trash."



### Exhibit 7.1.2.2

I declare that to the best of my knowledge and belief, the information herein is true, correct, and complete.

Name: Ben Snyder

Signature:

Date: 2 - 9 - 8

Sworn to (or affirmed) and subscribed before me this the 19

_day of December, 2018.

Notary Public

Notary's printed or typed name

My commission expires

Exhibit 7.1.2.2

37 of 96

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA

AFFIDAVIT OF DWIGHT SHEPPARD

COUNTY OF BLADEN

The undersigned, being first duly sworn, upon personal knowledge and belief, does say and depose as follows:

- 1. I am over the age of eighteen (18) years old, I am of sound mind and body, and I suffer no legal disabilities. If called as a witness, I can testify completely to the matters set forth herein.
- 2. I am a resident of Bladen County, North Carolina, and I am a registered voter of said county and state.
- 3. My contact information is as follows:

Address:

20134 NC Hwy 87 W

St. Pauls, NC 28384

Telephone:

910-813-9729

Email:

sheppadl@embargmail.com

4. I allege and state as follows:

It is common knowledge that Leslie McCrae Dowless, Jr., was working for the Mark Harris Campaign in the Primary Election and General Election of 2018.

On election day, November 6, 2018, I was outside the Bethel Precinct polling site in Dublin, NC. I overheard a group of people talking, and someone said that Leslie McCrae Dowless, Jr., would receive a bonus in the amount of \$40,000.00 from the Mark Harris campaign if Mark Harris won the election over Dan McCready.

Also on election day, November 6, 2018, outside the Hollow Precinct polling site in Tarheel, NC, I overheard Tommy White of Bethel precinct say that he had received an absentee ballot in the mail which he had not ordered.



Further affiant saith naught.

This the 29th day of November, 2018.	
Signature	Dwight Sheppard Printed Name
Witness to Signature	Matthew J. Dixon Printed Name
STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA	ARL COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE COUNTRICE OF THE CO
country of Bladen I Sandra Whitley a Not	tary Public, do hereby certify that Agnes Willis personally lue execution of the foregoing instrument for the purposes
Witness my hand and notarial seal, this the 29	a Whills
My Commission expires: 03-12-202	73

STĄTE OF NORTH CAROLINA
-------------------------

AFFIDAVIT OF HERMAN DUNN

COUNTY OF BLADEN

The undersigned, being first duly sworn, upon personal knowledge and belief, does say and depose as follows:

- I am over the age of eighteen (18) years old, I am of sound mind and body, and I suffer no legal disabilities. If called as a witness, I can testify completely to the matters set forth herein.
- I am a resident of Cumberland County, North Carolina, and I am a registered voter of said county and state.
- 3. My contact information is as follows:

Address:

28306

Telephone:

9/0)8/8-2989

Email:

hermandunnaaoLicom.

4. I allege and state as follows:

ON Wednesday April 25, 30/8 at Approximaley 3:30PM, I was checking Hays Creeks choof, on early ofing. While tallering coith my Poll Worker I sam McRae Dowless, who I knew from the Bladen Cooply Elections, I talked with him this brithin who was McRae Said he was working for Sim McOlickus from 18/polen Cooply & Mark Harris from Charlofe. That he was do ing Absentee for both As he had pre 10 the Past in Bladen Cooply elections

Exhibit 7.1.2.2 40 of 96
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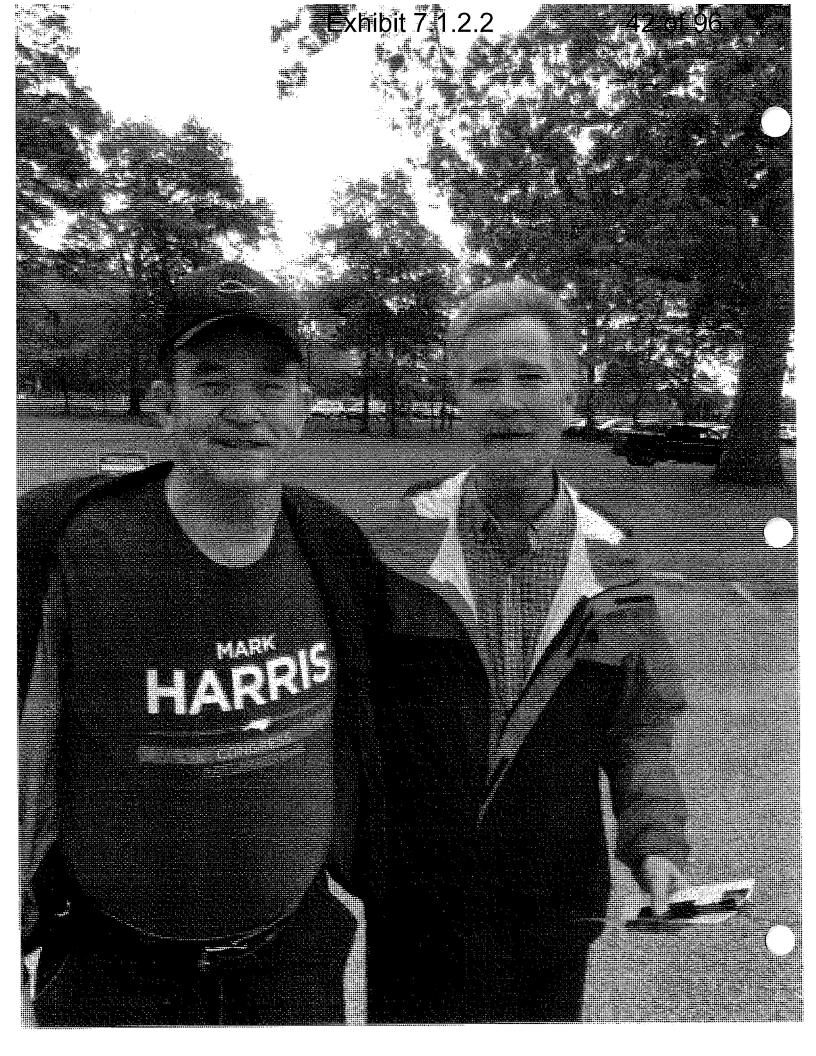
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Working for him between Combolish Co

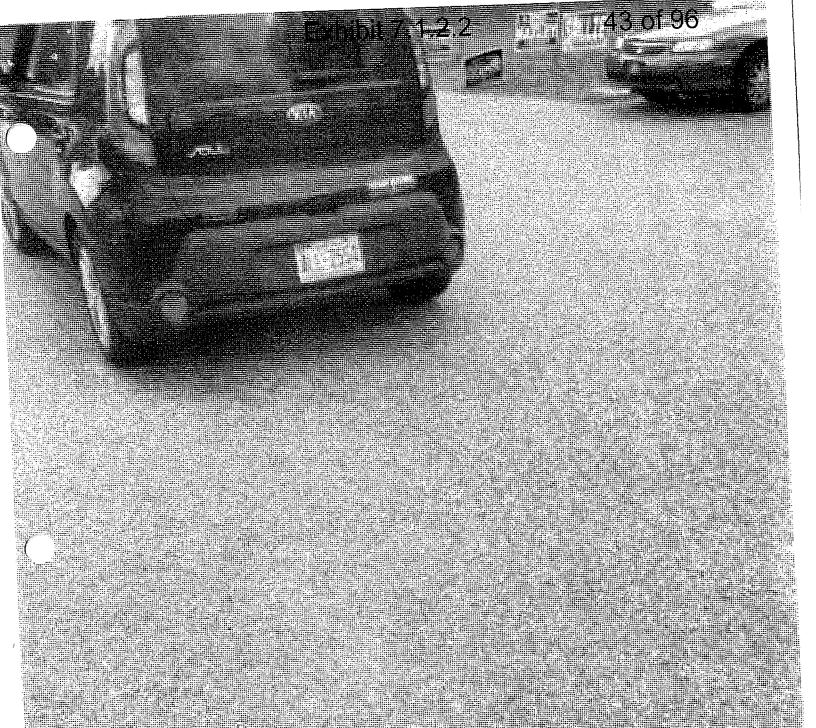
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He harlotte in the Harris Pace.

# Exhibit 7.1.2.2

Further affiant saith naught.





### AFFIDAVIT OF JENS LUTZ

North Carolina

County of Bladen

Jens Lutz, appearing before the undersigned notary and being duly sworn, says that:

I, Jens Lutz, do declare the following under penalty of perjury:

- 1. I am over the age of 18 and a resident of the state of North Carolina. I have personal knowledge of the facts here, and if called as a witness, can testify completely thereto.
- 2. I suffer no legal disabilities and have personal knowledge of the facts set forth herein.
- 3. I am a former member of the Bladen County Board of Elections (the "Board"). I resigned from the Board on December 8, 2018.
- 4. Prior to resigning from the Board, I learned many facts that made me question the security and integrity of Bladen County elections.
- 5. At all times relevant herein, Leslie McCrae Dowless Jr., also known as McCrae Dowless, has had a close relationship with Cynthia Shaw, the Bladen County Board of Elections Director, and Gina Ward, the Bladen County Board of Elections Deputy Director.
- 6. It is my understanding that during prior election years, Board staff allowed Mr. Dowless to take and copy unredacted absentee ballot request forms, which include social security numbers, driver's license numbers, state ID numbers, and signatures. Upon information and belief, this information gave Mr. Dowless the ability to request absentee ballots for anyone who has ever voted by absentee ballot by mail in the recent past.
- 7. In the course of our supervisory duties, we discovered that several forged absentee ballot request forms were submitted for the 2018 general election, including one request form on behalf of a deceased person, another submitted on behalf of a relative of fellow Board member Bobby Ludlum, and another submitted on behalf of a relative of Ms. Shaw. When I asked Ms. Shaw whether she had provided the State Board of Elections with the absentee ballot request form that had been submitted on behalf of the deceased individual, she informed me that she had not and that she had instead contacted Mr. Dowless and talked to him about it. I had previously provided a copy of the request form and a copy of the death certificate to the State Board of Elections.
- 8. It is my understanding that Open Records Laws allow citizens to receive information from County Boards of Election regarding when absentee ballots would be sent to specific voters. Mr. Dowless abused this provision in the law by regularly receiving such information (contained in a report titled "Absentee Ballot Voter Correspondence Report") from Board staff, allowing Mr. Dowless to send his workers to those voters right after the ballots arrived. Because the race of the voter is included on this report, Mr. Dowless could have used it to target African American voters. On one occasion in the fall of 2018, I witnessed Mr. Dowless pressuring Board staff to provide this information to him. I confronted Mr. Dowless and told him that the Board office was closed. He responded_____

**EXHIBIT** 

**EXHIBIT** 

### AFFIDAVIT OF JENS LUTZ

North Carolina

County of Bladen

Jens Lutz, appearing before the undersigned notary and being duly sworn, says that:

- I, Jens Lutz, do declare the following under penalty of perjury:
  - 1. I am over the age of 18 and a resident of the state of North Carolina. I have personal knowledge of the facts here, and if called as a witness, can testify completely thereto.
  - 2. I suffer no legal disabilities and have personal knowledge of the facts set forth herein.
  - 3. I am a former member of the Bladen County Board of Elections (the "Board"). I resigned from the Board on December 8, 2018.
  - 4. Prior to resigning from the Board, I learned many facts that made me question the security and integrity of Bladen County elections.
  - 5. At all times relevant herein, Leslie McCrae Dowless Jr., also known as McCrae Dowless, has had a close relationship with Cynthia Shaw, the Bladen County Board of Elections Director, and Gina Ward, the Bladen County Board of Elections Deputy Director.
  - 6. It is my understanding that during prior election years, Board staff allowed Mr. Dowless to take and copy unredacted absentee ballot request forms, which include social security numbers, driver's license numbers, state ID numbers, and signatures. Upon information and belief, this information gave Mr. Dowless the ability to request absentee ballots for anyone who has ever voted by absentee ballot by mail in the recent past.
  - 7. In the course of our supervisory duties, we discovered that several forged absentee ballot request forms were submitted for the 2018 general election, including one request form on behalf of a deceased person, another submitted on behalf of a relative of fellow Board member Bobby Ludlum, and another submitted on behalf of a relative of Ms. Shaw. When I asked Ms. Shaw whether she had provided the State Board of Elections with the absentee ballot request form that had been submitted on behalf of the deceased individual, she informed me that she had not and that she had instead contacted Mr. Dowless and talked to him about it. I had previously provided a copy of the request form and a copy of the death certificate to the State Board of Elections.
  - 8. It is my understanding that Open Records Laws allow citizens to receive information from County Boards of Election regarding when absentee ballots would be sent to specific voters. Mr. Dowless abused this provision in the law by regularly receiving such information (contained in a report titled "Absentee Ballot Voter Correspondence Report") from Board staff, allowing Mr. Dowless to send his workers to those voters right after the ballots arrived. Because the race of the voter is included on this report, Mr. Dowless could have used it to target African American voters. On one occasion in the fall of 2018, I witnessed Mr. Dowless pressuring Board staff to provide this information to him. I confronted Mr. Dowless and told him that the Board office was closed. He responded_____

- angrily, and my fellow Board of Elections member, Mr. Ludlum, went outside to explain the situation, after which he left the Board of Elections.
- 9. It is my understanding that Ms. Shaw had the ability to access the mail-in absentee ballot results prior to Election Day. She could do this by taking the thumb drive from the mail-in absentee ballot voting machine and inserting it into a computer that could read the results. She did not need to print a voting machine tape to get the results.
- 10. I know of one person who claims to have overheard Mr. Dowless bragging about preelection candidate vote totals to multiple people after one-stop in-person, early voting ended, indicating that he was aware of the one-stop early voting totals, and that the candidate or candidates he supported were in the lead.
- 11. The Board office security is lax. A key to the absentee ballot room is kept on a wall in the Board office. Accordingly, anyone with access to the Board office can easily access the absentee ballot room. Absentee ballots were kept in zipped bags in the absentee ballot room.
- 12. The Board does not see the absentee ballots until the Board staff presents the ballots to the Board. When the Board staff receives absentee ballots, the Board staff codes the ballots (using the absentee ballot envelope bar code) into the system and creates an initial report. The absentee ballots are then presented to the Board. In multiple instances, there were discrepancies between the initial report and the actual the number of ballots presented to the Board.
- 13. I was informed that two voters, Emma Shipman and Datesha Montgomery, had been visited by a woman (later identified as Lisa Britt) who collected their absentee ballots. I checked Board records to confirm whether the absentee ballots had been returned to the Board; they had not been. I then met with Ms. Shipman and Ms. Montgomery, separately, and obtained statements regarding their experiences.
- 14. Several days after Ms. Shipman's statement had been received by Ms. Shaw, I was told by Ms. Shipman that the same woman who had initially collected her ballot had brought her ballot back to her, sealed in the ballot envelope and signed by two witnesses.

[Signature Page to Follow]

### Exhibit 7.1.2.2

I declare that to the best of my knowledge and belief, the information herein is true, correct, and complete.

Name: Jens Lutz

Sworn to (or affirmed) and subscribed before me this the 121 day of Delim

Notary's printed or typed name

My commission expires 3-12 _____, 20  $\underline{5}$ 

### **Affidavit of Kenneth Simmons**

## STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA COUNTY OF BLADEN

The Undersigned, Kenneth Simmons, being duly sworn deposes and says:

- I am over the age of 18 and a resident of the state of North Carolina. I have personal knowledge
  of the facts herein, and, if called as a witness, can testify completely thereto.
- 2. I suffer no legal disabilities and have personal knowledge of the facts set forth below.
- 3. During the campaign, my wife and I were working putting out signs for a local candidate. While we were in Dublin attending a meeting of Republicans, we spoke with McRae Dowless. During the conversation, we noticed that Mr. Dowless had in his possession a large number of absentee ballots. I questioned his reason for having that many ballots. He stated that he had over 800 ballots in his possession. I asked him why he had not turned them in. He sated you don't do that until the last day because the opposition would know how many votes they had to make up. My concern was that these ballots were not going to be turned in.

I declare that to the best of my knowledge and beli complete.	ef, the information herein is true, correct, and
Executed this 11 day of Deember 20	<u>/8</u>
Kenneyo Simmons	
Witness	
State of	
County of Collson	
Subscribed and sworn before me, I Ash and for the County and State above, do hereby deck	Guardiola Camirez . A Notary Public in are The Affiant,
Kenneth Simmons	did appear personally before me and furnish
to me adequate identification of proving their identi	ty and stated that (he) she) did sign this of December 2018
STADI DY CLIM	O. L. A. A. J. Jo Kanus
document of Ahair free will on this day	Notary Public
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1202 OTHER	My Commission expires: 12-03-2019
AND POBESON MANUAL MANUAL PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROP	EXHIBIT
	Dave 10

### The Charlotte Observer

### Bladen counted early votes too soon in 2018. Witness alleges numbers were leaked.

POLITICS & GOVERNMENT

### BY BRIAN MURPHY



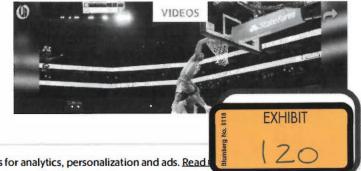
UPDATE D DECEMBER 11, 2018 05:34 AM



Investigators want to learn whether political operators illegally harvested absentee ballots in Bladen and neighboring Robeson County, leading to a fraud investigation that has the 9th District congressional race in limbo.

By John D. Simmons and Matt Walsh

WASHINGTON Bladen County election workers tallied the results of early voting before Election Day in violation of state rules and are accused of allowing outsiders to view them, a precinct worker wrote in an affidavit released by state Democrat



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The allegations raise new questions about missteps in an election fraud case in North Carolina's 9th Congressional District race that has garnered national attention and held up certification of the U.S. House contest.

The report showing totals from Bladen County's only early voting location was run on Saturday, Nov. 3, 2018 from 1:44 p.m. to 1:46 p.m., according to a copy released by the State Board of Elections and Ethics Enforcement, which is investigating voting irregularities among mail-in absentee ballots in Bladen and Robeson counties.

Due to the investigation, the board has refused to certify the results of the election between Republican Mark Harris and Democrat Dan McCready. The board plans to hold an evidentiary hearing before Dec. 21, but no date or location has been announced.

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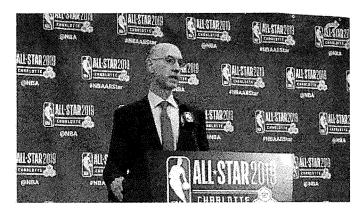
Under North Carolina election law, "if one-stop ballots ... are counted electronically, that count shall commence at the time the polls close." Polls closed in North Carolina on Nov. 6 at 7:30 p.m. "One-stop voting," which is what early voting is called in North Carolina, ended on Nov. 3, according to the state board. A 2016 memo from the state board reinforced those policies.

"Recent events have highlighted the need to ensure that the critical responsibilities of canvassing an election are as uniform across the state as our polling place procedures, wrote Kim Strach, the executive director of the state board to county boards of elections in a June 7, 2016 memo.

A section of the nine-page memo is headlined: "Counting of Absentee Ballots on Election Day."

But the procedures laid out in the memo were not followed in Bladen County in 2018, according to documents released by the state board and an affidavit signed by a precinct worker.

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NBA commissioner Adam Silver on the delay in All-Star Game coming to Charlotte

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The NBA All-Star Celebrity Game was looking weak. Then some strong basketball saved it.

FEBRUARY 16, 2019 02:26 AM

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FEBRUARY 16, 2019 08:00 AM

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FEBRUARY 16, 2019 07:00 PM

Hornets rookie Miles Bridges' Larry Johnson tribute not enough in slam-dunk contest

FEBRUARY 16, 2019 11:06 PM

'The Batman' Gets 2021 Release Date

SPONSORED Connatix

"On Saturday, 11/3/18, the last day of early voting, the

was run after the polls closed, and was viewed by officials at the one-stop site who were not judges. It is my understanding that this was improper," precinct worker Agnes Willis wrote in a affidavit dated Nov. 29. FEBRUARY 16, 2019 €7:53 PM

Willis was one of three witnesses who signed the early vote results, certifying that it was an accurate count. Valeria Peacock McKoy, the interim director of the Bladen County Board of Elections, confirmed that Willis was a precinct worker during the election.

McKoy said she was not aware of votes being counted early or being seen by outside people.

"I don't know anything about that," she told The News & Observer on Friday.

Willis is registered as a Democrat, according to state voting records. She has voted in Democratic primaries in North Carolina since registering in 2008. Willis voted early in the 2018 election.

McCready mentioned the affidavit and the possibility of "leaked" early voting numbers during a Monday morning appearance on MSNBC's "Morning Joe."

"The Bladen County Board of Elections may have leaked early vote information to people who weren't supposed to see it," McCready said. "That's information that is strategic to a campaign, that is an important factor in how a campaign spends resources, all that sort of thing."

The early vote total shows 2,471 votes for Harris, 1,908 votes for McCready and 53 votes for Libertarian candidate Jeff Scott.

In all, Harris won 5,413 votes in Bladen County, while McCready won 3,856. Scott took 129 votes.

That kind of data — how many votes each candidates had banked in early voting — would be valuable to campaigns seeking late-minute information or operatives collecting mailin absentee ballots, especially if only one side had the information. Voters in the counties allege that strangers, some working for McCrae Dowless, who was paid by the Harris campaign through a consulting firm, collected ballots from them at their homes.

THINGS TO DO

### Copeland

Amos' Southend Charlotte, NC Sun 2/17/19 at 8pm

# Gucci Mane

Ink N Ivy Charlotte, NC Sun-2/17/19 at 10pm

### Trevor Noah

U.S. Cellular Center Asheville Asheville, NC

Sun 2/17/19 at 8pm

### The Floozies

The Orange Peel Asheville, NC

Sun 2/17/19 at 8pm

**SEE ALL EVENTS** »

Dowless, 62, has been identified as a person of interest by the state board in its investigation.

The McCready campaign said in a text message that no one associated with the campaign saw early vote totals from Bladen County before Election Day. Attempts to contact the Harris campaign were unsuccessful.

Willis also wrote that the number of absentee ballots from a specific precinct concerned her.

"Also, after the election, as part of my duties as an assistant, I fed ballots into the vote tabulation machines. The absentee mail-in ballots were distinctive due to the folding creases and wear and tear present on the ballots, as well as coding written on the ballots. I noticed a very large number of ballots from the Bethel precinct," Willis wrote in her affidavit.

Multiple attempts to contact Willis and Mitch Edwards, another precinct worker who signed the vote tally, were unsuccessful.

The affidavit was one of several turned into the state board by the North Carolina Democratic Party.



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Brian Murphy covers North Carolina's congressional delegation and state issues from Washington, D.C., for The News & Observer, The Charlotte Observer and The Herald-Sun. He grew up in Cary and graduated from UNC-Chapel Hill. He previously worked for news organizations in Georgia, Idaho and Virginia. Reach him at 202.383.6089 or bmurphy@mcclatchydc.com.

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# NC Elections Investigator Seized Bladen County Absentee Ballot Forms

By STEVE HARRISON (/PEOPLE/STEVE HARRISON) . NOV 28, 2018

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(//www.wfae.org/sites/wfae/files/styles/x_large/public/201808/harris_mccready_comp.jpg)

The chief investigator for the N.C. Board of Elections seized absentee ballots and enevlopes from Bladen County after the Nov. 6 election.

MARK HARRIS FOR CONGRESS / DAN MCCREADY FOR CONGRESS

The chief investigator for the North Carolina Board of Elections took absentee by mail ballot request forms and their return envelopes from Bladen County immediately after the Nov. 6 election, according to the chair of the county's board of elections.

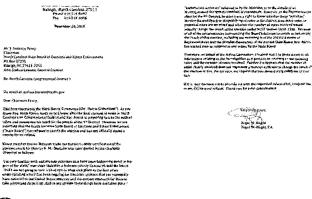
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Bobby Ludlum, chair of the Bladen County Board of Elections, told WFAE Wednesday that the board's chief investigator, Joan Fleming, came to Elizabethtown to get the records during the week of the election.

"She was here the day after, or around that time," said Ludlum, a Republican who chairs the county's board. "I've heard rumors and allegations (about what they are looking for) but they haven't said anything."

Bladen County is in the 9th Congressional District.

The State Board of Elections voted 9-0 Tuesday not to certify the results of that race, where Republican Mark Harris is leading Democrat Dan McCready by 905 votes. It cited a state statute that allows the board to take any action to ensure that an election is determined "without taint of fraud or corruption and without irregularities" that may have changed the results of an election.





We were surprised by yesterday's developments at the State Board of Elections, but our legal team is fully engaged. We trust the process. This morning, we sent a letter to the SBOE asking for clarity. We continue to prepare in DC to serve the constituents of the 9th District!

220 12:12 PM - Nov 28, 2018

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Harris won Bladen County by 1,557 votes.

The board met in closed session Tuesday after board member Joshua Malcolm alleged that "unfortunate activities" took place during the race.

"I'm very familiar with the unfortunate activities that have happened in my part of the state," Malcolm said during the meeting. "And I am not going to turn a blind eye to what took place to the best of my understanding, which has been ongoing for a number of years, and which has been repeatedly referred to the United States attorney and the district attorneys to clean up. Those things have not taken place."

Malcolm did not elaborate about his allegations. He is from Robeson County, which is in the 9th District. He was appointed by former Republican Governor Patrick McCrory in 2013 and re-appointed to the board by Democratic Governor Roy Cooper.

Dallas Woodhouse, the executive director of the North Carolina Republican Party, Tuesday night he believed the allegations were about Bladen County, which is in the eastern part of the 9th Congressional District.

"If someone is going to steal votes out of Bladen County, they have to steal well more than 1,000," Woodhouse said. "Because you don't know what the margin is going to be ... I mean that's crazy."

Woodhouse said the state board should have certified the race Tuesday.

Two years ago, Bladen County resident McCrae Dowless alleged (https://gallery.mailchimp.com/67f0361f3af450acafd9830a7/files/ElectionProtestForm Bladen Co Soil Water Signed.pdf) that there was a "massive scheme to run an absentee ballot mill involving hundreds of ballots." Dowless' allegations focused on a small race for the

county's Soil and Water Conservation District, but it received statewide attention because it was the same election as the close race for governor between Cooper and McCrory.

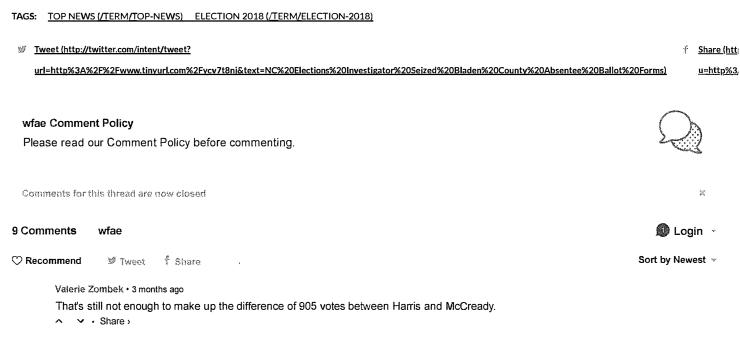
Dowless's allegation was later dismissed.

Bladen County had 684 people vote absentee by-mail in the race, according to the State Board of Elections. That was nearly 7 and a half percent of all ballots cast – the highest percentage of absentee by mail votes in the district.

Adding to the uncertainty over the 9th District, is the future of the state board itself. It's scheduled to hold a conference call Friday but a three-judge panel has ruled its current makeup is unconstitutional.

Their decision takes effect Dec. 3. The state's chief deputy attorney general, Alexander Peters, wrote a letter Wednesday that said he believes the board will shrink from nine members to five members, who will be appointed by the governor.

A spokesman for the board, Patrick Gannon, said everyone is in limbo.



whaaat → Valerie Zombek • 3 months ago

it is if each vote taken away from Harris is added to McCready....

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... or if most of the 3400 absentee ballots for Bladen and Robeson counties that were "not returned" were actually Democratic ballots that actually ended up in a shredder somewhere.

Bladen and Robeson counties contain 2% of the state population but 10% of the unreturned ballots statewide (http://www.wfae.org/post/bl...

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Sounds like Dallas Woodhouse knows how many votes need to be stolen to be effective. Why is that, Mr. Woodhouse?

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Thomas in Jacksonville → MsInformed • 3 months ago

Why would he know this? Because he made the statement after Mark Harris WON by 1557 votes.

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Mmm, does sound fishy (stinks like!) doesn't it?!



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New accusations of election fraud in NC -09 race released by McCready team.

New updates in election fraud case

By David Hodges | December 24, 2018 at 12:16 PM EST - Updated January 24 at 3:49 PM

CHARLOTTE, NC (WBTV) - Sworn statements by voters and political power players in Bladen County accuse McCrae Dowless of collecting and trashing absentee ballots in the 9th Congressional District race. The affidavits released Sunday night by the North Carolina State Board of Elections, and submitted by Dan McCready's attorneys, provide new and far more descriptive details of Dowless' absentee ballot campaign, including one allegation of "throwing ballots into the trash."

WBTV already interviewed one woman named Cetire Retamar who signed an affidavit saying she received an absantee ballot even though she did not sign up for one. WBTV confirmed through voter records that she received an absentee ballot. When we showed her a copy of the application she said the signature was hers but she had no recollection of signing up for an absentee ballot because she always votes early or in-person.

The most descriptive and damaging allegations come from former Bladen County Board of Elections Vice-Chair Jens Lutz. Lutz claims Dowless had a close relationship with former Elections Director Cynthia Shaw, who worked through the 2018 election. Lutz says there were numerous cases of absentee ballot applications being submitted by people who did not request them, including one for voter who was dead.

Lutz said he asked Shaw whether she reported the irregularities to the North Carolina State Board of Elections but "she had not and that she had instead contacted Mr. Dowless and talked to him about it."

Lutz said Dowless had a close relationship with Shaw.

The Bladen County Democratic Party Chair Ben Snyder wrote in an affidavit that he received information that Dowless was throwing away absentee ballots.

Snyder said in a conversation with Bladen County Board of Elections Chair Bobby Ludlum that Ludlum told him he heard that information from Shaw.

### READ ALL THE AFFIDAVITS HERE

Beyond the political movers and shakers in Bladen County, average voters also wrote sworn statements about illegal ballot harvesting they say was perpetrated by McCrae Dowless or those working for him.

One voter wrote "...McCrae Dowless came to pick it up. He has been doing that for several years."

Numerous others signed sworn statements claiming that a woman "offered to deliver my absentee ballot and envelope."

A Harvard expert also provided statistical analysis noting that the amount of un-returned absentee ballots in Bladen County was highly unusual.

"The rates at which voters who requested absentee mail ballots in Bladen and Robeson counties did not return their absentee ballots are extreme statistical outliers. For example, the rate at which voters did not return their absentee mail ballots in Bladen county is 2.5 times the rate elsewhere in CD 9 and elsewhere in the state of North Carolina," Dr. Stephen Ansolabehere wrote.

In total, 14 voters and six witnesses signed affidavits that were submitted by McCready's attorneys. The information was provided to the NCSBE and could be used in the January 11 evidentiary hearing on the absentee ballot irregularities.

Attorneys for McCready wrote the state board that they would like the witness list to be submitted by December 28th and that any witnesses should not be granted immunity for testifying in front of the board but instead have the option of "pleading the 5th."

TruthFinder

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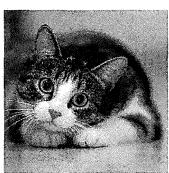


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# Bladen town hall sparks passion over 9th District results, little new evidence of fraud

Tags: 9th Congressional District, Bladen County, absentee ballot

Posted December 18, 2018 Updated December 19, 2018

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### By Travis Fain, WRAL statehouse reporter

**BLADENBORO, N.C.** — Locals worried that elections may have been stolen in Bladen County went to church Tuesday night – literally and figuratively.

Frustrated by decades of racial unfairness and seeing its all-too-familiar signs in the current controversy over 9th Congressional District results, more than 200 people packed the First Baptist Church on Martin Luther King Jr. Drive in Bladenboro.

They got preached to, and they responded. They shouted in agreement as organizers railed about stolen votes. They laughed as the state NAACP president bashed Raleigh Republicans as bigots, and they nodded with sadness as he recounted the 2014 death of a local black student, whose case was never concluded satisfactorily for some.

But when someone asked for a show of hands from people who believed their votes had been mishandled, there were only a few from the standing-room only crowd. One was from a white Republican worried about a 2010 congressional primary that he lost by more than 5,500 votes.

After more than two hours, there was sparse evidence offered of a stolen election beyond the disconcerting numbers that have helped build a narrative in this part of the state for nearly three weeks: Of the absentee mail-in ballots requested in this year's 9th District race, 3,400 were never returned, and an unusually high number came from Bladen and Robeson counties, where shenanigans are ingrained in local electoral history.

Many of the missing ballots tie to high-minority precincts. Allison Riggs, an attorney heavily involved in North Carolina voting rights cases in recent years with the Southern Coalition for Social Justice, told the crowd that black absentee voter turnout in Bladen County's portion of the 9th District totaled 332 people this general election.

In 2014, it was 608 voters.

"There's a racial element to this that's also deeply concerning," Riggs said. "It's anecdotal, but it's consistent and persistent."

Riggs told attendees to talk to their friends and neighbors, and anyone worried about speaking in public could reach out to her confidentially. The NAACP, looking to restart its local chapter here, collected names and phone numbers.

During the meeting, Linda Baldwin recounted her experience from the 2016 election cycle: A young man came to her home and said he was a college student making money by getting people to fill out ballots, so she gave hers to him unsealed, she said.

Cetire Retamar told the crowd that an absentee ballot showed up to her house this cycle, even though she didn't request it. One showed up for her granddaughter, too, she said.

Retamar said she threw her granddaughter's away and took hers with her to vote in person, giving it to a poll worker who likely marked it spoiled to avoid a double count. State records show Retamar, a registered Democrat, cast her vote in person.

It's unclear why ballots showed up at Retamar's house, but Riggs said some times ballots show up unexplained, then someone comes to ask for it. This is an avenue for fraud, and a number of voters have said in the wake of the November election that they received unexplained ballots, or that they showed up to vote only to find election officials had a record of them already turning in an absentee ballot.

Republican Mark Harris won some 61 percent of Bladen County's mail-in absentee ballot vote in November, though just 19 percent of the mail-in ballots accepted were cast by registered Republicans.

These sorts of things are part of the reason the State Board of Elections and Ethics Enforcement and the Wake County District Attorney's Office are both investigating absentee ballot results in the race. Harris seemed to beat Democrat Dan McCready by 905 votes, but the Harris campaign's ties to a supposed shady operator in Bladen County named McCrae Dowless, who has been accused of sending people door to door to collect strangers' ballots, may lead to a new election.

Dowless proclaimed his innocence Tuesday, releasing a short statement through an attorney that amounts to his first significant public comment on the controversy since it began three weeks ago.

Baldwin's story was the one that put Dowless on the state board's radar in 2016. He filed a complaint with the board that year over the unusual number of write-in votes in a local soil and water conservation supervisor's race that he won. That complaint targeted the Bladen County Improvement Association, a group that helps Democrats and black politicians in the county.

The association denied wrongdoing then and continues to do so. Some Republicans have pointed fingers at the group's own absentee and get-out-the-vote operations as Dowless' similar methods have come under scrutiny.

During the hearing over Dowless' complaint, state board member Josh Malcolm questioned Dowless over Baldwin's story. Dowless acknowledged that the boyfriend of one of his get-out-the-vote workers told him he'd taken someone's ballot, but he said repeatedly that he told him to return it.

It's generally illegal to take possession of a stranger's ballot in North Carolina.

The state board turned the matter over to state and federal prosecutors, but it's unclear how much investigation followed.

"The Lord turned that thing way around," Bladen County Commissioner Michael Cogdell, who's also a leader in the Bladen County Improvement Association, said Tuesday.

Cogdell also told the story of Emma Shipman, an 87-year-old woman who has been interviewed many times in recent weeks and who filed an affidavit with the state board swearing that someone came to her home and collected her ballot during the recent elections.

Shipman voted in person, mooting that ballot, but her story has been seen as evidence of what appears to be a much broader effort to collect people's ballots.

Will Breazeale, a Republican in a church full of Democrats on Tuesday, said he now wonders if there was something fishy in the Bladen County results from his 2010 congressional run.

Breazeale said the 9th District needs not just a new general election but a new primary, something the General Assembly opened the door for in legislation it passed last week. That bill is hung up by a broader fight over its language with Gov. Roy Cooper, who has threatened to veto it over a separate provision.

The bill has broad bipartisan support, but some Democrats have said Harris should remain the GOP nominee in a new race against McCready and that holding a new primary would be unconstitutional because the primary race was already certified.

Bladen town hall sparks passion over 9th District results, little new evidence of fraud :: WRAL.com

2/17/2019

Harris won 96 percent of the mail-in absentee vote in Bladen County in the primary, and he beat Congressman Robert Pittenger by 828 votes district-wide.

The crowd Tuesday included a number of politicians, from in the county and out. Bladen County's first black sheriff, Prentis Benston, attended and said after the meeting that he expects to file a lawsuit over issues from his race in 2014.

Benston lost a close race that year to current Sheriff Jim McVicker. Dowless worked for McVicker in 2017 and 2018, and potentially before as well. It was Benston who won the county's absentee-by-mail count in the 2014 race.

Many in the audience were upset over the results in this year's sheriff's race, which saw McVicker, a white Republican, beat a young black Democrat named Hakeem Brown by nearly 1,400 votes.

"I'm a little bitter tonight," Brown told the crowd before urging them to turn out the vote if there's a new election in the 9th District race.

That was the evening's clarion call: Stay engaged.

"It's been going on for a long time," the Rev. Gregory D. Taylor, who pastors First Baptist Church, told the crowd. "But they just got caught. The Bible says surely your sins will find you out."

Taylor also said he was talking with a colleague from Florida recently who told him people there were buying votes with fish sandwiches.

"Be honest," he told the crowd. "Some of y'all gave up your vote for a chicken sandwich."

**Tags:** 9th Congressional District, Bladen County, absentee ballot

**CREDITS** 

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Q

# Bladen Co. absentee ballot turn-in log raises new questions about affidavit filed by McCready campaign

Records cast doubts on voting affidavits

By Nick Ochsner | January 9, 2019 at 6:57 PM EST - Updated January 9 at 7:44 PM

ELIZABETHTOWN, NC (WBTV) – A new set of records obtained by WBTV from the Bladen County Board of Elections is raising new questions about an affidavit filed on behalf of a voter by attorneys for the Dan McCready campaign.

McCready lost the race for the 9th Congressional District in November to Republican Mark Harris by 905 votes.

The North Carolina State Board of Elections has refused to certify the results of the race, citing irregularities with absentee ballots in Bladen and Robeson Counties.

NCSBE staff have been investigating allegations of election fraud in the two counties since late November.

Among the documents that have been submitted to the NCSBE - and posted by the board for the public - are a set of affidavits filed by attorneys for McCready's campaign.

The affidavits were submitted by 13 voters who each allege a suspicious fact or incident that took place during the November 2018 election.

Ballot Drop-Off Log by on Scribd

One voter, Christopher Eason, said he gave his blank, unsealed absentee ballot to a man named McCrae Dowless, who was hired by Harris to run an absentee ballot operation in Bladen County in the 2018 election.

"Leslie McCrae Dowless Jr., also known as McCrae Dowless, came to my residence and asked that I give him my absentee ballot," Eason wrote in his af davit.

"I signed the absentee ballot envelope but left the ballot completely blank," the af davit continued. "I did not make any selections in any of the contests on the ballot."

Records released by the NCSBE show Eason's ballot was witnessed by his sister, Ginger Eason, and a second woman named Kim Spurling.

Ginger Eason has toldBuzzFeedNews and other outlets she was paid by Dowless to collect ballots and bring them to him.

The log of people who turned in absentee ballots to the Bladen County BOE show Ginger Eason submitted her brother's ballot on October 9, 2018.

Ginger Eason did not answer a phone call from WBTV seeking comment and her voicemail box was not accepting new messages.

Christopher Eason was arrested Friday by the Bladen County Sheriff's Of ce on drugs and weapons charges in a joint operation with the US Drug Enforcement Administration and the North Carolina State Bureau of Investigation, the Associated Press reported Wednesday.

A number listed in election records for Spurling, the second woman who witnessed Christopher Eason's ballot was out of service when a WBTV reporter called it Wednesday.

An attorney familiar with the affidavits filed by McCready's campaign told WBTV the fact that Ginger Eason submitted her brother's ballot did not mean the facts to which Christopher Eason attested are untrue.

This is the second affidavit filed by the McCready campaign to come under additional scrutiny in the wake of new information being uncovered by WBTV.

Cetire Retamar provided an affidavit that said she received an absentee ballot she didn't request.

"I received an absentee ballot by mail which I did not request," Retamar wrote in the affidavit.

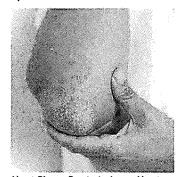
She said the same thing at a town hall forum held in Bladen County in December.

But when a WBTV reporter showed Retamar the absentee ballot request form she filled out, she acknowledged the form contained her handwriting and signature.

The lawyer familiar with the filing from McCready's campaign suggested Retamar's signature could have been forged and pointed to a 1992 conviction of Dowless' for insurance fraud, where local media reports from the time said he forged a dead man's signature.

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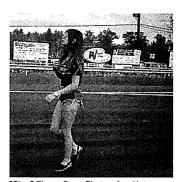
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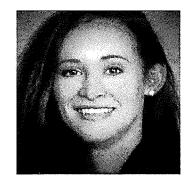
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# "I Don't Vote" — But He Did. Here's How Alleged Election Fraud Works In North Carolina.

"McCrae or whoever's doing it, they checked them boxes," Chris Eason exclusively told BuzzFeed News. State officials are now investigating the claim.



Otillia Steadman BuzzFeed News Reporter

Reporting From
Bladenboro, North Carolina

Last updated on December 6, 2018, at 7:18 p.m. ET Posted on December 6, 2018, at 7:05 p.m. ET



BLADENBORO, North Carolina — Chris Eason is 47 years old, not registered to any political party, and worked in construction. He's into camping and boating, and has lived in this rural town most of his life.

https://www.buzzfeednews.com/article/otilliasteadman/election-fraud-alleged-north-carolina-investigation

What Chris Eason does not do is vote.

"I just don't vote. I don't believe it. Do nothing but lie anyway," Eason told BuzzFeed News about politicians. "Everybody's crooked and they'll do anything they can to get put in office."

But, technically, Eason does vote — he says he's just not the guy casting the ballot.

Eason told BuzzFeed News that he signed a blank <u>absentee ballot</u> in the now contested Nov. 6 general election, didn't actually pick any candidates, and then handed the unsealed ballot to the <u>man at the center of an unfolding election fraud scandal</u>, McCrae Dowless.

Sure enough, public records show, his absentee ballot ended up signed, sealed, and witnessed to the county Board of Elections with Eason's name on it.

"That's what I'm telling you — McCrae or whoever's doing it, they checked them boxes, I didn't," said Eason. "I'd take a lie detector test on that."

It's unclear if any boxes were actually ticked off, and elections officials told BuzzFeed News that if a fully blank ballot were sent in, it would be registered and tabulated as zero votes. Records show a ballot was registered for Eason in the Nov. 6 race.

"This information has been forwarded to our investigators," State Board of Elections and Ethics Enforcement spokesperson Patrick Gannon told BuzzFeed News when asked about Eason's claims.

Eason's story, told exclusively for the first time to BuzzFeed News, is some of the most dramatic evidence yet that something is very wrong with the election results in Bladen County, North Carolina results that may have decided a tight race for the House of Representatives in favor of the Republican, Mark Harris, against Democrat Dan McCready, who <u>rescinded his concession</u> on Thursday.

North Carolina state investigators working with <u>federal prosecutors</u> are probing irregularities in the <u>chaotic</u>, <u>cash-fueled operation</u> of Dowless, a Republican political operative working for Harris. Several of Dowless's employees have told BuzzFeed News he paid them to collect absentee ballots from people so he could submit them to the county — and some people have <u>sworn ballots were incomplete or unsealed</u>.

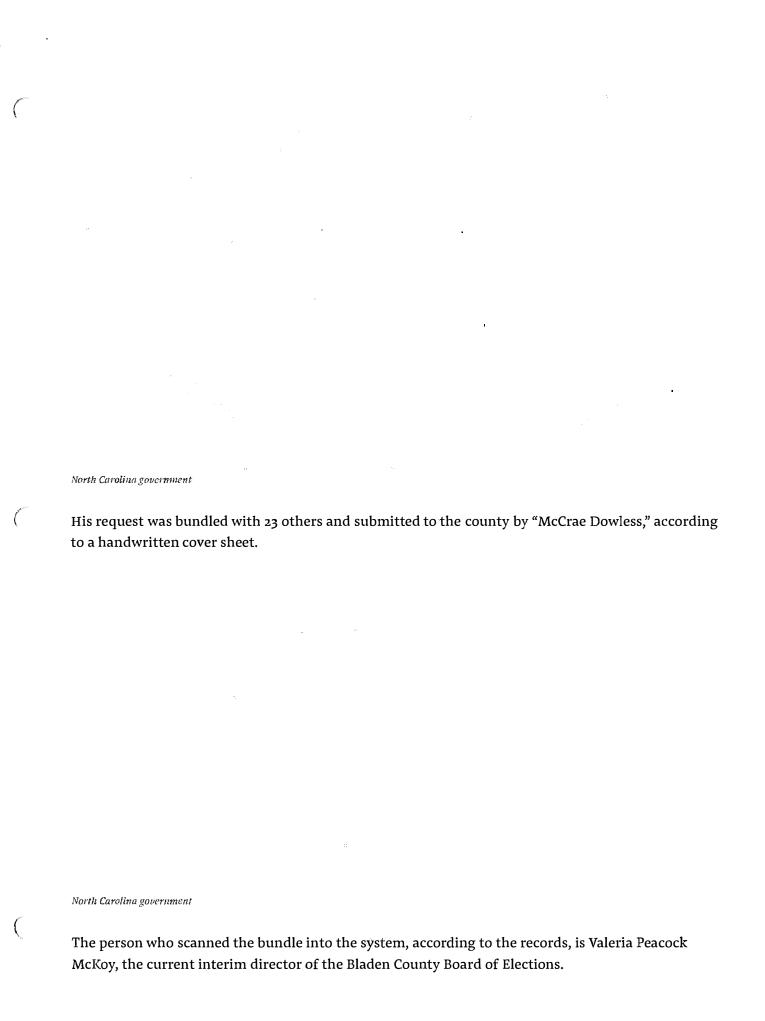
Eason's interview is the first time someone has publicly said they saw Dowless himself collect an absentee ballot.

Eason's story, if true, appears to show outright fraud: He says Dowless harvested his unsealed ballot, which is illegal for third parties to do in North Carolina with narrow exceptions for close family or people with disabilities. Even more, he suspects Dowless or one of his employees filled votes for him, which, if true, would also be illegal.

"The law would prevent a third party from taking this ballot, marking it in any way, or delivering it to the county Board of Elections," Gannon said.

Reached Thursday by BuzzFeed News, Dowless said, "I have no comment at this time." He had previously <u>denied wrongdoing</u> to the Charlotte Observer.

State Board of Elections documents show that Eason's request for a general election absentee ballot was signed on June 13 and received on Sept. 21.



"We have no way of knowing what has happened to that ballot once it leaves us. We put it in the mail, and after it leaves us we don't know what happens to it," McKoy told BuzzFeed News.

"All I can say is, we take in the request, we send out the ballots. What happens between the time the ballot leaves us and comes back in the mail, we don't know where it's been," she said.

The scrutiny about absentee ballots, she said, is "very nerve racking."

In the past, Eason said that when he gets absentee ballots, "I always throw them away."

He said when he'd tell McCrae, "'Man, I don't know what happened to it,' he'll go to his car." Then, McCrae "come up here and took 'em out of his vehicle," Eason said, referring to ballots. "He'll have 'em on hand. A lot of the ones I've seen was in his personal vehicle."

McKoy said, "I don't know anything about McCrae having blank ballots available. He didn't get them from here."

Eason said that for the Nov. 6 election — pitting Harris against McCready, among other more local races — he agreed to hand his signed, unsealed, and blank ballot to Dowless when he came by his house to pick it up.

"I'll sign the paper, but I won't vote," Eason said he told Dowless.

"I signed my name to it. I said I'm not putting on there who goes in the office or whatever name. I'll put my name on it, you do what you want to do with it," Eason told BuzzFeed News.

Eason says he believes Dowless filled out the ballot on his behalf after he took it away. "He or somebody filled out my ballot I just signed it." Eason told BuzzFeed News. "I know for a fact they put something in mine because I don't vote."

Documents published by the State Board of Elections show that later, a signed, sealed, and witnessed absentee ballot was submitted for Eason in the Nov. 6 election.

North Carolina government

Every absentee ballot needs to be witnessed by two people — Eason's was cosigned by his sister, Ginger, and Bladenboro resident Kim Spurling, who knows the Easons personally.

Spurling told BuzzFeed News on Thursday that she has no recollection of witnessing Chris Eason's ballot. Ginger, who told BuzzFeed News she was paid to collect absentee ballots for Dowless, said she signed as a witness before the ballot was completed.

"The only thing I want to say is to the one who put me in this shit," she said, referring to Dowless, and raised two middle fingers.

The Bladen County Board of Elections on Monday released a log of in-person deliveries of absentee ballot request forms from Aug. 22 through Oct. 30.

The log shows Dowless submitted requests for 592 absentee ballots out of more than 1,300 requests in that time frame. Chris Eason's was submitted on Sept. 28.

Though Chris Eason says he does not vote, there are votes recorded under his name for a hodgepodge of nine elections over the past decade, public records show.

In three elections, it indicates he or someone under his name appeared in person for early voting.

The other six were mail-in absentee ballots.

Eason also said that McCrae had offered him money in this past election and in previous elections in exchange for his vote.

"He offered me money to sign a certain person on the ballot, but I won't do it," he said. "I told him I'm not voting, I don't vote. I don't care who gets in there because whoever gets in there, they don't help me."

When asked why he came forward, Eason told BuzzFeed News, "It hurts everybody. There's a lot of people who are really struggling."



Otillia Steadman is the world news operations manager for BuzzFeed News and is based in New York. Contact Otillia Steadman at otillia.steadman@buzzfeed.com.

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### The Charlotte Observer





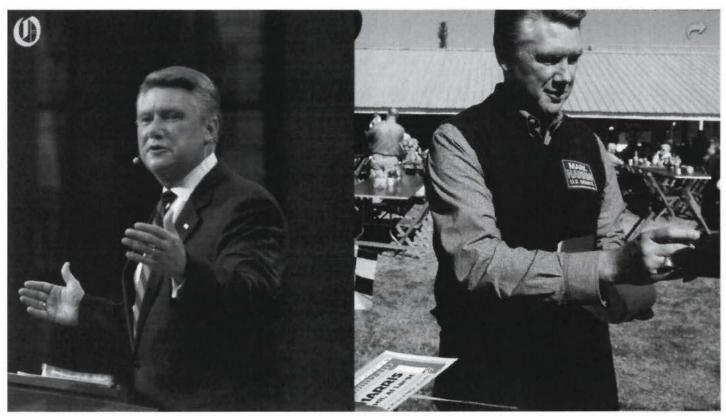
**ELECTIONS** 

# Harris confirms it was his decision to hire operative at heart of 9th District scandal

#### BY WBTV



DECEMBER 14, 2018 06:11 PM, UPDATED DECEMBER 14, 2018 06:11 PM



Panciblians and former paster March Havin was the conflicted winner of the Oth Distri



Republican Mark Harris is speaking publicly for the first time since the North Carolina State Board of Elections voted to not certify the results of his race for Congress.

Harris beat Democrat Dan McCready by 905 votes in the unofficial returns from November's election. The North Carolina State Board of Elections took a surprise vote to not certify the results of that race in late November, after then-Vice Chairman Joshua Malcolm raised questions of voting irregularities in Bladen and Robeson counties.

The board later voted to hold an evidentiary hearing in the matter by Dec. 218. On Friday, the NCSBE announced that hearing would actually take place Jan. 11.

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Much of the public scrutiny surrounding the investigation has been aimed at a man named McCrae Dowless, a Bladen County political operative who worked as a contractor for the Harris campaign in both this year's primary and general election.

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In his interview with WBTV Friday, Harris confirmed that it was his decision to hire Dowless for his campaign. Harris said the decision came after his primary loss to Republican Congressman Robert Pittenger in the 2016 campaign, when the candidate who finished third in that contest handily won the absentee ballots in Bladen County.

Harris said that he believed he was hiring Dowless to run an operation that encouraged voters to request absentee ballots and then, later, helped them cast those ballots by witnessing them and making sure voters put them in the mail. At no time, Harris said, did he think Dowless was doing anything illegal.

"No, absolutely not," Harris said when asked if he had any indication Dowless was breaking the law in the course of working for his campaign. "Had you had that, would you still continue to employ him?" a WBTV reporter asked.

"No, I would not have," Harris said. "Again, we kept emphasizing again and again that when he was describing the ballot to us. In fact when you get down to his description of the program, he was being vouched for by a number of other leaders down there."

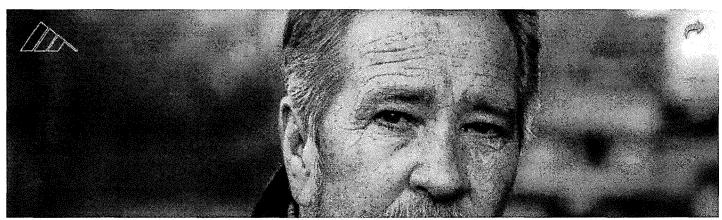
Harris said he was caught off guard by the NCSBE's decision to not certify his race and said the uncertainty has meant he is unable to continue hiring staff or securing office space to move forward as an incoming member of Congress.

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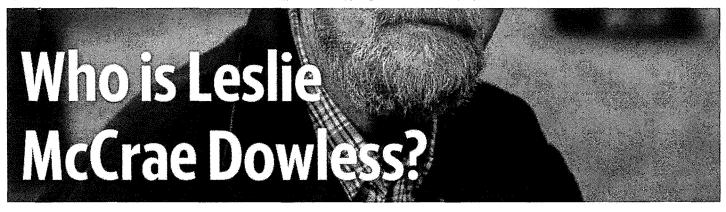
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McCrae Dowless is at the center of controversy in North Carolina's 9th district, but most of the time he's stayed behind the scenes.

By Stephanie Bunao, Ely Portillo, Matt Walsh and Travis Long

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### Republican Harris decries 'political weaponization' of Elections board as he fights for certification



Harris opens up on investigation

By Nick Ochsner | January 3, 2019 at 6:36 PM EST - Updated January 24 at 4:18 PM

RALEIGH, NC (WBTV) – Republican Mark Harris said 'political weaponization' was to blame for the decision by North Carolina State Board of Elections to not certify his victory in the race for the 9th Congressional District.

Harris' comments came in an interview with WBTV following a two-hour interview with Harris, his lawyers and investigators from the NCSBE on Tuesday morning.





Mark Harris discusses 2-hour conversation with NCBSE election fraud investigators

Board investigators are probing allegations of election fraud in Bladen and Robeson Counties that surfaced as part of the board's decision to not certify Harris' race, which he won in November over Democrat Dan McCready by just 905 votes.

A contractor from Harris' campaign—a man named McCrae Dowless, who Harris told WBTV in a previous interview he personally made the decision to hire—has emerged as a central figure in the board's investigation.

### [Exclusive: Mark Harris addresses voter fraud allegations in race for 9th Congressional District]

Affidavits filed by the North Carolina Democratic Party and, separately, McCready's campaign have accused Dowless and people who worked for the Bladen County political operative of running an illegal ballot harvesting operation.

Dowless, through his attorney, has denied any wrongdoing.

In his interview Thursday, Harris questioned the significance of the affidavits that have been submitted to the board alleging wrongdoing by Dowless and his employees.

"It almost seems that as quick as an affidavit comes out, within hours you get something that's extremely disputed," Harris said. "The affidavits, at this point, I'm not sure what their value is. We don't have a Board of Elections now. We don't even have a process at this point of how this is going to end which is why we've taken the action that we've taken and that is to ask a superior court judge here in Wake County to certify this race."

Harris was referring to a new legal action filed by his attorneys in Wake County Superior Court on Thursday morning.

### [ Harris plans to file legal action seeking certification in NC-9 election ]

The filings, specifically called a writ of mandamus, seeks an order from a judge requiring the director of the NCSBE to certify Harris as the winner of the 9th District race.

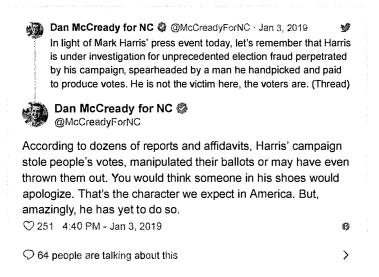
The beginning of the brief outlines four reasons Harris should be certified.

"Because (1) time is of the essence; (2) the former State Board was promulgated to an unconstitutional statute and therefore any action taken by it is void ab initio; (3) the former State Board operated outside of any statutory authority; and (4) the new term for the incoming North Carolina State Board of Elections under N. C. Gen. State. 163-19(b) will not begin for many weeks, the uniform finality of a federal election is endangered by the State Board's actions and the citizens of the 9th District have no representation in Congress."

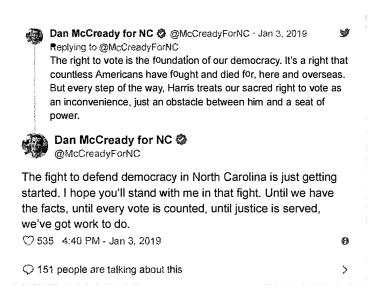
A Wake County court administrator said late Thursday afternoon that reply briefs in Harris' new filing were due by Monday, January 14. A hearing would be scheduled sometime after that.

Harris' opponent, McCready, responded to the latest action's from Harris to have the race certified in a lengthy thread of Tweets late Thursday afternoon.

"In light of Mark Harris' press event today, let's remember that Harris is under investigation for unprecedented election fraud perpetrated by his campaign, spearheaded by a man he handpicked and paid to produce votes. He is not the victim here, the voters are," McCready's first tweet said.



McCready has previously scheduled an interview with WBTV, then abruptly cancelled, promised to reschedule and never did.



Harris, who said it was 'disappointing' to be in Raleigh on Thursday instead of being sworn in as a new member of Congress, said he continued to remain hopeful that he would ultimately be certified as the winner of the race.

"We're hopeful. We're hopeful because we do feel like that there's some cases that are very similar in the sense that, when there isn't a State Board of Elections, that you look to the county boards as the final authority," Harris said. "And, in this case, all eight county boards actually certified this race."

"Lets say you're successful, the court certifies you and you get seated in Washington. There are a lot of people in the 9th District and across the country who are going to question the validity of you taking that seat. Would you feel comfortable taking the seat knowing there are questions out there and people who think you shouldn't go to Washington?" a reporter asked.

"Well, absolutely! And the reason I think that is because we had an election. And when you go through an election – and there are many elections that there are questions raised or complaints filed and they look at the facts of the case and they come to recognize that even the number of ballots in question would not have changed the outcome of the election," Harris said. "And they're not going to seat me in Washington unless I have a certificate from North Carolina. And the fact that we're going to be certified from North Carolina, I'm very comfortable going and representing the 9th District."

Ultimately, Harris said, the refusal to certify his race and the ongoing investigation amounted to an attack on his reputation.

### [ Cooper won't nominate temporary Elections board after GOP refusal to provide list of nominees ]

"I'm standing on my reputation over the last 30 years of my adult life as a senior pastor, as a community servant, as somebody who has sought to lead and as somebody who has been there and walked through life with people, I will continue to be that and I will let my reputation stand over the last 30 years and believe that people are wise enough to see through the political weaponization of a state agency that can sometimes happen when it falls into the wrong hands," he said.

"You stand by that this was a partisan stunt, if you will," a reporter asked. "Partisanship drove your race to not be certified?"

"Well, I thin it's important to understand there are still investigations that are going on today into the 2016 elections," Harris responded.

The US House Clerk has said the office is working to open a 9th District office with staff to continue serving the district's constituents. The office did not immediately respond to a request Thursday seeking a timeline on if or when that office will open in the new Congress.

Harris said he would continue fighting for certification or, alternatively, seek election if a new contest were to be ordered.

"We've won two elections: a primary and a general election. And we're going to keep running until we're stopped and we're told 'no'!" he said.

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### Mark Harris On Dowless Absentee Results: 'Why Would I Expect Success Was A Bad Thing?'

By STEVE HARRISON (/PEOPLE/STEVE-HARRISON) . JAN 8, 2019



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url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.tinyurl.com%2Fy79sy23f&text=Mark%20Harris%20On%20Dowless%20Absentee%20Results%3A%20%



(//www.wfae.org/sites/wfae/files/styles/x large/public/201805/Harris-Pic.jpg)

JESSA O'CONNOR / WFAE



Mark Harris defended Tuesday his relationship with Bladen County political operative McCrae Dowless, the man at the heart of the investigation into absentee by mail fraud in the still-uncalled 9th Congressional District race.

In an interview with WFAE at his south Charlotte house, Harris said he and Dowless talked frequently during their two campaigns about what Harris called Dowless' "unusual" absentee by mail "program." He said Dowless often gave him updates on how many absentee mail ballots had been requested, and Harris — a former pastor — said they had a close relationship.

"You know I guess you could say I almost took on a pastorly role to McCrae Dowless," Harris said. "I found him to be a very enjoyable man who I chatted with, and again, everyone that I had talked to seemed to respect him and seemed to love him. I had no reason to think otherwise."

Harris spoke with WFAE and other media outlets Tuesday after he set off a fire alarm at the Charlotte Mecklenburg Government Center Monday night.

Harris was there attending a meeting of Mecklenburg Republicans. When the meeting ended, a number of reporters were waiting outside the room.

Harris said he wanted to go home and watch the Alabama-Clemson football game, and asked a security guard if there was a back way out. Harris said he was told he could use a back staircase, and that it was OK if he set off an alarm when he exited the building.

Harris called the exit a "rookie mistake."



Hey man,

Sorry I missed you guys tonight. I had to get to the kickoff of the #NationalChampionship game. We'll have plenty to talk about in the days ahead.#GoTigers

Joe Bruno 🐶 @JoeBrunoWSOC9

To avoid the media, Mark Harris ran down a fire exit staircase. A man tried to prevent us from following but we still did. The alarm went off as he ran out. When media caught up he sprinted across the street to the First Baptist Church of Charlotte's parking lot #NC09 @wsoctv



Harris spoke about how he first became involved with Dowless.

Two years ago, Dowless worked for Todd Johnson, one of Harris' opponents in the 2016 Republican primary, helping him get 221 out of 226 absentee by mail votes in Bladen County.

Harris narrowly lost that primary to Robert Pittenger. Harris says he asked an attorney whether that lopsided result for Johnson was correct.

"And I raised the question then, well, is there not something in Bladen County that may have occurred here because I see that Todd Johnson won this pretty handily, could some of those votes have gone to me?" Harris said.

Harris says he was told the result was OK.

The Washington Post has reported that people close to Harris told him that there was likely fraud in Bladen County that cost him the race.

Though Harris says he was personally curious about the absentee mail results, he says the Post report isn't correct, and that people close to him did not tell him there had been any fraud.

"No I mean, only that people would say is that it was unusual," he said. "And I think we all agreed on that."

Harris said he decided to hire Dowless a year later, after meeting with a number of Bladen County politicians, including Commissioner Ray Britt. He says they met in Britt's furniture store.

He says everyone there vouched for Dowless, and that Dowless himself explained how his "program" worked.

He says Dowless told him he and his employees would knock on people's doors and ask if they wanted to vote absentee by mail. They would then bring those requests to the Bladen County Board of Elections.

Harris said Dowless told him they would never collect absentee mail ballots from voters. That's illegal — and there have been numerous interviews from voters and Dowless employees who have said such ballot harvesting happened frequently.

In November 2016, state elections board investigators also interviewed two Dowless employees who said they collected absentee mail ballots in that year's presidential election. That report wasn't made public until December 2018.

Dowless's first race for Harris was the 2018 primary, where Harris beat Pittenger. In Bladen County, Dowless delivered — getting Harris 437 absentee mail votes to Pittenger's 12.

In the WFAE interview, Harris was asked whether he should have been more skeptical of those results, and ask himself whether it was too good to be true. He referred again to the uniqueness of the so-called program.

"No, because — again — if you back to the program, and when I was, as you said, sold on this program, that he was going to do, which, again had been verified as legal and was following the letter of the law, and it was relationships that nobody else was focusing on that," Harris said. "So why would I expect that success was a bad thing?"

Since the scandal broke, Harris said he hasn't spoken to Dowless since early December.

He said Dowless first called him on Nov. 27, when the elections board first declined to certify the elections results.

Harris said Dowless called him to say, "What in the world (is happening)?"

Harris has not spoken at all to Andy Yates, who leads the Red Done Group, a political consultant working for Harris who paid Dowless.

The Red Dome Group has been given a subpoena from the elections board, along with Dowless and the Harris campaign.

Harris was asked whether he would hire Dowless again if Dowless had been found to have illegally collected absentee mail ballots, and then completed whatever punishment he was given by prosecutors.

Harris said he couldn't address a hypothetical of what Dowless did or didn't do.

"That's a hypothetical, and I'm careful not to get into hypotheticals because there is an on-going investigation," he said.

There is no elections board investigation until Jan. 31, when a newly appointed board is enacted by law. That board will decide whether to call for a new election – or certify Harris as the winner.

Harris believes the board should continue investigating to determine if there was any fraud. But he says his 905-vote lead over Democrat Dan McCready is larger than all of the absentee mail votes he received in Bladen and Robeson counties combined.

But what if Dowless and his employees did more than illegally harvest ballots? What if they destroyed ballots that were marked for McCready?

Harris said it depends on how many ballots would have been destroyed.

"Well again I think you have to look at the number, I think the people involved — and I've said this from the beginning — if any laws have been broken, then they should be prosecuted," Harris said. "And I believe that with all of my heart."

If you want to read more about politics from WFAE's Steve Harrison, check out the new political newsletter Inside Politics. You can subscribe to it here (https://www.wfae.org/inside-politics-newsletter#stream/0).

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But what if Dowless and his employees did more than illegally harvest ballots? What if they destroyed ballots that were marked for McCready?

Harris said it depends on how many ballots would have been destroyed.

Incredible. These Republicans have no shame. Even if there's proof they were harvesting and destroying ballots they still want to be declared the winners unless someone can prove exactly how many were harvested and destroyed...which is obviously impossible, because they've been destroyed.

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#### POLITICS

## Mark Harris breaks silence, says he would 'wholeheartedly support' new election if there's fraud

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WTVD-AP By Jonah Kaplan

Friday, December 07, 2018

The Republican candidate in North Carolina's unresolved congressional race on Friday is pledging that he will "wholeheartedly support" a new election if a state investigation "finds proof of illegal activity" that could have affected the outcome of the November election.

BREAKING: @MarkHarrisNC9 says he'd "wholeheartedly" support new election *if* investigation finds fraud could've affected election outcome. Also denies wrongdoing, but will cooperate with @NCSBE. @ABC11_WTVD #NCPol #VoterFraud https://t.co/OaiWnMO2om

- Jonah Kaplan (@KaplanABC11) December 7, 2018

Mark Harris, who currently leads Democrat Dan McCready by 905 votes, also asserts he'll cooperate with investigators even as he maintained he was unaware of any alleged illegal activity.

"I trust the process that's underway," Harris says in a video he posts on his Twitter account. "I trust this investigation will be full and complete, examining any irregularities that could have benefited either party."

Also on Friday, the North Carolina State Board of Elections and Ethics Enforcement confirmed that Leslie McCrae Dowless Jr. is indeed a person of interest in connection with the probe into an alleged scheme involving absentee ballots in Bladen County. A spokesman for the board also shed light on the breadth of the investigation, which is being conducted by four investigations "with law enforcement experience are working full-time on this matter."

According to the NCSBE, the chief investigator is Joan Fleming, a 26-year veteran of the FBI who "specialized in fraud investigations."

The State Board has also issued subpoenas for documents to Red Dome Group, the Mark Harris for Congress Committee and the James Atlas McVicker Committee.

The Mark Harris campaign listed its debt to the Red Dome Group in a late Thursday filing with the Federal Election Commission. The form said the nature of the debt included: "Reimbursement Payment for Bladen Absentee, Early Voting Poll



Workers; Reimbursement Door to Door."

Bladen County's absentee ballots are at the center of a fraud probe that has prompted the North Carolina Elections Board to refuse to certify Harris as the winner over Democrat Dan McCready. The board cited allegations of "irregularities and concerted fraudulent activities" involving mail-in ballots, and subpoenaed both the Harris campaign and Red Dome for documents.

The board could order a new election after meeting later this month to consider the evidence. For now, the vote count remains unofficial, with Harris leading McCready by 905 votes.

Some Bladen County voters have said strangers came to their homes to collect their absentee ballots, whether or not they had been fully completed or sealed in an envelope to keep them from being altered, according to affidavits offered by the state Democratic Party. State law allows only a family member or legal guardian to drop off absentee ballots for a voter.

Red Dome hired Bladen County contractor McCrae Dowless, whose criminal record includes prison time in 1995 for felony fraud and a conviction for felony perjury in 1992.

According to documents released by the elections board, Dowless seems to have collected the most absentee ballot request forms in Bladen County this fall. A copy of the Bladen election board's logbook shows Dowless turned in well over 500 applications.

The FEC report also lists two other debts totaling nearly \$20,000 to Red Dome for digital advertising, robocalls and mailings for Harris. The filing says those mailings were in Robeson County, another area where the state board has sought information as part of its probe. The details were part of a wide-ranging post-election report on the campaign's finances.

McCready, expressing outrage over what he called a shameful attack on democracy, withdrew his concession in a video released late Thursday. He's demanding that Harris explain what he knows about the absentee ballot allegations.

"He hired a criminal who was under investigation for ballot fraud to do his absentee ballot work, and it looks like he got what he paid for," McCready told CNN on Friday.

Harris didn't respond to a message seeking comment late Thursday. He issued a statement last week saying he supports a voter fraud investigation, but that the race should be certified in the meantime because there didn't appear to be enough questioned votes to erase his lead. His campaign lawyer said this week the organization wasn't aware of any illegal conduct during the race.

Dowless declined to comment when visited by an Associated Press reporter this week at his home, and didn't immediately respond to a phone message Friday. The head of the Red Dome Group, Andy Yates, also didn't immediately respond to an email Friday.

Three Republican State Senators called on Gov. Roy Cooper to appoint a bipar is an task force to investigate the voting irregularities in the election.

Immediately following the Republicans, NC Democratic Party Chairman Wayne Goodwin said Republicans are doing everything they can to distract from the issue at hand.

"We have voters who are the victims here. This is election fraud, election rigging, election tampering. And we should focus on this election. But if we learn other information about prior elections, then we need to go where the facts take us," Goodwin said.

"If they have evidence that there is a substantial likelihood that this election outcome was or could have been changed, then we think the law requires a new election, and we would not oppose that," said Dallas Woodhouse, the NCGOP Executive Director. "The important thing here is that we all work together, Republicans, Democrats, unaffiliated. People that really believe in the political system for the right reason, and stamp this garbage out once and for all, forever. And severely punish the people involved."

As questions continue to swirl around amid allegations of election fraud in a critical North Carolina congressional race, the man at the center of the scandal, Dowless, declined to comment on the growing scandal when asked today by ABC's Steve Osunsami.

"At this time I have no comment and you can contact my attorney," Dowless, who worked as a campaign consultant for Republican congressional candidate Mark Harris during the 2018 election, told Osunsami when asked about his role in an alleged scheme to submit fraudulent absentee ballots."

When asked to respond to people who say he rigged the election, Dowless responded with a "no comment."

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**ELECTIONS** 

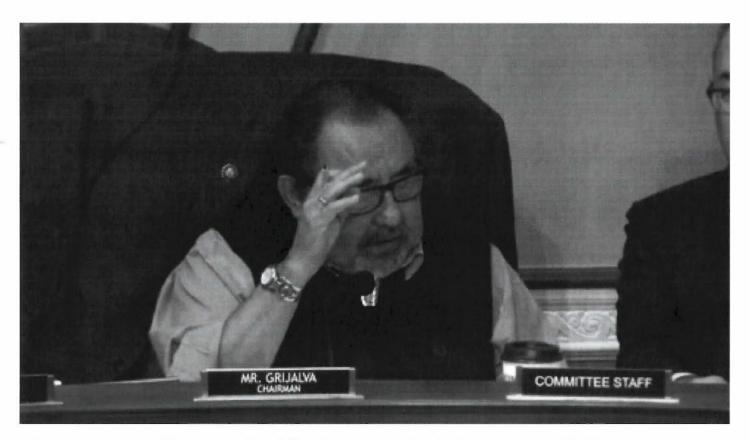
### NC election scandal probe focuses on Charlottearea political consultant

BY ELY PORTILLO AND

PAUL A. SPECHT



DECEMBER 06, 2018 11:22 AM. UPDATED DECEMBER 06, 2018 04:47 PM



Here's an overview of the election fraud allegations in North Carolina's congressional 9th district. By Stephanie Bunao and Ely Portillo | Matt Walsh

Since Andy Yates co-founded Red Dome Group in 2013, the political consulting firm's client roster has grown to include everyone from city council candidates in local races to a powerful congressional representative and the 2016 Republican National Convention.

**EXHIBIT** 

Now, the Cornelius-based firm is at the center of the growing scandal involving possible election tampering in the 9th District congressional race. Republican Mark Harris paid Red Dome \$428,908 for campaign work during the primary and general election. And Red Dome hired McCrae Dowless, the Bladen County political operative who's been accused of collecting absentee ballots en masse — forbidden under N.C. law.

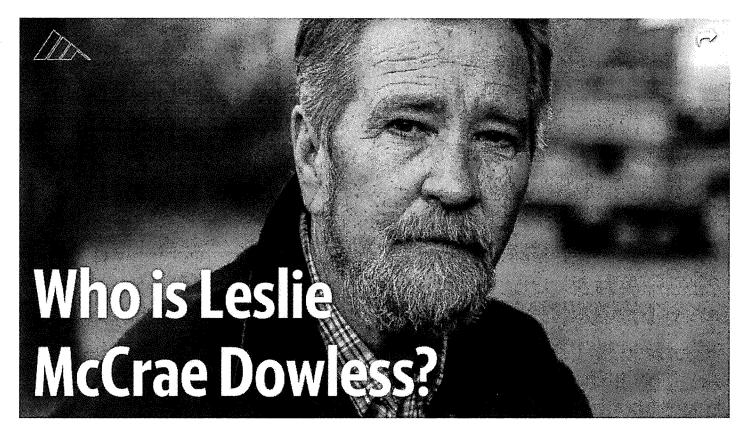
Wednesday, the N.C. State Board of Elections confirmed that it's subpoenaed Red Dome, along with the Harris campaign. Yates didn't return messages seeking comment this week, but he's previously acknowledged hiring Dowless.

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McCrae Dowless is at the center of controversy in North Carolina's 9th district, but most of the time he's stayed behind the scenes.

By Stephanie Buna. Ely Portillo, Matt Walsh and Travis Long

"He was an independent contractor who worked on grassroots for the campaign, independent of the campaign," Yates told the Observer last week.

Over the past several years, Yates and Red Dome have worked on dozens of campaigns, mostly in North Carolina and almost always — though not exclusively — for Republicans. Campaign finance records show Red Dome has collected about \$2 million from candidates and PACs in state and federal races.



Republican Mark Harris, left. defeated Democrat Dan McCready in North Carolina's 9th District. Observer archives rlahser@charlotteobserver.com

His biggest single client appears to be Harris, according to campaign finance records. Since 2016, the N.C. Republican Party has also paid him substantial amounts, mostly during the 2016 election cycle, totaling \$347,541.

The most recent payment was a \$17,710 check on Oct. 8.

Dallas Woodhouse, the party's executive director, said the GOP paid the money from its state fund so that Red Dome could help state-level candidates.

"This payment was for mail services related to local candidates at the state level," Woodhouse said in an interview. He said the party had little direct engagement with Red Dome.

"We had nothing to do with the activities in questions and didn't fund any absentee ballot work in that area in question," Woodhouse said. "We are as horrified reading these news articles as everyone else.

"We think there should be a full and complete investigation. We want there to be confidence that our candidate got more legitimate votes."

Asked about Red Dome's reputation as a consultant, Woodhouse said, "It's clearly not what it was."

Over the past five years, Yates has built a reputation as a political operator who was proficient in old and new techniques, such as direct mail and social media.

"I've known Andy Yates for a number of years," said state Rep. Jason Saine, a Lincolnton Republican who has paid Red Dome about \$25,000. "I got good mail pieces out and good online ads. Their work for me has been great."

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'A troubled history': Bladen County has faced five elections investigations since 2010

DECEMBER 05, 2018 7:44 PM

Yates co-founded Red Dome in 2013 with Todd Poole, who left the firm after less than a year to become executive director of the N.C. Republican Party. He now works for Rep. Ted Budd.

Although he's worked mostly for Republican candidates, Yates has occasionally done work for the other side.

"I'm a bleeding heart liberal Democrat," said Davidson Mayor Rusty Knox, who defeated the longtime incumbent as a first-time candidate in 2017. He paid Red Dome \$6,000, and said Yates helped craft targeted ads for him online. Knox was initially a bit skeptical of working with Yates.

"He does have a Ronald Reagan bobblehead and a picture of Ronald Reagan on horseback" in his office, Knox said. But Yates delivered the ads well, Knox said. And they got along. Unlike some political operatives who enjoy the brawling, bare-knuckle aspects of a nasty campaign, Knox said Yates is more affable and laid-back.

"I liked him," said Knox. "He's a matter-of-fact guy."

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**POLITICS-GOVERNMENT** 

At center of voter fraud scandal, a convicted felon and 'grassroots' campaigner

DECEMBER 03, 2018 1:35 PM

Yates, a Wake Forest graduate and N.C. native, has garnered attention for his successful campaigning. The American Association of Political Consultants named him a member of its 2018 "40 under 40" class.

He's worked for U.S. Rep. Mark Meadows, who has paid Red Dome \$52,850 since 2014, for campaign expenses associated with advertising and online marketing.

A Meadows spokesman didn't return a message seeking more information about work Red Dome did for the congressman. Red Dome's client list also includes work on behalf of N.C. Treasurer Dale Folwell, state Rep. Andy Dulin, the 2016 Republican National Convention and President Donald Trump's inauguration.

In 2018, Red Dome worked for Ohio Republican Melanie Leneghan, who lost a congressional primary to Troy Balderson. She paid Red Dome \$51,750, campaign finance records show. She lost by 653 votes and sued to overturn the results due to alleged vote tampering, according to media reports, but her complaint was thrown out by the Ohio Supreme Court.

But Harris, who narrowly beat out incumbent Rep. Robert Pittenger with 828 votes in the May primary and now has a 905-vote margin over Democrat Dan McCready, stood to be the group's most high profile success story. That's in jeopardy now, as Democrats in Congress have said the U.S. House might refuse to seat Harris should he come in January, and the N.C. State Board of Elections could potentially order a new vote for the 9th District.

It's unclear whether Yates sought out Dowless. To the Washington Post, he denied having Dowless improperly collect ballots and said Harris "was aware of Red Dome's relationship

with Mr. Dowless and believes like I do that Mr. Dowless operated within the bounds of the law."

Carolyn Justice, a former legislator who Red Dome lists as a lead consultant, said she doesn't know Dowless or anything about the investigation because she didn't work on the Harris campaign.

"I am not a principal of Red Dome. I just do campaigns on the coast. I've never been on a campaign in Robeson or Bladen county, as far as I can remember," Justice said. "I'm totally disconnected from that. And I never worked on the Mark Harris campaign."

Red Dome also worked for Sheriff Jim McVicker, who won reelection in Bladen County. He paid the company \$8,000 for "get out to vote" efforts, according to financial disclosures. McVicker also paid Dowless \$8,800 directly, also for "get out to vote."

In 2015, trade publication Campaigns & Elections Magazine named Yates a "Rising Star." Asked what his advice was for aspiring consultants, Yates described "The single best piece of advice that I've gotten."

"It's just as important who you choose not to work with as who you do choose to work with," Yates recalled Jack Hawke, the longtime chairman of the N.C. Republican Party who died in 2013, told him. "One ethically challenged candidate can bring down all of your hard work."

Portillo: 704-358-5041

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STATE-POLITICS

## LETTER: CONGRESS MAY RESOLVE DISPUTED NORTH CAROLINA ELECTION

By Associated Press - January 11, 2019 7:01 PM



RALEIGH, N.C. (AP) — Several requests for mail-in ballots were forged in the North Carolina county where fraud allegations have forestalled the declaration of a winner in the nation's last undecided congressional race, a local elections official said in a sworn affidavit released Friday.

Three of 165 absentee ballot request forms dropped off ahead of November's general election were forged, Bladen County Elections Board Chairman Bobby Ludlum said in the affidavit, which was released by an attorney for Republican congressional candidate Mark Harris's campaign. The collection of absentee requests was delivered by a woman the Republican election official didn't name.

"One of the three was for a relative of mine who told me that two women had asked if he wanted to request a form. He said no," the affidavit said.

Ludlum's statement confirms part of an earlier affidavit by Jens Lutz, a Democrat who was the county elections board's vice chairman before resigning abruptly last month.

Both a subcontractor working last fall for Harris and a black empowerment group supporting Democrats submitted clusters of absentee ballot requests, a legal practice.

### Related Article: Deadline to register to vote is Monday

Harris narrowly leads Democrat Dan McCready for the 9th Congressional District. A winner hasn't been declared pending investigations into an unusually large number of absentee ballots that were requested and never returned, as well as the large advantage Harris has among absentee votes in two of the district's rural counties, Bladen and Robeson.

The forged ballots were reported to the state elections board staff, who instructed Bladen County elections workers to mail absentee ballots to all but the three people whose names

were forged, Ludlum said.

Ludlum also denied telling county Democratic Party Chairman Ben Snyder that Leslie McCrae Dowless, the local political operative working for Harris who is named as a target of the state investigation, discarded absentee ballots.

"I am not aware of anyone in Bladen County ever throwing ballots in the trash or stating that they have thrown absentee ballots or any type of ballot in the trash," Ludlum said.

Voters have said in other affidavits that Dowless or people working for him collected ballots that were blank, incomplete or stuffed in unsealed envelopes.

Ludlum disputed other claims by Lutz that local elections workers were lax about protecting the security of completed absentee ballots. Ludlum, Lutz and the county elections board's two other members voted unanimously last year that an unlocked door between the ballot storage room and another government office should be secured and an alarm and security cameras installed.

County officials refused to spend the money, however. The U.S. Department of Homeland Security, which assessed the site shortly before this year's election, said in a report obtained by The Associated Press that the unlocked door made voting materials vulnerable.

Ludlum also disputed Lutz's claim that Dowless enjoyed close relationships to key local elections workers, and that they allowed him to copy ballot request forms complete with voter's signatures and social security and driver's license numbers. Lutz said those details could give Dowless the ability to request mail-in ballots for anyone who has ever voted that way in recent.years.

Neither Dowless "nor any other unauthorized person was allowed to take and copy unredacted absentee ballot request forms with confidential information on them," Ludlum's statement said. "Dowless was not given greater access to absentee ballot or other information than was given to other citizens."

Ludlum's lawyers on Friday refused to confirm news reports that he and Dowless are cousins.

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LIVE

# Harris meets with Board of Elections, calls not being in DC 'disappointing'

By: Allison Latos, Joe Bruno

Updated: Jan 3, 2019 - 6:22 PM





**BLADEN COUNTY, N.C.** - For nearly two hours Thursday morning, Mark Harris was interviewed by North Carolina Board of Elections investigators who are trying to get to the bottom of election fraud allegations in the 9th Congressional District.

[SPECIAL SECTION: District 9 Investigation]

Channel 9 crews were there as Harris arrived to meet with state election officials in Raleigh.

Eyewitness News anchor Allison Latos asked Harris what it felt like not being in Washington, D.C. as the 116th Congress was sworn in. Harris replied, "Disappointing."





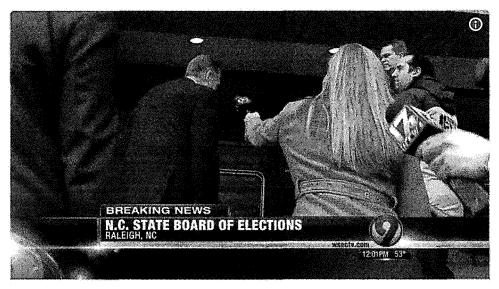


# Mark Harris arrives at NCSBE for Interview in District 9 investigation



The investigation centers around a man named McCrae Dowless, who ran get out the vote efforts in Bladen County for Red Dome, a company hired by the Harris campaign.

Several people told Channel 9 they were paid by Dowless to collect absentee ballot request forms and the actual ballots. Collecting ballots is illegal.







Anchor @AllisonWSOC9 was the only reporter from Charlotte to question Mark Harris this morning as he entered NCSBE to meet with investigators #NC09 @wsoctv

♥ 35 12:03 PM - Jan 3, 2019





After leaving Thursday's meeting with officials, Harris addressed the media.

"Do you think McCrae Dowless did anything wrong?" Latos asked. "I can't answer that," Harris said. "I think, ultimately, the investigation will lead wherever it leads. I don't have indication or know any more than you do in terms of his attorney who said that he did not."

Harris wouldn't say what he shared with investigators but repeatedly said he will cooperate.

RAW: Mark Harris reacts after meeting with elections board



"Did you provide more documents? The State Board of Elections had mentioned there could be 140,000. Did you come today and provide more?" Latos asked.

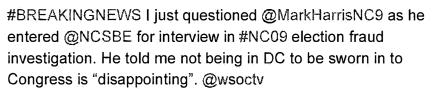
"We're in the process of doing that," said David Freedman, attorney for Harris. "Again, this has been an expedited process and the number of documents to be provided. We're going through it."

Last week, former NCSBE Chair Joshua Malcolm sent a letter to the Harris campaign saying NCSBE staff is still waiting for the campaign to produce subpoenaed documents. Malcolm wrote that NCSBE has only received 398 documents out of a possible 140,000 pages of relevant material.









♥ 45 9:41 AM - Jan 3, 2019

Q 61 people are talking about this

The Harris campaign also filed a petition for a writ of mandamus in Wake County Superior Court on Thursday, calling for the certification of Harris as the winner in the 9th Congressional District election.

### [RELATED: Harris files court documents asking for certification of 9th District results]

As Harris met with investigators, members of the 116th Congress were sworn in. The Office of the Clerk of the United States House of Representatives is expected to take over constituent services for the 9th Congressional District until a representative is sworn in.

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The U.S. House of Representatives has the constitutional authority to control the seating of its own members. Asked about the possibility that Democrats may vacate or refuse to seat Harris, Freedman said that is many steps down the road.

"If he is certified, I don't see how the House can fail to seat him," Freedman said. "I don't know if that is a fight the House wants to get into."

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2

POLITICS & GOVERNMENT

### 'No reason to doubt the legitimacy of the outcome,' Harris says as he sues to join Congress

BY BRIAN MURPHY, RASHAAN AYESH, AND CARLI BROSSEAU

JANUARY 03, 2019 01:36 PM

VIDEOS

Trump announces national emergency to get border wall funding

Republican Mark Harris and attorney David Freedman answer questions in Raleigh. N.C., Thursday, Jan. 3, 2019. Harris was in Raleigh to be interviewed by the NC Board of Elections in regards to a political scandal in N.C.'s 9th Congressional District. By

### MORE FROM THE SERIES

### Election fraud investigation

Read more about the investigation into the 9th Congressional District

#### EXPAND ALL

While winners of 2018 House races were being sworn into a new Congress in Washington on Thursday, Republican Mark Harris met with staff from the North Carolina state board of elections in Raleigh.

Harris and two attorneys met with state board Executive Director Kim Westbrook Strach and Chief Investigator Joan Fleming for nearly two hours Thursday morning, the board said in a news release. Earlier in the day, Harris filed a motion with the Wake County Superior Court urging the court to compel the board to certify his election.

"It's during this hour," Harris said, "my 434 colleagues in the U.S. House of Representatives will raise their hand and take the oath of office and be seated. I'm the one seat remaining of the 435 to be seated."

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1/7

FEBRUARY 16, 2019 09:27 PM

During Thursday's ceremonies at the U.S. House, North Carolina's 9th Congressional District was one of two districts not represented in the vote for speaker. Both were North Carolina districts: Rep. Walter Jones, a Farmville Republican, missed the session due to illness.

Harris leads Democrat Dan McCready by 905 votes, according to unofficial results, in the 9th district, which stretches from Charlotte to Fayetteville along the South Carolina border. But the state board twice declined to certify his election, citing voting irregularities and possible absentee ballot fraud in Bladen and Robeson counties.

Republican Mark Harris, the unofficial winner of N.C.'s 9th District congressional election, arrives for interviews with state elections officials in Raleigh, N.C. Jan. 3, 2019.

Ву

The nine member board has been declared unconstitutional and dissolved. And no new board will take shape until at least the end of January.

"We believe that, again, that I should be certified," Harris told reporters outside the board's offices on Salisbury Street after his meeting with investigators. "We don't believe that the number of ballots in question would change the outcome of this election."

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DECEMBER 21, 2018 3:47 PM

Said Harris: "We think there should be no reason to doubt the legitimacy of the outcome."

Harris' attorneys argued in their court filing that the state board was required to certify the election because the counties in the 9th District have "determin[ed] that the votes were counted and tabulated correctly," and because registered voters have filed no protests.

They disputed the elections board's position that the board had legal authority to "take any other action necessary to assure that an election

is determined without taint of fraud or corruption and without irregularities that may have changed the result of an election." The same law says the board "may initiate and consider complaints on its own motion."

The certification decision now belongs to the court, Harris' attorneys David Freedman and Dudley A. Witt argued, because there is no longer a sitting state elections board. They cited a 2017 case involving a Boone town council election as proof that a North Carolina judge has ordered an election to be certified before.

"Under the unique and narrow circumstances of a vacant State Board, the agency's inability to resolve petitions and act on other statutorily mandated matters are effectively denials from which review by this Court may be sought," Judge Paul C. Ridgeway wrote in the 2017 order. "The Court has inherent authority to supply necessary relief to parties whose legal rights are affected by a vacant State Board and to preserve the uniform and orderly operation of elections administration."

In that case, a voter protested the election citing a lack of public notice of an early-voting site on the campus of Appalachian State University. Her protest was dismissed by the Watauga County Board of Elections. She intended to appeal to the state elections board, but was told to appeal to the Superior Court in Wake County because there was no sitting state elections board, according to the judge's order.

Ridgeway ordered the state board's executive director to tell the county board to certify the election. The county board's decision is final in the absence of a seated state elections board, he wrote.

Briefs from all parties are due by Jan. 14 and no hearing date has been set, the court's trial administrator said in an email Thursday evening.

Republican Mark Harris, the unofficial winner of N.C.'s 9th District congressional election, arrives for interviews with state elections officials in Raleigh, N.C. Jan. 3, 2019.

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The State Board of Elections is the agency responsible for the administration of elections and campaign finance disclosure and compliance in North Carolina. Press inquiries should be directed the Board's public information officer, Patrick Gannon, at 919-814-0765 (office).

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Press Release

8

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Release: IMMEDIATE

Date: 1/3/2019

patrick.gannon@ncsbe.gov

Statement from Executive Director





FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Thursday, January 3, 2019

PATRICK GANNON, PIO email

Statement from Executive Director

**RALEIGH, N.C.** – The following is a statement from State Board Executive Director Kim Westbrook Strach about today's interview:

"Dr. Harris and his two attorneys met with Chief Investigator Joan Fleming and me for nearly two hours Thursday morning. We appreciate his cooperation in the ongoing investigation."

##

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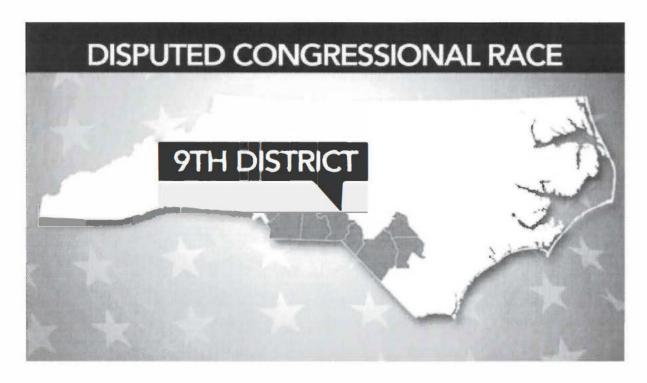
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# State inquiry into 9th Congressional District extends into Robeson

**Tags:** Mark Harris, 9th Congressional District, 2018 campaigns, absentee ballot, State Board of Elections

Posted December 7, 2018



### By Travis Fain, WRAL statehouse reporter

**RALEIGH, N.C.** — There's evidence that a suspected Bladen County ballot-harvesting operation at the center of questions about the results of the recent election in North Carolina's 9th Congressional District was also active in neighboring Robeson County, and state investigators are interviewing voters here.

Under a theory state investigators are working, Bladen County may have been the hub of an organized effort to collect absentee ballots. But Robeson County had more unreturned absentee ballots in the November election – and a potentially larger impact on results.

A Robeson County couple told WRAL News this week that two women came to their door and left with their absentee ballots. That's illegal, and it mirrors reports from Bladen County that have thrown

the congressional race into turmoil and raised the possibility of another election.

Another Robeson County woman said she was paid to get people to request absentee ballots in the county, which is legal.

The woman said she was directed by Jennifer Boyd, who is believed to be connected to McCrae Dowless, the man at the center of the state investigation. Boyd witnessed dozens of absentee ballots with Lisa Britt, who is the daughter of Dowless' ex-wife and did absentee ballot work in both Bladen and Robeson counties.

Dowless worked through a third-party consultant on Republican Mark Harris' campaign in the 9th District, and he is suspected of running crews door to door to collect ballots. The State Board of Elections and Ethics Enforcement officially named Dowless "a person of interest in connection with an alleged absentee ballot operation" on Friday.

No one has been charged, and the investigation may continue for another two weeks.

More than 3,400 of the mail-in absentee ballots requested in the 9th District ahead of the election went unreturned. More than 1,100 of those were from Robeson County.

"We don't know where the outstanding ballots are at this point," Wake County District Attorney Lorrin Freeman, whose office is running a separate criminal investigation, said this week.

Britt's named appears on dozens of absentee ballot certifications in both Bladen and Robeson counties, according to records the state has put online as part of its investigation. Mail-in ballots have to be witnessed by two people under North Carolina law, and in Robeson County, Britt typically signed in tandem with either Boyd or Rhonda Strickland.

In Bladen County, she typically signed with either Ginger Eason or a man whose name appears to be James Singleton. His signature is difficult to read, but witnesses are not required to write their names legibly.

It's not illegal to witness so many ballots, but it's a red flag because it's unusual.

Efforts to reach Britt and Strickland were not successful. Eason and another woman, Cheryl Kinlaw, told WRAL News earlier this week that Dowless paid them to collect absentee ballots.

Britt told Buzzfeed News that she didn't collect anyone's ballots, but voters interviewed as a media frenzy descended on this rural part of North Carolina have said she did.

Boyd declined an interview when WRAL News reached her. "No comment," she said. "Have a blessed day."



# Woman who collected absentee ballots in 9th Congressional District race says she feels duped

In Robeson County, Cary and and Wendy Grimsley told WRAL News that they filled out absentee ballots while a woman they believed to be Britt and a second woman that they did not know were at their home in Saint Pauls. The women did not tell them how to vote, they said, but left with their sealed ballots, as well as one from Cary Grimsley's daughter, the couple said.

The two women had a list of other stops, the couple said.

Cary Grimsley described himself as "a Republican man," but said he normally does not vote. State records show his absentee ballot, and his wife's and daughter's, were counted this year. Records also indicate that Boyd and Strickland, not Britt, witnessed their ballots.

It's unclear how many absentee ballots collected by strangers in this race were counted.

Two Bladen County voters filed affidavits in this investigation saying a woman they did not know came to their homes to collect ballots. But they later voted in person, making their absentee votes moot in the final election count.

Freeman said there is still work to be done to determine how often that happened and how significantly any harvesting efforts affected election outcomes. As of Friday evening, Freeman said her investigation was focused on Bladen County and had not moved into Robeson County.

The Grimsleys said a state elections board investigator came to their home Wednesday. They said the whole process of voting absentee started as a favor to Ashley Pate, who lives nearby and told them she was getting paid to persuade people to request mail-in ballots.

That's legal, according to experts in North Carolina election law, but it's another red flag.



# **State seizes Bladen County evidence in 9th District investigation**

Dowless and a person named Jessica Dowless turned in more than half the absentee ballot requests that Bladen County received in the run up to the election, according to a log the county kept of people

State inquiry into 9th Congressional District extends into Robeson :: WRAL.com

2/17/2019

who dropped off requests. Similar numbers for Robeson County haven't been released, but the county's Board of Elections chairman said state investigators collected those records the day after the state board first voted to delay final results in the 9th District.

Pate told WRAL News that Boyd made arrangements for her to be paid, communicating with her through Facebook Messenger. In the end, Pate said, she didn't sign up many people.

"I felt a little weird," she said.

Deedra Ashley, who lives in Robeson County, said state investigators also visited her Wednesday asking about her ballot. Bond and Strickland witnessed that ballot as well, based on signatures on the return envelope.

Ashley said only one person visited her to witness the ballot, though, and that she didn't remember her name.

"I told (investigators) I didn't remember a second signature," Ashley said Thursday. "There wasn't a second person here."

Both witnesses are supposed to sign in the voter's presence.

Ashley said the woman who visited her didn't push her to vote for anyone particular.

Her absentee ballot was counted, according to state records. It was the first time the 59-year-old had voted.

Tags: Mark Harris, 9th Congressional District, 2018 campaigns, absentee ballot, State Board of Elections

### **CREDITS**

Reporter

Travis Fain

Web Editor

Matthew Burns

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12	☐ Master's degree (e,g. ☐ Doctorate (e.g., PhD				ABA)				Chinese	DK	neer	Other (Specify)	
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	17. FATHER/PARENT NAM James Neal Shipman	1	miggle, Last)	(Last Na	eme Prior to	LIER WELLEGO)		OTHER/PARE	TI NAME (First,	MIGGIB, LA	sy (Last Na	ne Prior to First Mantage)	
	194. INFORMANTS NAME			195		NSHIP TO DECEDE	11 males (2000)						
	Beth Smith Sister 2783 Cabbage Road Bladenboro, NC 28320												
	20s. METHOD OF DISPOSITION   Burlat   Cremation   20b. PLACE OF DISPOSITION (Name of cometery, crematory,   20c. LOCATION (City or Town and State)   Other place)												
	□ Donation □ Entor	nbment	☐ Removal f			CE OF DISPOSITION PLACE)	ON (Name of c	cematery, crem	atory,	200. LOC	ATION (CITY	or rown and date)	
	■ Other (Specify) Cre	mbrment meter Oute	□ Removal f		e othe Hickory	r place) / Grove Old Fiek	d Cemetery			90000000000000000000000000000000000000		th Carolina	
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Mailing Address: P.O. Box 27255 Raleigh, NC 27611

(919) 814-0755

December 28, 2018

### VIA ELECTRONIC MAIL

Alexander Dale acd@wardandsmith.com

Re: <u>Emergency Petition to Certify the Election by the Mark Harris for Congress Committee (the "Petition").</u>

Attorney Dale:

The State Board of Elections & Ethics Enforcement (the "State Board") received the above-referenced Petition by email at 10:15 a.m. today. It was transmitted to all appointed State Board members at 10:16 a.m. Your Petition requests certification before noon today, which would require consideration in an emergency meeting called by the Chair or by a majority of State Board members. See G.S. § 163A-3(a). Neither has occurred. As of the issuance of this letter, only two board members requested a meeting to consider your petition.

As Chair of the State Board, I am familiar with the progress of the agency's investigation and announced hearing on *In re Investigation of election irregularities* affecting counties within the 9th Congressional District (herein "In re Investigation of Election Irregularities"), a matter now pending before the State Board under G.S. §§ 163A-1180 and 163A-1181 (fmr. G.S. §§ 163-182.12 and 163-182.13, respectively).

The State Board, as presently constituted with nine appointees, initiated *In re Investigation of Election Irregularities* on its own motion. On November 27, the State Board convened the canvass and authentication meeting required by G.S. § 163A-1172(c) (fmr. G.S. § 163-182.5). After extensive briefing from counsel and investigators in closed session, the State Board unanimously declined to certify results in the contest for election to the U.S. House of Representatives in the 9th Congressional District in the exercise of G.S. § 163A-1180 (fmr. G.S. § 163-182.12), which provides as follows in relevant part:



The State Board may consider protests that were not filed in compliance with G.S. 163A-1177, may initiate and consider complaints on its own motion, may intervene and take jurisdiction over protests pending before a county board, and may take any other action necessary to assure that an election is determined without taint of fraud or corruption and without irregularities that may have changed the result of an election.

On November 30, the State Board ordered officials in Bladen and Robeson counties to withhold certificates of elections in three additional contests: District Court in Judicial District 16B (Seat 2), Bladen County Commissioner (District 3), and Bladen Soil and Water Conservation District Supervisor. The apparent margin of victory in each additional contest represented fewer votes than those presently under scrutiny in connection to *In re Investigation of Election Irregularities*. In addition, on November 30, the State Board again declined to certify the results and announced that an evidentiary hearing would be held.

After consultation with all board members, on December 17 I executed the enclosed Order of Proceedings on *In re Investigation of Election Irregularities* announcing a hearing on January 11 before the State Board "however constituted as the body then authorized to enforce G.S. §§163A-1180 and 163A-1181 or G.S. §§163-182.12 and 163-182.13." The Order of Proceedings established evidentiary standards and procedural requirements governing the State Board's consideration and adjudication of this matter. It established relevant dates as follows:

December 21: Submission of affidavits and evidentiary exhibits.

January 6: Submission of briefs and applications *pro hac vice*.

January 11: Hearing by the State Board at the N.C. State Bar.

While entry of a written order will conclude the State Board's resolution of *In re Investigation of Election Irregularities*, the State Board's work is ongoing, involving substantial efforts to gather evidence and assess allegations of unlawful conduct affecting the elections process in certain counties within the 9th Congressional District. To date, the State Board's investigative staff has conducted more than 100 interviews, and the staff is actively engaged in the review of more than 182,000 pages of materials produced in response to 12 subpoenas for documents issued by the State Board under G.S. § 163A-4(a) (fmr. G.S. § 163-23). Based on a recommendation from staff, the Board issued numerous additional subpoenas today.



As you know, your client is under a subpoena dated December 1, but has made only one production on December 7 totaling 398 pages. Yet your client through counsel indicated that you possess roughly 140,000 additional documents that may be responsive but have not yet been produced. We have received repeated assurances as recently as December 24 regarding your efforts to comply with the subpoena. You are hereby requested to fully comply with the Board's subpoena so as to not further impact the agency's ability to resolve the investigation.

Staff at the agency have made several attempts to schedule an interview with your client. On December 7 counsel for the Harris Committee by phone indicated your client would be willing to sit for an interview following production of documents. Your client retained individual counsel and on December 24 agency staff sought to confirm his continued intent to be interviewed. We await confirmation of the same.

As you are aware the State Board has endeavored to meet its statutory obligations in a transparent manner. We have and we will continue to provide public access to documents and evidence to the fullest extent possible without undermining current investigative efforts. To date, more than 8,000 pages of materials have been posted publicly. The evidentiary hearing itself will be public.

The main goal of State Board staff has been and continues to be a thorough and transparent investigation into elections irregularities, so that State Board members have as much evidence as possible in **fr**ont of them when they consider whether to certify the 9th Congressional District contest or order a new election. The faith of voters in our election system depends on that.

Best Regards,

Joshua D. Malcolm

Chair

State Board of Elections & Ethics Enforcement

cc: State Board Members

Encl.

Case No.

In re. Investigation of election irregularities affecting Congressional District 9

# Exhibit 4.2.6.1.1

Description: Example of most current Absentee Application and Certificate (a/k/a the "ballot return envelope").





### **Absentee Application and Certificate**

Fraudulently or Falsely completing this form is a Class I felony under Chapter 163 of the N.C. General Statutes

The following people are PROHIBITED from signing the Witnesses' Certification:

For all voters: a candidate, UNLESS the candidate is the voter's near relative;

For voters who are patients or residents of a hospital, clinic, nursing home, or adult care home: (1) an owner, manager, director, or employee of that facility; (2) an individual who holds any federal, State, or local elective office; and (3) an individual who holds office in a State, congressional district, county or precinct political party or organization, or who is a campaign manager or treasurer for any candidate or political party.

### Witnesses' Certification Voter's Certification (Required) I am applying for an absentee ballot • I am a duly qualified voter, registered as an affiliate of the political party indicated on this application • All information represented on this application is correct • I am entitled to vote in this election • If I am an *Unaffiliated* voter voting in a primary election, I am voting in the party primary indicated on the attached label • If the party indicated is (UNA), I am voting a nonpartisan ballot. Option 1: Two (2) Witnesses (Required Unless a Notary Public is the Witness) Affix NON-BARCODE I certify that: • I am at least 18 years old • I am not disqualified from witnessing the ballot as described in the WARNING on the flap of this envelope • The Voter marked the enclosed ballot in my presence, or caused it to be marked in the Voter's presence according to his/her instruction • Label HERE The Voter signed this Absentee Application and Certificate, or caused it to be signed • I respected the secrecy of the hallot and the Voter's privacy unless I assisted the Voter at his/her request [complete Voter Assistant Certification section]. I further certify that I marked the enclosed ballot (or it was marked for me according to my instructions) in the presence of: Witness #1 Witness #2 two (2) witnesses who are at least 18 years of age and who are not disqualified by law to witness the casting of my absentee ballot (the witnesses must complete the **Option 1** of the *Witnesses' Certification*) Affix BARCODE Signature (Required) a notary public (the notary must complete Option 2 of the Witnesses' Label HERE Street Address (Required) Street Address (Required) Certification) City, State and Zip (Required) City, State and Zip (Required) Signature of Voter (Required) Date Board Approval Date _ Date Option 2: Notary Public as Witness Name Correction (if applicable) Second Primary Request or Runoff Request (Required Unless Two Witnesses Provided) In the event that a Second Primary (or Runoff Election) is called, I request that an absentee application and ballot be issued to me and mailed to me. (Check the box to receive eligible ballots.) Voter Assistant Certification (if applicable) Voter Assistant Certification (II applicable) I certify that: • The voter requested my assistance • I assisted the Voter by marking the ballot only according to the Voter's instruction; and/or I assisted the Voter in completing the Absentee Application and Certificate • I assisted the Voter only in the Voter's presence • I am the Voter's near relative or verifiable legal guardian, or I am providing assistance because a near relative or legal guardian is unavailable to I certify that: on the day of personally appeared before me, was positively identified, and in my presence, the Voter marked the enclosed ballot, or caused it to be marked in the Voter's Annual Request for Illness/Disability presence according to his/her instruction • The Voter signed this Absentee Application and Certificate, or Due to continued or expected illness or disability. I request that caused it to be signed • I am at least 18 years old • I am not disqualified from witnessing the ballot as this application be a request for absentee ballots for any other described in the WARNING on the flap of this envelope • I respected the secrecy of the ballot and the privacy elections to be held this calendar year in which I am eligible to of the Voter unless I assisted the Voter at his/her request [complete Voter Assistant Certification section]. assist the Voter. participate. (Check the box to receive eligible ballots.) NOTE: A notary may not charge any fee for witnessing and affixing a notarial seal to an absentee ballot application or certificate [G S § 10B-30]. Name of Assistant Signature of Voter (if applicable) SEAL Signature of Assistant Address where application and ballots should be mailed Date Commission Expiration Date NCSBE v2018.02

# SCHEDULE B (FEC Form 3) ITEMIZED DISBURSEMENTS

19b **Detailed Summary Page** Any information copied from such Reports and Statements may not be sold or used by any person for the purpose of soliciting contributions or for commercial purposes, other than using the name and address of any political committee to solicit contributions from such committee. NAME OF COMMITTEE (In Full) Mark Harris for Congress Full Name (Last, First, Middle Initial) Pollock, Freida, , , Date of Disbursement 08 2017 Mailing Address 800 S. York Street #2411 City State Zip Code **FEC Identification Number** NC 28052 5511 Gastonia Purpose of Disbursement In kind:items for meet and greet Candidate Name Amount of Each Disbursement this Period Category/ Type Disbursement For: 2018 Office Sought: House Primary General Senate Transaction ID: B185C796B7FE24B11840 Other (specify) President Memo Item District: Full Name (Last, First, Middle Initial) Red Dome Group Date of Disbursement Mailing Address 6255 Towncenter Dr 2017 08 City State Zip Code **FEC Identification Number** NC Clemmons 27012-9376 Purpose of Disbursement Admin and Salary 001 Candidate Name Amount of Each Disbursement this Period Category/ Type 12677.00 Office Sought: House Disbursement For: 2018 × Primary Senate General Transaction ID: B84C1638E6BC145AAA10 Other (specify) President Memo Item State: District: Full Name (Last, First, Middle Initial) Date of Disbursement c. Red Dome Group Mailing Address 6255 Towncenter Dr 2017 City State Zip Code **FEC Identification Number** NC 27012 9376 Clemmons Purpose of Disbursement Admin and Salary C 001 Candidate Name Amount of Each Disbursement this Period Category/ Type 17683.59 Office Sought: House Disbursement For: 2018 Primary General Senate Transaction ID: B32958EE8B8E24EDB803 President Other (specify) Memo Item State: District: SUBTOTAL of Disbursements This Page (optional)..... 30560.68 TOTAL This Period (last page this line number only)......

# SCHEDULE B (FEC Form 3) ITEMIZED DISBURSEMENTS

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### SCHEDULE B (FEC Form 3)

34 OF 36 FOR LINE NUMBER: PAGE Use separate schedule(s) (check only one) ITEMIZED DISBURSEMENTS for each category of the X 17 18 19h 19a Detailed Summary Page 21 20a 20b 20c Any information copied from such Reports and Statements may not be sold or used by any person for the purpose of soliciting contributions or for commercial purposes, other than using the name and address of any political committee to solicit contributions from such committee. NAME OF COMMITTEE (In Full) Mark Harris for Congress Full Name (Last, First, Middle Initial) A. Pogorzelski, Conrad, , , III Date of Disbursement V V V 04 04 2018 Mailing Address 5233 CR Wood Rd City State Zip Code FEC Identification Number NC 28056 8921 Gastonia Purpose of Disbursement C 006 Candidate Name Category/ Amount of Each Disbursement this Period Type Office Sought: Disbursement For: 2018 444.69 House Primary General Senate Transaction ID: B2756CE0D7551454DA1F Other (specify) ▼ President Memo Item State: District: Full Name (Last, First, Middle Initial) Properties, Key, Man, , Date of Disbursement Mailing Address 4389 Indian Trail Fairview Rd 05 2018 04 City State Zip Code **FEC Identification Number** Indian Trail NC 28079 9639 Purpose of Disbursement rent C Candidate Name Category/ Amount of Each Disbursement this Period Type 760.00 Disbursement For: 2018 Office Sought: House x Primary Senate General Transaction ID: B9059CDA9E7DD43EA91B President Other (specify) ▼ Memo Item District: Full Name (Last, First, Middle Initial) Date of Disbursement c. Red Dome Group Mailing Address 6255 Towncenter Dr City State Zip Code **FEC Identification Number** NC 27012 9376 Clemmons Purpose of Disbursement Admin and Salary 001 Candidate Name Amount of Each Disbursement this Period Category/ Type

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### SCHEDULE B (FEC Form 3) ITEMIZED DISBURSEMENTS

35 36 **PAGE** OF FOR LINE NUMBER: Use separate schedule(s) (check only one) for each category of the X 17 18 19a 20a 20b 20c 21

19b **Detailed Summary Page** Any information copied from such Reports and Statements may not be sold or used by any person for the purpose of soliciting contributions or for commercial purposes, other than using the name and address of any political committee to solicit contributions from such committee. NAME OF COMMITTEE (In Full) Mark Harris for Congress Full Name (Last, First, Middle Initial) A. Red Dome Group Date of Disbursement Mailing Address 6255 Towncenter Dr 18 2018 City State Zip Code **FEC Identification Number** Clemmons NC 27012-9376 Purpose of Disbursement Admin and Salary C 001 Candidate Name Category/ Amount of Each Disbursement this Period Type Office Sought: Disbursement For: 2018 19217.64 House Primary General Senate Transaction ID: BE700C7A3AC564A28970 President Other (specify) Memo Item State: District: Full Name (Last, First, Middle Initial) Solutions, Delargy's, Print, , Date of Disbursement Mailing Address 4800 N Tryon St 02 2018 04 State Zip Code **FEC Identification Number** NC 28213-7032 Charlotte Purpose of Disbursement printing C 003 Candidate Name Category/ Amount of Each Disbursement this Period Type 211.82 Office Sought: Disbursement For: 2018 House Senate Primary General Transaction ID: B1A6DE32B0B5D43E0AF8 President Other (specify) Memo Item State: District: Full Name (Last, First, Middle Initial) Date of Disbursement C Wells Fargo Securities Mailing Address 10630 Providence Road 2018 City State Zip Code **FEC Identification Number** 28277-0233 Charlotte NC Purpose of Disbursement transfer 001 Candidate Name Amount of Each Disbursement this Period Category/ Type 30.00 Office Sought: House Disbursement For: 2018 Senate Primary General Transaction ID: B359A69C88BE74639AFA President Other (specify) Memo Item District: State: SUBTOTAL of Disbursements This Page (optional)..... 19459.46 TOTAL This Period (last page this line number only).....

PAGE 88 94 OF FOR LINE NUMBER: Use separate schedule(s) (check only one) for each category of the ITEMIZED DISBURSEMENTS X 17 18 19a 19b Detailed Summary Page 20b 20c 21 20a Any information copied from such Reports and Statements may not be sold or used by any person for the purpose of soliciting contributions or for commercial purposes, other than using the name and address of any political committee to solicit contributions from such committee. NAME OF COMMITTEE (In Full) Mark Harris for Congress Full Name (Last, First, Middle Initial) A. Properties, Key, Man, , Date of Disbursement n n 2018 Mailing Address 4389 Indian Trail Fairview Rd City State Zip Code **FEC Identification Number** NC Indian Trail 28079-9639 Purpose of Disbursement rent for office 001 Candidate Name Category/ Amount of Each Disbursement this Period Type Office Sought: Disbursement For: 2018 760.00 House x Primary General Senate Transaction ID : B360C19AA4329476684B Other (specify) President Memo Item District: State: Full Name (Last, First, Middle Initial) Properties, Key, Man, , Date of Disbursement 2018 Mailing Address 4389 Indian Trail Fairview Rd 03 05 City State Zip Code FEC Identification Number NC Indian Trail 28079-9639 Purpose of Disbursement rent for office C 001 Candidate Name Amount of Each Disbursement this Period Category/ Type 760.00 Office Sought: Disbursement For: 2018 House x Primary Senate General Transaction ID: BA1BF4D799C154BB5A3C President Other (specify) Memo Item State: District: Full Name (Last, First, Middle Initial) Date of Disbursement c. Red Dome Group Mailing Address 6255 Towncenter Dr 08 2018 01 City State Zip Code **FEC Identification Number** Clemmons NC 27012-9376 Purpose of Disbursement Admin and Salary for staff and printing С 001 Candidate Name Category/ Amount of Each Disbursement this Period Type Office Sought: Disbursement For: 2018 27837.52 House Transaction ID : BCB9050D985CC467F90F Primary General Senate Other (specify) President Memo Item State: District: SUBTOTAL of Disbursements This Page (optional) ..... 29357.52

TOTAL This Period (last page this line number only) ......

### SCHEDULE B (FEC Form 3) ITEMIZED DISBURSEMENTS

89 94 PAGE OF FOR LINE NUMBER: Use separate schedule(s) (check only one) for each category of the X 17 18 19a 20a 20b 20c

19b Detailed Summary Page 21 Any information copied from such Reports and Statements may not be sold or used by any person for the purpose of soliciting contributions or for commercial purposes, other than using the name and address of any political committee to solicit contributions from such committee. NAME OF COMMITTEE (In Full) Mark Harris for Congress Full Name (Last, First, Middle Initial) A. Red Dome Group Date of Disbursement n n Mailing Address 6255 Towncenter Dr 06 2018 City State Zip Code **FEC Identification Number** Clemmons NC 27012-9376 Purpose of Disbursement Admin and Salary for staff grassroots and media 001 Candidate Name Amount of Each Disbursement this Period Category/ Type minimum Committee of the contract of the contract of Office Sought: Disbursement For: 2018 House Service States × Primary General Senate Transaction ID: B6C3BE87A3C7E4287877 President Other (specify) Memo Item State: District Full Name (Last, First, Middle Initial) Red Dome Group Date of Disbursement Mailing Address 6255 Towncenter Dr 28 2018 City State Zip Code **FEC Identification Number** NC Clemmons 27012-9376 Purpose of Disbursement Admin and Salary for staff and grassroots C 001 Candidate Name Category/ Amount of Each Disbursement this Period Type 26680.88 Office Sought: Disbursement For: 2018 House ..... Senate **★** Primary General Transaction ID: B9E559EB7CF2A434F925 President Other (specify) Memo Item State: District: Full Name (Last, First, Middle Initial) Date of Disbursement C. Red Dome Group Mailing Address 6255 Towncenter Dr 03 27 City State Zip Code **FEC Identification Number** 27012-9376 Clemmons NC Purpose of Disbursement С Admin and Salary for staff and grassroot 001 Candidate Name Amount of Each Disbursement this Period Category/ Type 14495.00 Office Sought: House Disbursement For: 2018 **★** Primary Senate General Transaction ID: BF4BF7377CD5846C99ED Other (specify) President Memo Item State: District: 67550.87 TOTAL This Period (last page this line number only).....

PAGE 125 OF 131 FOR LINE NUMBER: Use separate schedule(s) (check only one) for each category of the ITEMIZED DISBURSEMENTS X 17 19b 18 19a **Detailed Summary Page** 20b 20a 20c 21 Any information copied from such Reports and Statements may not be sold or used by any person for the purpose of soliciting contributions or for commercial purposes, other than using the name and address of any political committee to solicit contributions from such committee. NAME OF COMMITTEE (In Full) Mark Harris for Congress Full Name (Last, First, Middle Initial) A. Properties, Key, Man, , Date of Disbursement ם מ 2018 Mailing Address 4389 Indian Trail Fairview Rd 15 City State Zip Code **FEC Identification Number** NC Indian Trail 28079-9639 Purpose of Disbursement rent 001 Candidate Name Category/ Amount of Each Disbursement this Period Type Office Sought: Disbursement For: 2018 House and made to a de Primary x General Senate Transaction ID: B1E7DA6863B80475D935 President Other (specify) Memo Item State: District: Full Name (Last, First, Middle Initial) Red Dome Group Date of Disbursement Mailing Address 6255 Towncenter Dr 03 2018 City State Zip Code **FEC Identification Number** NC 27012-9376 Clemmons Purpose of Disbursement Admin and Salary for staff grassroots and media C 001 Candidate Name Amount of Each Disbursement this Period Category/ Type and the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of t 18233.00 Office Sought: Disbursement For: House Primary Senate General Transaction ID: B7AC14FF20E5642D29A7 President Other (specify) Memo Item State: District: Full Name (Last, First, Middle Initial) Date of Disbursement c. Red Dome Group Mailing Address 6255 Towncenter Dr 05 17 2018 City Zip Code State **FEC Identification Number** NC 27012-9376 Clemmons Purpose of Disbursement Admin and Salary for staff grassroots and media C 001 Candidate Name Amount of Each Disbursement this Period Category/ Type 3665.00 Office Sought: Disbursement For: 2018 House General Senate Primary X Transaction ID: BE00CAFC96C8D4E2DB2F Other (specify) President Memo Item District: State: SUBTOTAL of Disbursements This Page (optional)- ..... 22658.00

TOTAL This Period (last page this line number only).....

### SCHEDULE B (FEC Form 3) ITEMIZED DISBURSEMENTS

PAGE 126 OF 131 FOR LINE NUMBER: Use separate schedule(s) (check only one) for each category of the **X** 17 18 19a 20a 20b 20c 21

19b Detailed Summary Page Any information copied from such Reports and Statements may not be sold or used by any person for the purpose of soliciting contributions or for commercial purposes, other than using the name and address of any political committee to solicit contributions from such committee. NAME OF COMMITTEE (In Full) Mark Harris for Congress Full Name (Last, First, Middle Initial) Date of Disbursement A. Red Dome Group M 1 a a V V Mailing Address 6255 Towncenter Dr 2018 City State Zip Code **FEC Identification Number** NC Clemmons 27012-9376 Purpose of Disbursement Admin and Salary for staff grassroots and media C 001 Candidate Name Category/ Amount of Each Disbursement this Period Type Office Sought: 2018 Disbursement For: 9712.50 House Primary Senate x General Transaction ID : BE6CD924934514403B9B President Other (specify) Memo Item District: Full Name (Last, First, Middle Initial) Red Dome Group Date of Disbursement Mailing Address 6255 Towncenter Dr 04 2018 City State Zip Code **FEC Identification Number** NC Clemmons 27012-9376 Purpose of Disbursement Admin and Salary for staff grassroots and media C 001 Candidate Name Amount of Each Disbursement this Period Category/ Type Office Sought: 13710.79 Disbursement For: House __Ko._Per. ...R. Primary ★ General Senate Transaction ID: BDC276CA8D37441F3967 President Other (specify) Memo Item State: District: Full Name (Last, First, Middle Initial) Date of Disbursement c. Seaman, Lillian, , , Mailing Address 8364 Windsor Ridge Dr 2018 06 16 City State Zip Code **FEC Identification Number** Charlotte NC 28277-6528 Purpose of Disbursement C In-kind: Candidate Name Category/ Amount of Each Disbursement this Period Type Office Sought: Disbursement For: 2018 285.76 House ★ General Senate Primary Transaction ID: B9031CA3FA5D94C12A87 Other (specify) President Memo Item State: District: SUBTOTAL of Disbursements This Page (optional) ..... 23709.05 TOTAL This Period (last page this line number only).....

PAGE 283 OF 295 FOR LINE NUMBER: Use separate schedule(s) (check only one) for each category of the X 17 18 19a Detailed Summary Page 20a 20b 20c

ITEMIZED DISBURSEMENTS 19h 21 Any information copied from such Reports and Statements may not be sold or used by any person for the purpose of soliciting contributions or for commercial purposes, other than using the name and address of any political committee to solicit contributions from such committee. NAME OF COMMITTEE (In Full) Mark Harris for Congress Full Name (Last, First, Middle Initial) A Pogorzelski, Conrad, , , III Date of Disbursement V V V 07 13 2018 Mailing Address 5233 CR Wood Rd City State Zip Code **FEC Identification Number** NC Gastonia 28056 8921 Purpose of Disbursement grassroots 006 Candidate Name Category/ Amount of Each Disbursement this Period Type nagy server a firm of property of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract Office Sought: Disbursement For: 2018 206.31 House Primary ✗ General Senate Transaction ID: B23ADE65E230B4C47B35 President Other (specify) ▼ Memo Item State: District: Full Name (Last, First, Middle Initial) Pogorzelski, Conrad, , , III Date of Disbursement Mailing Address 5233 CR Wood Rd 09 11 2018 State Zip Code **FEC Identification Number** Gastonia NC 28056 8921 Purpose of Disbursement food for volunteers and stakes fr signs 006 Candidate Name Amount of Each Disbursement this Period Category/ Type 437.38 Office Sought: Disbursement For: 2018 House x General Senate Primary Transaction ID: B7103229362D14B86835 Other (specify) President Memo Item State: District: Full Name (Last, First, Middle Initial) Date of Disbursement c. Red Dome Group Mailing Address 6255 Towncenter Dr City State Zip Code **FEC Identification Number** Clemmons NC 27012 9376 Purpose of Disbursement Admin and Salary for staff grassroots and media C 001 Candidate Name Amount of Each Disbursement this Period Category/ Type 28637.50 Office Sought: House Disbursement For: 2018 and an included the second Primary Senate ★ General Transaction ID: B1D246B0F94594278980 President Other (specify) Memo Item State: District SUBTOTAL of Disbursements This Page (optional)..... 29281.19 TOTAL This Period (last page this line number only).....

PAGE 284 OF 295 FOR LINE NUMBER: Use separate schedule(s) (check only one) for each category of the ITEMIZED DISBURSEMENTS X 17 18 19a 19b **Detailed Summary Page** 20b 20a 20c 21 Any information copied from such Reports and Statements may not be sold or used by any person for the purpose of soliciting contributions or for commercial purposes, other than using the name and address of any political committee to solicit contributions from such committee. NAME OF COMMITTEE (In Full) Mark Harris for Congress Full Name (Last, First, Middle Initial) Date of Disbursement A. Red Dome Group D D Mailing Address 6255 Towncenter Dr 2018 City State Zip Code **FEC Identification Number** NC 27012 9376 Clemmons Purpose of Disbursement Admin and Salary for staff grassroots and media 001 Candidate Name Category/ Amount of Each Disbursement this Period Type Disbursement For: 2018 Office Sought: 4973.67 House raka mashina 21 kaon basa dari daliki Primary ★ General Senate Transaction ID: BAABDB4E4B39246249EB Other (specify) ▼ **President** Memo Item State: District: Full Name (Last, First, Middle Initial) Red Dome Group Date of Disbursement Mailing Address 6255 Towncenter Dr 80 02 2018 City State Zip Code **FEC Identification Number** NC 27012 9376 Clemmons Purpose of Disbursement Admin and Salary for staff grassroots and media С 001 Candidate Name Amount of Each Disbursement this Period Category/ Type Disbursement For: 22433.00 Office Sought: House S 1976 19. Primary ★ General Senate Transaction ID: B1C2B9A5DB65F47CABD5 President Other (specify) Memo Item State: District: Full Name (Last, First, Middle Initial) Date of Disbursement c. Red Dome Group D D Mailing Address 6255 Towncenter Dr 08 21 2018 City State Zip Code **FEC Identification Number** Clemmons NC 27012 9376 Purpose of Disbursement C grassroots 001 Candidate Name Amount of Each Disbursement this Period Category/ Type 6030.92 Office Sought: Disbursement For: 2018 House ★ General Senate Primary Transaction ID: B5286036B17CD4D90B5B Other (specify) President Memo Item District: State: SUBTOTAL of Disbursements This Page (optional)..... 33437.59

TOTAL This Period (last page this line number only).....

PAGE 285 OF 295 FOR LINE NUMBER: Use separate schedule(s) (check only one) for each category of the ITEMIZED DISBURSEMENTS **X** 17 18 19a 19b Detailed Summary Page 21 20a 20b 20c Any information copied from such Reports and Statements may not be sold or used by any person for the purpose of soliciting contributions or for commercial purposes, other than using the name and address of any political committee to solicit contributions from such committee. NAME OF COMMITTEE (In Full) Mark Harris for Congress Full Name (Last, First, Middle Initial) Date of Disbursement A. Red Dome Group a a Mailing Address 6255 Towncenter Dr 04 2018 City State Zip Code **FEC Identification Number** Clemmons NC 27012 9376 Purpose of Disbursement grassroots and salaries for staff 001 Candidate Name Category/ Amount of Each Disbursement this Period Type - Armanikaran Armanika - Armanikaran A Disbursement For: 2018 Office Sought: 24512.00 House amani **P**ilipan P × General Senate Primary Transaction ID: BA12B96483BEB476FA57 Other (specify) ▼ President Memo Item State: District: Full Name (Last, First, Middle Initial) Red Dome Group Date of Disbursement Mailing Address 6255 Towncenter Dr 09 04 2018 City State Zip Code **FEC Identification Number** NC 27012 9376 Clemmons Purpose of Disbursement grassroots C 001 Candidate Name Amount of Each Disbursement this Period Category/ Type ngananagalorongan balga balaya. 7628.38 Office Sought: House Disbursement For: Primary Senate ★ General Transaction ID: B4DE02B1377594CFDB8D President Other (specify) Memo Item District: State: Full Name (Last, First, Middle Initial) Date of Disbursement c. Red Dome Group Mailing Address 6255 Towncenter Dr 09 11 2018 City Zip Code State FEC Identification Number Clemmons NC 27012 9376 Purpose of Disbursement C grassroots and salaries for staff 001 Candidate Name Category/ Amount of Each Disbursement this Period Туре Disbursement For: 2018 3260.00 Office Sought: House **✗** General Senate Primary Transaction ID: B32DDD189FCB443F6BB1 Other (specify) President Memo Item District: State: SUBTOTAL of Disbursements This Page (optional)..... 35400.38 adhamatanan 🖟 ara

TOTAL This Period (last page this line number only).....

PAGE 286 OF 295 FOR LINE NUMBER: Use separate schedule(s) (check only one) ITEMIZED DISBURSEMENTS for each category of the X 17 18 19a 19b **Detailed Summary Page** 20c 20a 20b 21 Any information copied from such Reports and Statements may not be sold or used by any person for the purpose of soliciting contributions or for commercial purposes, other than using the name and address of any political committee to solicit contributions from such committee. NAME OF COMMITTEE (In Full) Mark Harris for Congress Full Name (Last, First, Middle Initial) Date of Disbursement A. Red Dome Group principality (See Mailing Address 6255 Towncenter Dr 2018 City State Zip Code FEC Identification Number Clemmons NC 27012 9376 Purpose of Disbursement grassroots and salaries for staff 001 Candidate Name Amount of Each Disbursement this Period Category/ Type Office Sought: Disbursement For: 2018 14463.14 House ✗ General Primary Senate Transaction ID: BDAF43745F17242619DB President Other (specify) Memo Item District: State: Full Name (Last, First, Middle Initial) Red Dome Group Date of Disbursement Mailing Address 6255 Towncenter Dr 28 2018 09 City State Zip Code **FEC Identification Number** NC 27012 9376 Clemmons Purpose of Disbursement grassroots and salaries for staff C 001 Candidate Name Category/ Amount of Each Disbursement this Period Type 22790.00 Office Sought: Disbursement For: 2018 House 2 430 S Senate Primary x General Transaction ID: B68F0A321592D4F15A0A President Other (specify) Memo Item State: District: Full Name (Last, First, Middle Initial) Date of Disbursement c. Research, Meeting, Street, , Mailing Address 413 Pitt St 80 02 2018 City State Zip Code **FEC Identification Number** 29464-4734 Mt Pleasant SC Purpose of Disbursement polling C 005 Candidate Name Category/ Amount of Each Disbursement this Period Type 6500.00 Office Sought: House Disbursement For: 2018 Senate Primary ★ General Transaction ID: BE9E633C8C35E4A0BAE9 President Other (specify) Memo Item District: State:

SUBTOTAL of Disbursements This Page (optional).....

TOTAL This Period (last page this line number only).....

43753.14

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PAGE 107 OF 111 FOR LINE NUMBER: Use separate schedule(s) (check only one) for each category of the ITEMIZED DISBURSEMENTS **X** 17 18 19a 19b **Detailed Summary Page** 20a 20b 20c 21 Any information copied from such Reports and Statements may not be sold or used by any person for the purpose of soliciting contributions or for commercial purposes, other than using the name and address of any political committee to solicit contributions from such committee. NAME OF COMMITTEE (In Full) Mark Harris for Congress Full Name (Last, First, Middle Initial) Date of Disbursement A Red Dome Group D D . V . V Mailing Address 6255 Towncenter Dr 09 2018 City State Zip Code FEC Identification Number NC Clemmons 27012-9376 Purpose of Disbursement grassroots С 001 Candidate Name Category/ Amount of Each Disbursement this Period Type Office Sought: Disbursement For: 2018 13750.00 House Primary ✗ General Senate Transaction ID: BE20085092293440D811 Other (specify) ▼ President Memo Item State: District: Full Name (Last, First, Middle Initial) Research, Meeting, Street, , Date of Disbursement Mailing Address 413 Pitt St 10 09 2018 City State Zip Code FEC Identification Number Mt Pleasant SC 29464-4734 Purpose of Disbursement polling C 005 Candidate Name Amount of Each Disbursement this Period Category/ Type 8000.00 Office Sought: Disbursement For: 2018 House Primary 🗶 General Senate Transaction ID: BB53B4501960340C2901 President Other (specify) Memo Item District: State: Full Name (Last, First, Middle Initial) Date of Disbursement c. Research, Meeting, Street, Mailing Address 413 Pitt St 11 2018 City Zip Code State **FEC Identification Number** Mt Pleasant SC 29464-4734 Purpose of Disbursement C polling /research 005 Candidate Name Category/ Amount of Each Disbursement this Period Type 9500.00 Office Sought: Disbursement For: 2018 House ★ General Senate Primary Transaction ID: B289C69FF4D3E41E08BB President Other (specify) Memo Item State: District: SUBTOTAL of Disbursements This Page (optional)..... 31250.00

PAGE 134 OF 145 FOR LINE NUMBER: Use separate schedule(s) (check only one) ITEMIZED DISBURSEMENTS for each category of the X 17 18 19b 19a **Detailed Summary Page** 20a 20b 20c 21 Any information copied from such Reports and Statements may not be sold or used by any person for the purpose of soliciting contributions or for commercial purposes, other than using the name and address of any political committee to solicit contributions from such committee. NAME OF COMMITTEE (In Full) Mark Harris for Congress Full Name (Last, First, Middle Initial) A. Payment, Google, , , Date of Disbursement d d 11 05 2018 Mailing Address 1600 Amphitheatre Parkway City State Zip Code **FEC Identification Number** Mountain View CA 94043 1351 Purpose of Disbursement web С 001 Candidate Name Amount of Each Disbursement this Period Category/ Type apatangaingan baya bagan bagan baratan Disbursement For: 2018 Office Sought: House x General Primary Transaction ID: BA034750FACD34598BA6 Senate President Other (specify) Memo Item State: District: Full Name (Last, First, Middle Initial) Red Dome Group Date of Disbursement M M Mailing Address 6255 Towncenter Dr 01 2018 11 State Zip Code FEC Identification Number NC 27012 9376 Clemmons Purpose of Disbursement grassroots and digital C 001 Candidate Name Amount of Each Disbursement this Period Category/ Type 31494.81 Office Sought: House Disbursement For: 2018 Senate Primary ✗ General Transaction ID: B83B354293CA64DE8BD5 President Other (specify) Memo Item State: District: Full Name (Last, First, Middle Initial) Date of Disbursement c. Red Dome Group Mailing Address 6255 Towncenter Dr 01 2018 City State Zip Code **FEC Identification Number** Clemmons NC 27012 9376 Purpose of Disbursement digital ads 001 Candidate Name Amount of Each Disbursement this Period Category/ Type olinia sa na katangalik manak sa katan k 10000.00 Office Sought: House Disbursement For: 2018 ★ General Primary Senate Transaction ID: BB95054A674C34F3AAA0 Other (specify) President Memo Item State: District: SUBTOTAL of Disbursements This Page (optional)..... 41539.81

TOTAL This Period (last page this line number only).....

PAGE 135 OF 145 FOR LINE NUMBER: Use separate schedule(s) (check only one) ITEMIZED DISBURSEMENTS for each category of the **X** 17 18 19a 19b **Detailed Summary Page** 20a 20b 20c 21 Any information copied from such Reports and Statements may not be sold or used by any person for the purpose of soliciting contributions or for commercial purposes, other than using the name and address of any political committee to solicit contributions from such committee. NAME OF COMMITTEE (In Full) Mark Harris for Congress Full Name (Last, First, Middle Initial) Date of Disbursement A. Red Dome Group a a Mailing Address 6255 Towncenter Dr 02 2018 City State Zip Code **FEC Identification Number** Clemmons NC 27012-9376 Purpose of Disbursement digital ads C 001 Candidate Name Amount of Each Disbursement this Period Category/ Type kitan jarita parangan kanga sanga (sa tapa) Office Sought: Disbursement For: 2018 5000.00 House Primary ★ General Senate Transaction ID: B75C504EA50FC4F198E7 President Other (specify) Memo Item District: State: Full Name (Last, First, Middle Initial) Red Dome Group Date of Disbursement Mailing Address 6255 Towncenter Dr 05 2018 11 City State Zip Code **FEC Identification Number** NC Clemmons 27012-9376 Purpose of Disbursement digital ads С 001 Candidate Name Category/ Amount of Each Disbursement this Period Type 15000.00 Office Sought: Disbursement For: 2018 House Senate Primary ★ General Transaction ID: B9F3143B6571A41378B0 President Other (specify) Memo Item District: State: Full Name (Last, First, Middle Initial) Date of Disbursement c. Red Dome Group Mailing Address 6255 Towncenter Dr 11 2018 City State Zip Code **FEC Identification Number** 27012-9376 Clemmons NC Purpose of Disbursement payroll and grassroots C 001 Candidate Name Amount of Each Disbursement this Period Category/ Type 32634.00 Office Sought: House Disbursement For: 2018 ★ General Senate Primary Transaction ID: B32F305F60C5F45F1A21 President Other (specify) Memo Item State: District: SUBTOTAL of Disbursements This Page (optional)..... 52634.00 TOTAL This Period (last page this line number only).....

### SCHEDULE B (FEC Form 3) ITEMIZED DISBURSEMENTS

PAGE 136 OF 145 FOR LINE NUMBER: Use separate schedule(s) (check only one) for each category of the Detailed Summary Page × 17 18 19a 19b 20b 20c 21 Any information copied from such Reports and Statements may not be sold or used by any person for the purpose of soliciting contributions or for commercial purposes, other than using the name and address of any political committee to solicit contributions from such committee.

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<b>)</b> M		for Congress					
<b>a</b> . R	led Dome (	First, Middle Initial)  Group  6255 Towncenter Dr		Date of Disbursement  M M / D D / Y Y Y  11 26 2018			
Cit Cle				State NC	Zip Code 27012-9376		FEC Identification Number
Ca	eimbursement foundidate Name	r printing House	Disburse	ment For:	2018	Category/ Type	Amount of Each Disbursement this Period 2051,79
Sta	ate:	Senate President District:		Primary Other (spe	<b>✗</b> General		Transaction ID: B2318A0183A674430B95  Memo Item
<b>в.</b> S	ull Name (Last, First, Middle Initial) Solutions, Delargy's, Print, ,  failing Address 4800 N Tryon St						Date of Disbursement  M M / D D / Y Y Y Y Y Y 10 19 2018
Pu	y narlotte rpose of Disbur rinting	rsement		State NC	Zip Code 28213-7032	003	FEC Identification Number
Off	fice Sought:	House Senate President District:	Disburse	ement For: Primary Other (spe	2018  K General cify)	Category/ Type	Amount of Each Disbursement this Period 692.67  Transaction ID: BAB1F6B65A07E4BB2A72  Memo Item
c. S	olutions, D	First, Middle Initial) lelargy's, Print, 4800 N Tryon St		Date of Disbursement  M M / D D / Y Y Y Y Y Y 111 26 2018			
Pu	City State Zip Code Charlotte NC 28213-7 Purpose of Disbursement printing					003	FEC Identification Number
Off	Candidate Name  Category/ Type  Office Sought:  Disbursement For: 2018  Senate Primary President  State:  District:  Category/ Type						Amount of Each Disbursement this Period  287.70  Transaction ID: B10EEE9D40311442EA50  Memo Item
SUI	BTOTAL of Dist	bursements This Page					3032.16

### Image# 201901319145245072 SCHEDULE D (FEC Form 3) (Use separate schedule(s) FOR LINE NUMBER: **DEBTS AND OBLIGATIONS** for each (check only one) numbered line) **Excluding Loans** NAME OF COMMITTEE (In Full) Mark Harris for Congress A. Full Name (Last, First, Middle Initial) of Debtor or Creditor Nature of Debt (Purpose): Facebook, Mobile, Display digital advertising Red Dome Group Mailing Address 6255 Towncenter Dr City State Zip Code NC 27012 9376 Clemmons Outstanding Balance Beginning This Period Transaction ID: DA72C5C8AAF6F4FC4A67

11250.00

Outstanding Balance Beginning This Period

Amount Incurred This Period

34310.00

Amount Incurred This Period		Payment This Period	Outstanding Balance at Close of This Period			
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B. Full Name (Last, First, Middle Initial) of De Red Dome Group	Nature of Debt (Purpose): Robo calls and Robeson Mailer					
Mailing Address 6255 Towncenter Dr						
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Outstanding Balance Beginning This Period	i	340	Transaction ID : D6BC9A1E1F29C4AB9AED			
7881.50	7881.50					
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C. Full Name (Last, First, Middle Initial) of D Red Dome Group	Nature of Debt (Purpose): Reimbursement Payment for Bladen Absentee, Early Voting Poll Workers;					
Mailing Address 6255 Towncenter Dr			Reimbursement Door to Door 9/			
City	State	Zip Code	7			
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1) SUBTOTALS This Period This Page (optional) ..... 53441.50 2) TOTALS This Period (last page this line number only)------86344.16 3) TOTAL OUTSTANDING LOANS from Schedule C (last page only)-----0.00 4) ADD 2) and 3) and carry forward to appropriate line of Summary Page (last page only) 86344.16

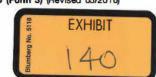
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Outstanding Balance at Close of This Period



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25 NC counties are under alert. Details





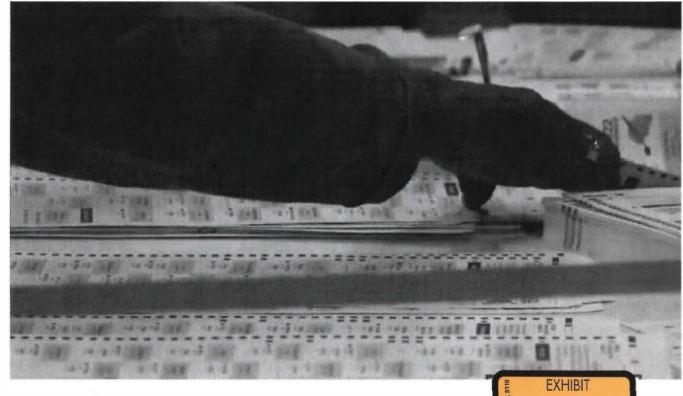
# 9th District: Dowless crew handled 1 in 5 absentee votes in Bladen County

**Tags:** 9th Congressional District, McCrae Dowless, Mark Harris, Dan McCready, State Board of Elections, Bladen County, Robeson County

Posted 12:30 p.m. Friday

Updated 11:32 p.m. Sunday

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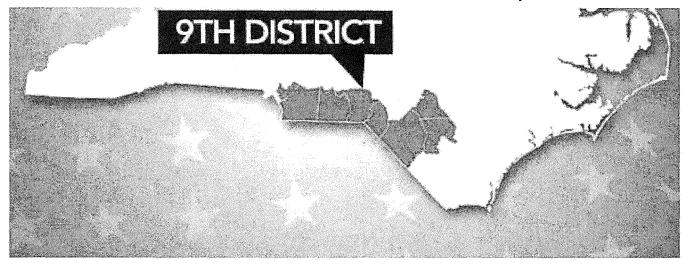
# By Tyler Dukes, WRAL investigative reporter, and Catherine Fitzhenry, news production assistant

**RALEIGH, N.C.** — One out of every five absentee ballots counted in Bladen County in 2018 were handled by people linked to the Republican political operative at the center of an investigation that has stalled the results of a North Carolina congressional election.

That's according to an analysis by WRAL News, which this month closely examined more than 1,500 signed envelopes from accepted absentee ballots made public by the State Board of Elections in its probe of voting irregularities in the 9th Congressional District. The agency's investigation has largely focused over the last few months on two southeastern North Carolina counties – Bladen and Robeson – both the subject of scrutiny in previous elections.

People linked to McCrae Dowless signed as witnesses on almost 15 percent of the accepted absentee ballots cast in both Bladen and Robeson counties, WRAL's analysis shows. Dowless was hired for get-out-the-vote efforts by the campaign of Republican 9th District candidate Mark Harris, who leads Democratic opponent Dan McCready by 905 votes in unofficial results.

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A smaller group that includes members active in the Democratically aligned Bladen County Improvement Association also witnessed about 20 percent of the accepted absentee ballots in that county.

All told, WRAL's analysis shows that just 20 people witnessed about 400 absentee ballots across Bladen and Robeson counties. That's about one of every four absentee ballots cast there.

Witnessing multiple absentee ballots isn't illegal. But it can be a red flag for state elections officials, who are investigating claims that people hired by Dowless took voters' ballots after signing them as witnesses. Except for close family members, it's a felony under North Carolina law to take possession of someone else's ballot.

Determining the size of any alleged ballot-harvesting operations is particularly important in Bladen and Robeson counties, where nearly 45 percent of the absentee ballots sent to voters were never returned.

Dowless, who did not respond to a request for comment, has, through his attorney, denied any wrongdoing. Leaders with the Bladen County Improvement Association say the group didn't organize any absentee ballot efforts during the 2018 election.

But individuals with connections to both groups have been subpoenaed to appear next week before a newly reconstituted State Board of Elections, which on Monday will begin to review evidence in the investigation in a hearing expected to last two to three days.

The board will ultimately decide what becomes of the state's yet-to-be filled U.S. House seat representing the 9th District, which runs along the South Carolina border from Charlotte to Fayetteville and across a large portion of Bladen County.

# Few names, many ballots

Reporters with WRAL News attempted to contact 20 people who signed as witnesses for more than 10 ballots apiece in Bladen and Robeson counties at their homes, by phone and through social media accounts. Those attempts went largely unanswered and unreturned.

Jessica Dowless, who witnessed at least 15 ballots in Bladen County, declined to comment when reached by phone Wednesday. But she acknowledged she had received a subpoena to appear for the hearing.

Jennifer Boyd, who witnessed at least 57 ballots in Robeson County, also declined to comment when reached by phone Wednesday.

"Have a blessed day," she said before hanging up.

On a single day in September, Boyd signed 18 ballots for voters near Saint Pauls, separated by a few miles of rural roads.

Her signature in many cases appeared as a witness alongside Lisa Britt, whose name is on at least 66 absentee ballot envelopes in Robeson and Bladen counties. Britt, who also goes by Lisa Gray, did not respond to requests for comment.

Britt's signature is on the ballot of Shirley Brown, a Bladenboro resident who filled out her absentee vote in late September when Britt arrived at her home.

"We were just sitting out on the porch. She got my ballot. We just sat there and talked a little while," Brown said. "She took it and left. That's about all there was to it."



# House by house, more questions emerge in 9th District

Brown said Britt didn't push any particular candidates and didn't mention getting paid. She didn't mention money at all.

"Now that I think about it, I can't figure people going around, ain't no telling how many miles, getting up ballots for nothing, using their gas and stuff like that," Brown said. "It just never crossed my mind at the time."

But she does recall Britt collecting the ballots for McCrae Dowless specifically.

"She just said she was out gathering them up for him, so I gave her mine," Brown said.

There's another name on Brown's ballot she doesn't recognize – Sandra Dowless. Brown doesn't remember seeing the woman at her home when she signed and sealed her ballot and got it witnessed by Britt. Yet her signature appears on Brown's absentee ballot and at least 10 others in

Bladen County, Sandra Dowless did not respond to requests for comment.

Brown said her daughter, Angila Ferguson, handed her ballot over to Ginger Eason (36 ballots), who signed the absentee envelope alongside Cheryl Kinlaw (23 ballots). Neither responded to requests for comment, but they told WRAL News in December that Dowless offered to pay them \$75 to \$100 to pick up 50 ballots a week.

"We did not know it was illegal to pick them up," Kinlaw said in December. "Once I dropped them off at his office, we assumed he was putting them in the mail."

# A sharp partisan divide

Aside from a handful of registered Democrats, the vast majority of counted absentee ballots that frequently bear the signatures of people linked with McCrae Dowless are for Republican and unaffiliated voters.

Woody Hester, for example, counts a single Democratic voter among the 51 absentee ballots he witnessed. James Singletary, who frequently appears alongside Lisa Britt, has only two registered Democrats among his 43 signed, counted absentee ballots in Bladen County.

Attempts to reach both Hester and Singletary were unsuccessful.

Other frequent signatories, however, almost exclusively appeared on the ballots of registered Democrats.



# Woman who collected absentee ballots in 9th Congressional District race says she feels duped

Lola Wooten's name appeared as a witness on at least 95 counted absentee ballots in Bladen County, all but six of whom were Democrats. On Oct. 1 alone, she signed 15 absentee ballots as a witness for voters near Elizabethtown.

Wooten did not respond to requests for comment.

Although he said Wooten is an active member of the Bladen County Improvement Association PAC, North Carolina Central University law professor Irving Joyner, who represents the group, said its leadership decided not to engage in absentee ballot efforts in the 2018 election like it did in past years. But that wouldn't stop individuals from doing it on their own.

"In the past, there have been members of the association involved in helping a number of people to get their ballots signed and witnessed to be able to get them back to the board of elections," Joyner said. "I know in the past Lola Wooten has been one of those individuals, so she is well aware of the protocol for doing that."

He added that he wasn't concerned with the number of ballots that bear her signature. Wooten and others at the BCIA, he said, have attended workshops from elections officials to learn how to handle and witness ballots according to the law.

Michael Cogdell, with the BCIA, made that point too when reached by phone Thursday.

"You can sign one or 1,000 or 10,000 – as long as you follow the law," Cogdell said.

But Joyner acknowledged that both Wooten and Deborah Monroe, who signed at least 56 absentee ballots in Bladen County, have received subpoenas to appear at the State Board of Elections hearing.

The Bladen County Improvement Association paid both women around \$1,000 in the month before the 2018 election for get-out-the-vote efforts, according to the PAC's fourth-quarter campaign finance report. The association also paid \$1,200 to Sandra Guions, who signed at least 69 absentee ballots in Bladen County, for get-out-the-vote efforts in the two weeks before the election.

Neither Monroe nor Guions returned messages seeking comment. But Joyner said those were payments for monitoring work at polls, expenses and other get-out-the-vote activities. "No individual received payments for the purpose of assisting or obtaining absentee ballots on behalf of BCIA," Joyner said in an email.

Other names listed on the association's campaign finance report for those get-out-the-vote payments do not appear frequently – or at all – as ballot witnesses.

When reached briefly Wednesday by phone, Wanda Monroe said although she did work with the BCIA, most of the 52 ballots she witnessed and signed in Bladen County were church and community members.

Sometimes the explanation for multiple signatures can be as simple as a large, close family.

Dazza Mack's name appears as a witness on 14 absentee ballots in Robeson County. They're all kin, she said. She hasn't paid much attention to the controversy in the two counties, but she's helped family members who work late or don't want to stand in line at the polls by witnessing their forms and letting them seal and send off their votes.

"I was just helping to get the ballots in," Mack said when reached by phone Wednesday.

# Disgust and disappointment

Joyner said he supports the use of absentee ballots, which can help people who struggle to get to the polls exercise their right to vote. They were especially valuable for areas of the state hard hit by hurricanes that swept through the southeast of the state in the months before Election Day.

But he said illegally collecting ballots from voters opens up the possibility of fraud – either by changing votes or stifling them altogether. He said that, unlike in 2016, when the state board referred evidence of ballot harvesting to the U.S. Attorney for the Eastern District's Office with seemingly little response, he wants to see action this year.

"If there is wrongdoing, then that matter should be referred for prosecution," Joyner said.

He thinks there's enough evidence of questionable ballots to call for a new election.

It's a move the North Carolina Republican Party and apparent 9th Congressional District front-runner Mark Harris oppose and will likely fight in the hearing next week.

But for voters like Shirley Brown in Bladenboro, the damage is done.

She's been watching news about the investigation closely and was surprised to learn – months after she gave up her ballot – that it was

2/19/2019

illegal for Lisa Britt to take it from her.

"It makes me to where I don't even want to vote no more. I really don't even care if it's in there anymore because of stuff like this," Brown said. "I'm just disgusted with it."

Brown said she's the kind of person who tries to see the good in everybody, to help people when she can. She said she's disappointed she and other voters are stuck in the middle of a controversy that's prompted both investigators and reporters to descend on her town in search of answers.

"I'm sorry all this stuff has happened. I really hate it. We don't need stuff like this," Brown said. "We need to be with each other and try to do things right, because we sure don't need no more mix-ups in the this world. We got enough of them."

Looking back, she said she might do something different. Not give up her ballot, maybe. Mail it in herself.

Maybe not.

But despite her disgust, will she vote the next time around?

"Probably me, I will." she said with a laugh. "I probably will."

### WRAL's Amanda Lamb and Travis Fain contributed reporting to this story.

**Tags:** 9th Congressional District, McCrae Dowless, Mark Harris, Dan McCready, State Board of Elections, Bladen County, Robeson County

### **CREDITS**

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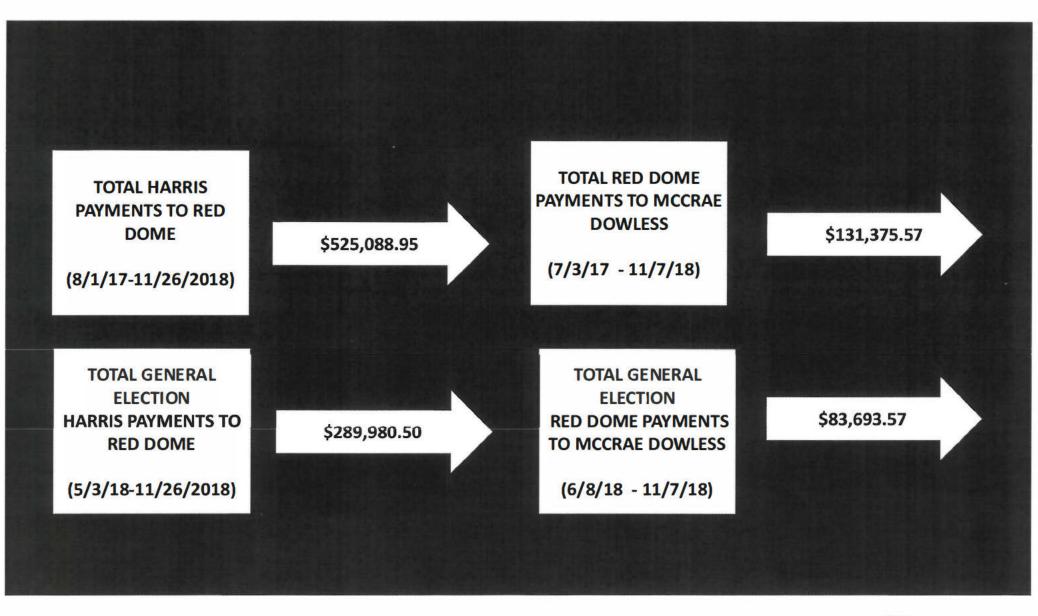
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Thought on today's hearing:

"With his line of questioning, Marc Elias has asserted facts that are not in evidence and are not true. At no point do I recall or believe that anybody associated with the Pittenger campaign used the word 'fraud' with me. That is something I would recall and would have immediately reported to the North Carolina State Board of Elections. I am in frequent contact with NCSBE staff on areas of concern.

I did suggest that if the Pittenger campaign had any concerns, they should file a complaint with the Board of Elections.

I also reminded them I had filed a similar complaint in 2016 that the Board dismissed nor were any criminal charges ever brought forth, leading me to believe that the Board in general had validated the absentee ballot operations in Bladen County.

Given that we have only learned in the last two months that the 2016 allegations were referred to the Wake County DA in January 2017, my conclusion was not unreasonable based on available information.

It is also important to note that according to phone records obtained by WBTV, former NCSBE Vice-Chair, (later Chairman) Democrat Joshua Malcolm and Bladen County Board of Elections Vice Chair Jens Lutz were in frequent contact discussing these issues before the primary.

Neither of these two, who are charged with protecting the integrity of the election, filed a complaint, made their concerns public, or did anything publicly to protect the electoral process.

If I had a reason the call the NCBSE, which I did not, I would have told them what their Vice Chair already knew, and was concealing.

Following the conclusion of any primary election, it's not uncommon to field calls or complaints from political operates whose campaigns had suffered defeat, or even from the candidates themselves.

As the NCGOP is forbidden by its by-laws from engaging in primary contests, we simply listen, sometimes not very intently.

I may have taken a cursory glance at the overall election results of specific races, but I did not dig deep into a particular voting method in one county. I would usually recommend the candidates who were defeated and had compliance concerns to file complaints with the State Board if they have merit, and none were filed.

Given the importance of preparing for a long general election campaign, I was tasked with quickly transitioning the Party from a primary observer to general supporter.

Shortly after the election, I spoke with this Andy Yates in a broad conversation about the election results. We discussed Dr. Harris' strength in Union County, general ways to tackle the election in November, the Party's plan for GOTV operations, and the other races he was working on. I did ask him his thoughts about Bladen County. He stated that Dr. Harris had a strong GOTV operation and the folks working on it were ingrained in the community and were very effective at encouraging their neighbors and friends to vote.

In the course of our conversation, I recall in general asking Mr. Yates "if everybody down there knew the rules to follow." He indicated they did and the campaign had made clear that everybody in the effort on behalf of Harris had been reminded to strictly conform to all rules and laws. I recall other conversations with people involved in politics in the area that Mr. Harris had a good working relationship with several of the churches in the region and those folks were supporting him.

I was also reminded that Dr. Harris had been a leading advocate for the traditional marriage amendment, which would lend credilbity to a strong showing in Bladen County; The amendment was approved by 83% in Bladen.

I did not know Mr. Dowless used his Fifth Amendment rights in 2016.

While I have not known Andy Yates long, as a fellow political operate I do not believe Mr. Yates would have ever supported or condoned illegal activity. I know Dr. Harris would not and nor would I or the NCGOP.

Throughout two days of testimony, we have seen credible evidence of improper collection of sealed ballots. While those involved with criminal intent should be prosecuted, the same attorneys representing Dan McCready – who represented Roy Cooper in 2016 – said those votes should count because the voter's intent is intact.

They noted the competing public policy interests to guarantee that all eligible votes are counted while all ineligible voters are not counted. That same standard should be applied in this race, leading to certification.

### Bladen GOP chairman previously hired McCrae Dowless but says he wouldn't now



GOP chairman previously hired McCrae Dowless but says he wouldn't now

By Nick Ochsner | December 20, 2018 at 9:20 PM EST - Updated December 21 at 12:20 AM

ELIZABETHTOWN, NC (WBTV) The chairman of the Bladen County Republican Party issued a press release Thursday afternoon saying he would not have hired McCrae Dowless to coordinate poll workers for the 2018 election had he known of allegations detailed in a new set of released by the North Carolina State Board of Elections on Wednesday.

Dowless is a Bladen County political operative who was hired by Republican Mark Harris' campaign for Congress to run a coordinated absentee ballot and get out the vote operation in the 2018 election.

In his release Thursday, Bladen GOP Chairman Walter McDuffie said he also hired Dowless to use his network to staff polls around the county on election day for Republican candidates.

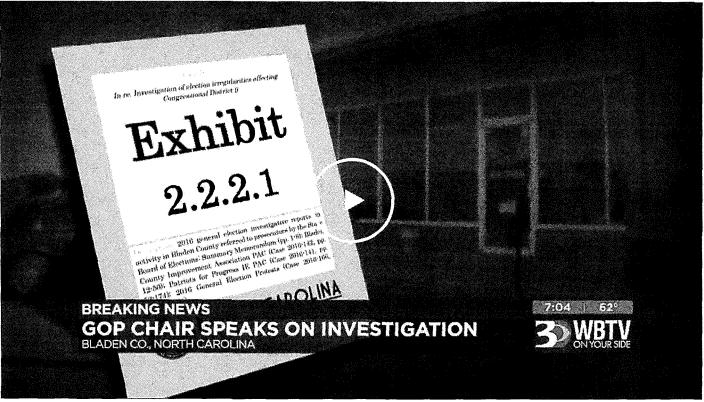
McDuffie said he would not have hired Dowless had he known staff at the state board of elections had concluded he violated election laws in the 2016 election by paying people to collect absentee ballots and, later, attempted to obstruct the NCSBE investigation.



"I authorized a \$1300 check to McCrae on election day for him to provide a significant number of poll workers, which he did," McDuffie said. "This had nothing to do with absentee ballot GOTV and was a perfectly legal, proper transaction that has already been disclosed to the NCSBE prior to the required reporting date."

"However, I never would have done this had I known what the State Board of Elections already knew," McDuffie's statement continued.

Related: NC elections board releases 2016 case file detailing Bladen election fraud investigation



Bladen GOP chairman previously hired McCrae Dowless but says he wouldn't now

In an interview with WBTV on Thursday afternoon, after his statement was released, McDuffie said he hadn't read all of the nearly 300 pages in the case file released by the NCSBE on Wednesday but said he wished the board had released the information sooner.

"I was very surprised at that and I've been surprised at not being able to hear anything," McDuffie said of the conclusions reached by investigators in the documents released Wednesday. "Really, since the 2016 election there have been questions that we've wanted the state board to answer that we can't get anything out of."

The documents released by the NCSBE on Wednesday detailed the finding of the boards investigation into reported voting irregularities in Bladen County in 2016.

NCSBE staff are currently investigating reports of similar irregularities in Bladen and Robeson Counties in the 2018 election.

The election was prompted by the board's vote to not certify the results of the 2018 race between Republican Mark Harris and Democrat Dan McCready, in which Harris beat McCready by less than 1,000 votes.

Much of the public scrutiny around the current investigation has centered on a man named McCrae Dowless, who worked for the Harris campaign in 2018.

Related link: Exclusive: Mark Harris addresses voter fraud allegations in race for 9th Congressional District

In an exclusive interview with WBTV last week, Harris said he personally made the decision to hire Dowless at the recommendation of a number of local Republican officials.

"He was being vouched for by a number of other leaders down there," Harris said. "When I was introduced to him in the initial meeting, the first time I'd met him in a meeting that Judge Warren was able to set up for us, there was a county commissioner there by the name of Ray Britt; there was a businessman there by the name of Pat Melvin; there was a GOP chair there by the name of Walter McDuffie; and there was McCrae Dowless and others."

Harris' explanation that a group of local officials including McDuffie helped introduce him to Dowless is at odds with <u>a report from the Washington Post</u> that says McDuffie warned the campaign about a prior felony conviction for insurance fraud Dowless faced in the 1990s.

But, in his interview with WBTV on Thursday, McDuffie said the way in which the Washington Post portrayed his comments regarding Dowless to the Harris campaign was inaccurate.

"Mark Harris says that you were among a group of people that met with him and recommended he hire McCrae Dowless," a reporter asked.

"That's correct," McDuffie responded.

"The Washing post has reported that you warned Mark Harris about hiring McCrae Dowless. Is that accurate?" the reporter asked.

"I read that and that's not accurate that I warned Mark or his campaign," McDuffie responded.

Here is how McDuffie described the communication he had with the Harris campaign regarding Dowless' criminal record:

"I only said I talked, in fact, once of the people that was at the meeting the day that Mark came in. When I heard—and I would think it was sometime just a week or two before Christmas of last year, I overheard or, in fact, it was two of us discussion when it was told so me so I wouldn't say I overheard it, I heard it directly, they told me that McCrae had been involved in some sort of insurance scam or some illegal policy thing and she—the best I remember, this lady that told me this—told me it was something to do with insurance on a truck or something, that maybe a truck burned or something of that sort. It happened a long time ago, I didn't know any details, that was all I did—didn't know where to find out anything. But I did go to one of the people that was there when, uh, we met with Mark and I told them that I had heard that and they said that they were sure that before Mark hired him that everything was probably checked out and there was probably not anything to it. And if there was, it was a long time ago and he'd probably paid his price and he'd been straight and honest since then."

McDuffie said he had no other concerns following that conversation because he never heard anything else about Dowless after that.

"I knew nothing else of McCrae after that. No one came to me after that, nobody came to me with any wrongdoing," McDuffie said.

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# **Exclusive: Mark Harris addresses voter fraud allegations in race for 9th Congressional District**



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### **Exclusive interview with Mark Harris**

By Nick Ochsner | December 14, 2018 at 5:37 PM EST - Updated January 24 at 3:51 PM

CHARLOTTE, NC (WBTV) - Republican Mark Harris is speaking publicly for the first time since the North Carolina State Board of Elections voted to not certify the results of his race for Congress.

Harris beat Democrat Dan McCready by 905 votes in the unofficial returns from November's election.

The North Carolina State Board of Elections took a surprise vote to not certify the results of that race in late November, after then-Vice Chairman Joshua Malcolm raised questions of voting irregularities in Bladen and Robeson Counties. The board later voted to hold an evidentiary hearing in the matter by December 21, 2018.



FULL RAW INTERVIEW: Mark Harris speaks exclusively to Nick Ochsner about NC9 investigation

On Friday, the NCSBE announced that hearing would actually take place January 11, 2019.

Much of the public scrutiny surrounding the investigation has been aimed at a man named McCrae Dowless, a Bladen County political operative who worked as a contractor for the Harris campaign in both this year's primary and general election.

In his interview with WBTV Friday, Harris confirmed that it was his decision to hire Dowless for his campaign.



Exclusive: Mark Harris is breaking his silence in an interview with @WBTV_News. It comes the same day members of his own party issued a new statement calling for him to publicly address allegations of voter fraud in #nc09 #ncpol wbtv.com/2018/12/14/exc...

69 5:41 PM - Dec 14, 2018

Exclusive: Mark Harris addresses voter fraud allegations in ra...

Republican Mark Harris is speaking publicly for the first time since the North Carolina State Board of Elections voted to not certify the wbtv.com

73 people are talking about this

"I did. And readily," Harris responded when asked if he, in fact, was the person who decided to hire Dowless onto his 2018 campaign.

Harris said the decision came after his primary loss to Republican Congressman Robert Pittenger in the 2016 campaign, when the candidate who finished third in that contest handily won the absentee ballots in Bladen County.

Harris said that he believed he was hiring Dowless to run an operation that encouraged voters to request absentee ballots and then, later, helped them cast those ballots by witnessing them and making sure voters put them in the mail.

At no time, Harris said, did he think Dowless was doing anything illegal.

"At anytime, did you have any indication that McCrae Dowless was doing something illegal?" a WBTV reporter asked.

RELATED: 'I haven't committed any crimes' Woman at center of voter fraud allegations breaks her silence

"No, absolutely not," Harris said when asked if he had any indication Dowless was breaking the law in the course of working for his campaign.



RAW INTERVIEW: Woman at the center of NC9 voter fraud allegations breaks her silence

"Had you had that, would you still continue to employ him?" the reporter continued.

"No, I would not have," Harris said. "Again, we kept emphasizing again and again that when he was describing the ballot to us. In fact when you get down to his description of the program, he was being vouched for by a number of other leaders down there."

RELATED: NCGOP leader says new election warranted based on irregularities with early vote count

Harris said he was caught off guard by the NCSBE's decision to not certify his race and said the uncertainty has meant he is unable to continue hiring staff or securing office space to move forward as an incoming member of Congress.

Despite that, Harris seemed hopeful that he would still take his seat in Congress after the investigation concluded.

"I am hopeful that the investigation being done by the board will ultimately produce a report that will make it clear that the outcome had not been changed and they can go ahead and certify. And I believe if they certify I will be seated," Harris said.

During the interview, Harris also discussed the seeming lack of support coming from the Republican Party.

On Monday, North Carolina Republican Party leaders indicated they felt a new election was necessary because of questions surrounding the way in which early vote totals were tabulated in Bladen County. The handling of early vote totals was first addressed in an affidavit filed by the North Carolina Democratic Party.

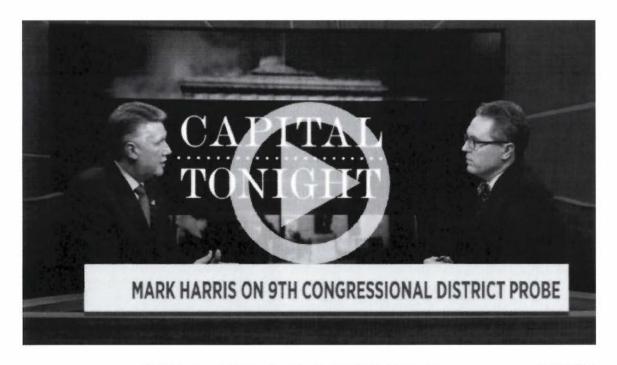
Less than an hour before Harris spoke with WBTV Friday afternoon, party leaders circulated a new press release from the chairman of the Robeson County Republican Party that called on Harris to publicly respond to the ongoing accusations.

Harris stopped short of criticizing party officials when a reporter asked if he felt under attack from fellow Republicans.

"Well I certainly don't feel the circling of the wagons around Harris the way I see the Democrats circling the wagons around McCready," Harris said.

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### PART 2: Mark Harris Speaks About 9th Congressional District Race

By Capital Tonight Staff | Charlotte PUBLISHED January 4, 2019 @7:51 PM

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The investigation into potential election fraud in the 9th Congressional District race continues, and the Republican candidate Mark Harris is speaking out.

Harris is challenging the decisions not to certify him the winner in state court. He is also cooperating with State Board of Elections staff, who are conducting the probe. Harris leads Democratic candidate Dan McCready by about 900 votes.

Harris tells Tim Boyum why he thinks he should be seated in the US House of Representatives and more in this interview.

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# Mark Harris On Dowless Absentee Results: 'Why Would I Expect Success Was A Bad Thing?'

By STEVE HARRISON (/PEOPLE/STEVE-HARRISON) . JAN 8, 2019

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url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.tinyurl.com%2Fy79sy23f&text=Mark%20Harris%20On%20Dowless%20Absentee%20Results%3A%20%27Why%20Woi



(//www.wfae.org/sites/wfae/files/styles/x large/public/201805/Harris-Pic.jpg)

JESSA O'CONNOR / WFAE





Mark Harris defended Tuesday his relationship with Bladen County political operative McCrae Dowless, the man at the heart of the investigation into absentee by mail fraud in the still-uncalled 9th Congressional District race.

In an interview with WFAE at his south Charlotte house, Harris said he and Dowless talked frequently during their two campaigns about what Harris called Dowless' "unusual" absentee by mail "program." He said Dowless often gave him updates on how many absentee mail ballots had been requested, and Harris — a former pastor — said they had a close relationship.

"You know I guess you could say I almost took on a pastorly role to McCrae Dowless," Harris said. "I found him to be a very enjoyable man who I chatted with, and again, everyone that I had talked to seemed to respect him and seemed to love him. I had no reason to think otherwise."

Harris spoke with WFAE and other media outlets Tuesday after he set off a fire alarm at the Charlotte Mecklenburg Government Center Monday night.

Harris was there attending a meeting of Mecklenburg Republicans. When the meeting ended, a number of reporters were waiting outside the room.

Harris said he wanted to go home and watch the Alabama-Clemson football game, and asked a security guard if there was a back way out. Harris said he was told he could use a back staircase, and that it was OK if he set off an alarm when he exited the building.

Harris called the exit a "rookie mistake."



Hey man,

Sorry I missed you guys tonight. I had to get to the kickoff of the #NationalChampionship game. We'll have plenty to talk about in the days ahead.#GoTigers

Joe Bruno @JoeBrunoWSOC9

To avoid the media, Mark Harris ran down a fire exit staircase. A man tried to prevent us from following but we still did. The alarm went off as he ran out. When media caught up he sprinted across the street to the First Baptist Church of Charlotte's parking lot #NC09 @wsoctv

275 9:47 PM - Jan 7, 2019

640 people are talking about this

Harris spoke about how he first became involved with Dowless.

Two years ago, Dowless worked for Todd Johnson, one of Harris' opponents in the 2016 Republican primary, helping him get 221 out of 226 absentee by mail votes in Bladen County.

Harris narrowly lost that primary to Robert Pittenger. Harris says he asked an attorney whether that lopsided result for Johnson was correct.

"And I raised the question then, well, is there not something in Bladen County that may have occurred here because I see that Todd Johnson won this pretty handily, could some of those votes have gone to me?" Harris said.

Harris says he was told the result was OK.

The Washington Post has reported that people close to Harris told him that there was likely fraud in Bladen County that cost him the race.

Though Harris says he was personally curious about the absentee mail results, he says the Post report isn't correct, and that people close to him did not tell him there had been any fraud.

"No I mean, only that people would say is that it was unusual," he said. "And I think we all agreed on that."

Harris said he decided to hire Dowless a year later, after meeting with a number of Bladen County politicians, including Commissioner Ray Britt. He says they met in Britt's furniture store.

He says everyone there vouched for Dowless, and that Dowless himself explained how his "program" worked.

He says Dowless told him he and his employees would knock on people's doors and ask if they wanted to vote absentee by mail. They would then bring those requests to the Bladen County Board of Elections.

Harris said Dowless told him they would never collect absentee mail ballots from voters. That's illegal — and there have been numerous interviews from voters and Dowless employees who have said such ballot harvesting happened frequently.

In November 2016, state elections board investigators also interviewed two Dowless employees who said they collected absentee mail ballots in that year's presidential election. That report wasn't made public until December 2018.

Dowless's first race for Harris was the 2018 primary, where Harris beat Pittenger. In Bladen County, Dowless delivered — getting Harris 437 absentee mail votes to Pittenger's 12.

In the WFAE interview, Harris was asked whether he should have been more skeptical of those results, and ask himself whether it was too good to be true. He referred again to the uniqueness of the so-called program.

"No, because — again — if you back to the program, and when I was, as you said, sold on this program, that he was going to do, which, again had been verified as legal and was following the letter of the law, and it was relationships that nobody else was focusing on that," Harris said. "So why would I expect that success was a bad thing?"

Since the scandal broke, Harris said he hasn't spoken to Dowless since early December.

He said Dowless first called him on Nov. 27, when the elections board first declined to certify the elections results.

Harris said Dowless called him to say, "What in the world (is happening)?"

Harris has not spoken at all to Andy Yates, who leads the Red Done Group, a political consultant working for Harris who paid Dowless.

The Red Dome Group has been given a subpoena from the elections board, along with Dowless and the Harris campaign.

Harris was asked whether he would hire Dowless again if Dowless had been found to have illegally collected absentee mail ballots, and then completed whatever punishment he was given by prosecutors.

Harris said he couldn't address a hypothetical of what Dowless did or didn't do.

"That's a hypothetical, and I'm careful not to get into hypotheticals because there is an on-going investigation," he said.

There is no elections board investigation until Jan. 31, when a newly appointed board is enacted by law. That board will decide whether to call for a new election – or certify Harris as the winner.

Harris believes the board should continue investigating to determine if there was any fraud. But he says his 905-vote lead over Democrat Dan McCready is larger than all of the absentee mail votes he received in Bladen and Robeson counties combined.

But what if Dowless and his employees did more than illegally harvest ballots? What if they destroyed ballots that were marked for McCready?

Harris said it depends on how many ballots would have been destroyed.

"Well again I think you have to look at the number, I think the people involved — and I've said this from the beginning — if any laws have been broken, then they should be prosecuted," Harris said. "And I believe that with all of my heart."

If you want to read more about politics from WFAE's Steve Harrison, check out the new political newsletter Inside Politics. You can subscribe to it here (https://www.wfae.org/inside-politics-newsletter#stream/0).

TAGS: TOP NEWS (/TERM/TOP-NEWS) 9TH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT RACE (/TERM/9TH-CONGRESSIONAL-DISTRICT-RACE)

ELECTION 2018 (/TERM/ELECTION-2018) MARK HARRIS (/TERM/MARK-HARRIS)

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE January 2, 2019 CONTACT: Jason Williams Jason@markharrisforcongress.com

As a result of the announcement that the January 11 hearing of the State Board of Elections cannot go forward, a Petition for a Writ of Mandamus will be filed tomorrow morning in Wake County Superior Court by Congressman-Elect Mark Harris. The Petition asks the Wake County Superior Court to certify the results of the 9th Congressional District election immediately, while still allowing for a full and thorough investigation of any concerns or irregularities that the new State Board taking office under Session Law 2018-146 may have.

The State Board of Elections has not disclosed any information to suggest that the votes in question in the Board staff's investigation are sufficient in number to change the outcome of the 9th Congressional District election. The prior State Board had been operating with a number of votes in mind based on the fact that certification was not allowed for races with margins of victory of 572 or less, but races with margins of victory equal to or above 1,388 were certified. Either the prior State Board was not being transparent by failing to affirmatively state the number of votes in question to show that there are, in fact, enough votes in question to change the outcome of the 9th Congressional District election, or the votes in question are not sufficient to change the outcome and the prior State Board did not want to acknowledge this fact. A full investigation of any voting irregularities uncovered by the State Board staff can be conducted, but when the number of votes in question is not enough to change the outcome of the 9th Congressional District election, the results of the 9th Congressional District election, the results of the 9th Congressional District election should be certified immediately.

"We had no choice but to take this action at this time," David Freedman, attorney for Mark Harris, said. "There is uncertainty of when a new State Board of Elections will be operational, when a new State Board of Elections may act, and whether a new State Board of Elections will continue to drag this out unnecessarily and outside of any statutory procedure, as the prior State Board had done."



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week had become frustrated beyond measure with the prior leadership of the unconstitutional and now-enjoined prior State Board. The prior State Board was not following the timetable for continued operation by the three-judge panel, so the three-judge panel stopped them. Now, we are in limbo, with no one able to act at this time."

Harris filed an Emergency Petition to Certify Election on December 28 before the prior State Board was enjoined from acting. By letter from the outgoing Chairman of the State Board, the State Board indicated that the Emergency Petition was not being considered before the noon deadline that enjoined the prior State Board from acting.

Prior Wake County Superior Court decisions have provided that the inability of the State Board of Elections to act can be viewed as "effectively denials" of prior petitions. Appeals of denials must be taken to Wake County Superior Court within 10 days. This explains why the matter is filed now and why the matter is filed in state court instead of federal court.

"We do not view the inability of the State Board to act as a denial of Dr. Harris' pending petition for certification of the results of the 9th Congressional District election because a new State Board is established by Session Law 2018-146. We hope, and expect, the new State Board to certify the results of the 9th Congressional District election as soon as the new State Board is able to act. However, we do not want to waive any rights by not filing this action at this time," Freedman said.

Until Mark Harris is certified as the winner of the 9th Congressional District election and sworn-in to the United States House of Representatives, the citizens of the 9th Congressional District are without a congressional representative. No field offices can be operational to assist citizens, no new staff can be hired to resolve citizen concerns, and constituent services are effectively halted. These unfortunate outcomes are the result of the prior State Board's delay in acting.

"Congressman-Elect Harris is deeply concerned that the citizens of the 9th District get the support they need, and he asks the constituents to contact Senator Tillis' office or Senator Burr's office until Congressman-Elect Harris is sworn into office," Jason Williams, campaign manager for the Mark Harris for Congress Committee, said.

"Citizens in the 9th Congressional District should not be without a sitting Congressman," Williams added. "Congress re-convenes on January 3, and Dr. Harris should be sworn-in immediately."

No candidate or voter filed any protest in the 9th District Congressional election. The prior, unconstitutionally-formed State Board, on its own initiative, with a schedule allowed by a three-judge panel of Superior Court judges. The State Board must certify election results within the time established by statute, but the State Board is authorized to conduct investigations at any time.

"Dr. Harris still supports a full and complete investigation of everything that transpired in the 2018 election," Williams concluded. "Any issues in these same counties from the 2016 election also can be part of this investigation. However, Governor Cooper's election certification from the 2016 election was not delayed into the new year when issues arose in 2016, and it should not delay Dr. Harris' election certification any longer either."

For further information, please contact David Freedman at (336) 725-1304 or David@CFPWlaw.com

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272 342 **PAGE** OF FOR LINE 24 OF FORM 3X NAME OF COMMITTEE (In Full) FEC IDENTIFICATION NUMBER ▼ Congressional Leadership Fund C C00504530 Check if 24-hour report 48-hour report New report Amends report filed on Full Name of Payee Memo Item Date of Public Distribution/Dissemination Nebo Media 2018 Mailing Address PO Box 9825 Amount City State Zip Code 281475.00 22219 Transaction ID: SE.159 VA Arlington Date of Disbursement or Obligation Purpose of Expenditure Category/ Media Placement 004 31 Type Name of Federal Candidate: 02 Office Sought: x House District: Support Coleman, Linda, , , NC Oppose President Senate State: × General Disbursement For: Primary Calendar Year To-Date 1933980.07 2018 Per Election for Office Sought Other (specify) ▶ Full Name of Payee Date of Public Distribution/Dissemination Memo Item Nebo Media 10 19 2018 Mailing Address PO Box 9825 Amount 22955.53 City State Zip Code Arlington Transaction ID: SE.160 VA 22219 Date of Disbursement or Obligation Purpose of Expenditure Category/ Media Placement 18 2018 004 10 Type Name of Federal Candidate: 09 Support Office Sought: ✗ House District: McCready, Dan, , , x Oppose NC President Senate State: Disbursement For: × General Primary Calendar Year-To Date 1241251.16 2018 Per Election for Office Sought Other (specify) ▶ (a) SUBTOTAL of Itemized Independent Expenditures ...... 304430.53 (b) SUBTOTAL of Unitemized Independent Expenditures..... (c) TOTAL Independent Expenditures ..... Under penalty of perjury I certify that the independent expenditures reported herein were not made in cooperation, consultation, or concert with, or at the request or suggestion of, any candidate or authorized committee or agent of either, or (if the reporting entity is not a political party committee) any political party committee or its agent. Crosby, Caleb, , , [Electronically Filed] 2018 06 Date 12 Signature **EXHIBIT** FEC Sche

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(c	e) TOTAL Independent Expenditures			. •	$\frac{1}{2} \left( \frac{1}{2} \left$
Under penalty of perjury I certify that the independent expenditures reported herein were not made in cooperation, consultation, or concert with, or at the request or suggestion of, any candidate or authorized committee or agent of either, or (if the reporting entity is not a political party committee) any political party committee or its agent.					
	Crosby, Caleb, , ,	Electronically File	ladi	(Mar	и , б. в , х у у у
	Signature	sectionically File	Date	) 1 ************************************	10 25 2018

PAGE 280 OF 356

FOR LINE 24 OF FORM 3X				
NAME OF COMMITTEE (In Full) FEC IDENTIFICATION NUMBER ▼				
Congressional Leadership Fund  C c00504530				
Check if 24-hour report 48-hour report New report Amends report filed on MMM / DDD / YYYYY				
Full Name of Payee		☐ Memo	Item Da	te of Public Distribution/Dissemination
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Mailing Address 4201 Wilson Blvd #110 126				nount
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Under penalty of perjury I certify that the independent expenditures reported herein were not made in cooperation, consultation, or concert with, or at the request or suggestion of, any candidate or authorized committee or agent of either, or (if the reporting entity is not a political party committee) any political party committee or its agent.				
Crosby, Caleb, , ,	Electronically Fil	<i>ed]</i> Date	м м • 10	25 2018
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356

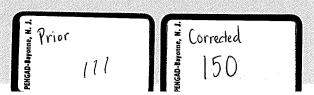
Case No.

In re. Investigation of election irregularities affecting counties within the 9th Congressional District

# Exhibit 7.1.9.2

Description: Burton evidentiary exhibits submitted under Paragraph 8 of the Order of Proceedings (Exhibit 6.1.1).





STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA	NORTH CAROLINA STATE BOARD of ELECTIONS & ETHICS ENFORCEMENT
COUNTY OF WAKE	ELECTIONS & ETHIOS ENFORCEMENT
IN THE MATTER OF:	) )
Investigation of election	) Evidentiary Submission
irregularities affecting counties	) of Candidate Vanessa Burton
within the 9th Congressional	)
District	)

This submission is made pursuant to Paragraph 7 of the Order of Proceedings issued in this matter by the North Carolina State Board of Elections and Ethics Enforcement ("State Board") on December 17, 2018. Candidate Vanessa Burton won the election for District Court Judge for District 16B, Seat 2, by 67 votes.

- 1. A purported basis for including Robeson County in the State Board's investigation is the high rate of non-return of absentee ballots sent by the Robeson County Board of Elections to those who requested them. One thousand one hundred ninety-seven (1,197) absentee ballots that were requested in Robeson County were not returned.
- 2. Failure of a voter to return a requested absentee ballot is not an irregularity.
- 3. The State Board's portal of relevant documents described in Paragraph 7 of its Order of Proceedings contains no evidence of any irregularities in the District 16B, Seat 2, election.
- 4. The District Court election was conducted entirely in Robeson County. None of the electorate was in Bladen County, the location of multiple allegations of absentee ballot irregularities.
- 5. Examination of the voting data establishes that the only reasonable conclusion concerning the non-returned absentee ballots is that, had they been returned, Ms. Burton would have won by a wider margin.

- 6. Ms. Burton is African American and a Democrat, as reflected on her voter registration. Her opponent, Mr. Jack Moody, Jr., is white and a Republican.
- 7. Exhibit 1 shows all 39 precincts of Robeson County and details the racial composition of the residents of those precincts who voted in the 2018 general election and the precinct results of the District 16B, Seat 2, election. Ms. Burton did best in precincts that are majority or plurality black. Mr. Moody, Jr., did best in precincts that are majority or plurality white. The two candidates split the Native American (Indian) precincts evenly.
- 8. Exhibit 2 shows the partisan and racial breakdown of all the voting methods used in Robeson County in the 2018 general election, as well as the Burton-Moody results in those elections. Consistent with the data in Exhibit 1, Ms. Burton did best in arenas with disproportionate numbers of black voters, and Mr. Moody, Jr., did best in arenas with disproportionate numbers of white voters.
- 9. The bottom of Exhibit 2 sets out the demographics of the 1,197 Robeson voters who were sent an absentee ballot but did not return the ballot. This group had the highest percentage of black voters of any of the voting methods and the lowest percentage of white voters. Given the candidates' performances in other arenas, it is not plausible to conclude that Ms. Burton would have received a lower percentage of these votes than in the other arenas with high percentages of black voters. Had these ballots been returned, the only plausible conclusion is that Ms. Burton would have won by a wider margin.
- 10. Another purported basis for including Robeson County in the State Board's investigation is that operatives of McCrae Dowless, the person of interest in Bladen County who worked for Republican Mark Harris's campaign, may have been involved in absentee ballot work in Robeson County as well.
- 11. The high rate of non-return of absentee ballots in Robeson indicates the absence in Robeson County of the illegal follow-through, or absentee ballot harvesting, of which Mr. Dowless has been accused. Had Mr. Dowless been active in Robeson County, the only plausible conclusion is that his efforts would have helped the Republican candidate, Mr. Moody, Jr., and not the Democratic candidate, Ms. Burton.
- 12. Ms. Burton's campaign did not hire anyone to engage in absentee ballot efforts on her behalf. (Exhibit 3).

13. State Board counsel advised Ms. Burton that there is no allegation or insinuation that she has engaged in any misconduct. (Exhibit 4)

Electronically submitted /s/ William R. Gilkeson. Jr.

BAILEY & DIXON, L.L.P. 434 Fayetteville St., Ste. 2500 P. O. Box 1351 Raleigh, NC 27602

William R. Gilkeson, Jr.

wgilkeson@bixon.com

North Carolina State Bar No.: 12963
Sabra J. Faires
sfaires@bdixon.com

North Carolina State Bar No.: 9212

Attorneys for Candidate

# Robeson Precincts - Voter Turnout by Race & the Burton-Moody Vote



Precinct #	Precinct Name	Indian	White	Black	Burton %	Moody %	Total Vote	Precinct
1	Alfordsville	58.59%	16.08%	23.35%	53.32%	46,68%	422	1
2	Back Swamp	50.54%	11.85%	35.54%	60.42%	19.58%	897	2
3	Britts	6.34%	71.26%	19.43%	29.09%	70.91%	722	3
4	Burnt Swamp	89.49%	5.42%	3.36%	45.99%	54.01%	822	4
5A	Fairmont	11.98%	31.29%	53.48%	49.89%	50.11%	1782	5A
7	Gaddys	35.46%	25.76%	35.73%	53.43%	46.57%	350	7
8	East Howellsville	7.57%	73.82%	15.76%	29.72%	70.28%	811	8
9	West Howellsville	12.91%	47.35%	35.60%	51,52%	48.48%	592	9
10	Lumber Bridge	16.74%	40.75%	36.78%	52.23%	47.77%	448	10
11	Lumberton #1	9.77%	73.54%	11.89%	30.58%	69,42%	2335	11
11A	Lumberton # 11A	45.21%	33.28%	17.58%	42.70%	57.30%	623	11A
12	Lumberton # 2	8.74%	37.62%	50.24%	64.15%	35.85%	809	12
13	Lumberton #3	7.84%	50.41%	36.96%	51.87%	48.13%	854	13
14	Lumberton #4	6.50%	51.12%	38.34%	52.61%	47.39%	441	14
15	Lumberton #5	6.70%	16.20%	73.22%	79.87%	20.13%	462	15
16	Lumberton # 6	5.06%	1.17%	91.25%	93.03%	6.97%	502	16
17	Lumberton #7	50.00%	12.65%	31.93%	61.94%	38.06%	155	17
18A	Lumberton #8	8.23%	66.23%	19.48%	41.20%	58.80%	903	18A
19	Maxton	25.61%	13.49%	58.40%	77.65%	22.35%	1217	19
20	Orrum	6.68%	57.22%	34.30%	43.14%	56.86%	547	20
21	Parkton	3.46%	55.29%	34.45%	46.92%	53.08%	942	21
22	North Pembroke	69.61%	6.70%	16,26%	59.62%	40.38%	1154	22
23	South Pembroke	82.89%	9.02%	5.15%	49.78%	50.22%	1378	23
24	Philadelphus	70.71%	13.27%	11.90%	50.86%	49.14%	407	24
25	Raft Swamp	57.28%	19.87%	19.25%	50.74%	49.26%	609	25
26A	Red Springs	10.97%	31.06%	52,35%	72.87%	27.13%	1,482	26A
28	Rennert	60.27%	18.53%	16.74%	41,43%	58.57%	420	28
29	Rowland	16.92%	25.92%	54.98%	67.36%	32.64%	723	29
30	Saddletree	71.01%	17.17%	6.94%	45.51%	54.49%	1013	30
32A	St Paul's	6.48%	54.34%	33.08%	46.75%	53.25%	2049	32A
33	Shannon	60.18%	7.52%	25.22%	56.89%	43,11%	225	33
34	Oxendine	76.11%	9.11%	12.96%	45.05%	54.95%	455	34
35	Prospect	93.98%	3.91%	0.95%	42.00%	58.00%	888	35
36	Smyrna	17.08%	37.57%	42.13%	54.34%	45.66%	519	36
37	Sterlings	3.59%	88.56%	5.56%	14.85%	85.15%	303	37
38	Thompson	46.12%	38.35%	11.65%	40.10%	59.90%	202	38
39	Union	60.59%	10.90%	26.95%	63.50%	36.50%	5.11	39
40	Whitehouse	3.35%	50.93%	41.64%	50.19%	49.81%	267	40
41	Wisharts	16.11%	66.69%	14.45%	28.32%	71,68%	1356	41

31.23%	35.95%	28.90%	50.11%	49.89%	30697

Indian	16 Indian precincts	<b>Burton won 8</b>	Moody won 8
White	14 white precincts	Burton won 5	Moody won 9
Black	9 black precincts	<b>Burton won 8</b>	Moody won 1

Burton Win Burton carried 21 precincts - 8 Indian, 5 white, 8 black Moody Win Moody carried 18 precincts - 8 Indian, 9 white, 1 black



#### Robeson County Race and Party Distributions - 2018 General Election

All R	egis	tered	Vo	ters
-------	------	-------	----	------

Democrats	Republicans	Unaffiliateds	Indian	White	Black	Total
62.75%	12.15%	24.49%	35.79%	29.61%	28.06%	77,751

#### All People Who Voted in 2018 General Election

Democrats	Republicans	Unaffiliateds	Indian	White	Black	Total
66.63%	12.88%	20.31%	31.23%	35.95%	28.90%	31,687
	Total Vote - All I	Methods		Burton	Moody	Total

15,382 15,312 30,694 50.11% 49.89%

#### **Election Day In-Person Voters**

Democrats	Republicans	Unaffiliateds	Indian	White	Black	Total
65.47%	13.59%	20.74%	33.56%	38.39%	24.03%	16,915
	Election Davids			Duntan	A.A	Total
	Election Day In-I	Person		Burton	Moody	Total

7,566 8,789 16,355 46.26% 53.74%

#### One-Stop (Early In-Person Voting) Ballots

Democrats	Republicans	Unaffiliateds	Indian	White	Black	Total
68.57%	11.76%	19.51%	28.64%	33.24%	34.73%	13,609

One-Stop (Early In-Person)

Burton Moody Total
7,113 6,097 13,210
53.85% 46.15%

#### **Provisional Ballots**

Democrats	Republicans	Unaffiliateds	Indian	White	Black	Total
64.48%	16.49%	19.03%	30.66%	17.12%	39.32%	475

Provisionals Burton Moody Total 310 149 459 67.54% 32.46%

#### **Returned & Accepted Mail Absentee Ballots**

Democrats	Republicans	Unaffiliateds	Indian	White	Black	Total
58.41%	15.07%	26.23%	25.65%	42.61%	26.09%	690

Returned Absentees Burton Moody Total 393 280 673 58.40% 41.60%

#### Civilian Absentee Ballots Sent But Not Retuned

Democrats	Republicans	Unaffiliateds	Indian	White	Black	Total
68.67%	6.52%	24.73%	30.83%	19.80%	42.11%	1,197

Unreturned Absentees	Burton	Moody	Total
	unknown	unknown	1,197
	unknown	unknown	



#### STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA

#### NORTH CAROLINA STATE BOARD of ELECTIONS & ETHICS ENFORCEMENT

#### COUNTY OF WAKE

IN THE MATTER OF:	)	
	Ś	
Investigation of election	í	Affidavit of
irregularities affecting counties	)	Candidate Vanessa Burton
within the 9th Congressional	)	
District	)	

#### I, Vanessa Burton, being first duly sworn, depose and say:

- 1. I am over the age of 18 and legally competent to give this affidavit.
- 2. I have personal knowledge of the facts set forth in this affidavit.
- 3. I am a resident of Robeson County.
- I was the Democratic candidate for District Court Judge in District 16B, Seat
   in the 2018 general election.
- 5. I received 67 more votes than my opponent Mr. Jack Moody, Jr.
- 6. I did not pay anyone to assist with absentee ballots for my campaign.
- 7. My campaign finance report shows my campaign expenditures.
- I am aware only through news articles that Mr. McCrae Dowless is accused of harvesting absentee ballots in Bladen and Robeson Counties and that he was hired by Republican Mark Harris' congressional campaign.
- I have never met with, talked with, or hired Mr. McCrae Dowless to assist with my campaign.
- 10. I had never heard of McCrae Dowless until the news reported that he was a person of interest in the State Board's investigation into election irregularities.

- 11. I learned of the existence of the Red Dome Group as a result of the State Board of Elections publicized election fraud investigation. I did not hire the Red Dome Group to assist with my campaign.
- 12. I am not aware of any irregularities in my judicial race.

This the 21st day of December 2018.

Vanessa Burton, Affiant

Sworn to and subscribed before me this the 21st day of December, 2018.

(SEAL)



Notary Public

My Commission expires: 02/01/2022

December 14, 2018

VIA ELECTRONIC MAIL William R. Gilkeson wgilkeson@bdixon.com

AL AL ALL

Re: Request for additional explanation regarding action staying the issuance of certificate of elections in the contest for Seat 2 of on the N.C. District Court in District 16B.

Attorney Gilkeson:

Thank you for your letter to the State Board of Elections and Ethics Enforcement ("State Board") on behalf of your client, Vanessa Burton. During our meetings in my office, I have stressed that there is no allegation or insinuation that your client has engaged in any misconduct. Instead it was necessary for the State Board to stay the final certification of certain local contests because the apparent margin of victory in each race represented fewer votes than those presently under scrutiny in an unrelated investigation across Congressional District 9. This was the case with your client's contest in Robeson. In addition to her seat, the State Board stayed the local certification for Bladen County Commissioner District 3, Bladen Soil and Water Conservation District Supervisor, and State certification in Congressional District 9.

The State Board will hold an evidentiary hearing on its investigation, and all affected candidates will be notified of the hearing and given an opportunity to be heard. We understand the disruption and disappointment caused by a delay in certification. It remains the position of the State Board, however, that the stay was necessary in the performance of its duty under G.S. 163A-1180 and that the stay must remain in place for the time being. We will ensure you receive notice on behalf of your client in the expected proceedings.

Sincerely,

Josh Lawson General Counsel

#### STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA

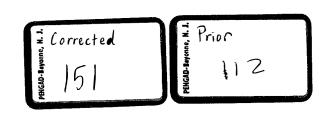
# NORTH CAROLINA STATE BOARD of ELECTIONS

#### COUNTY OF WAKE

IN THE MATTER OF:	)	
	)	Request to Take Official Notice
Investigation of election	)	_
irregularities affecting counties	)	
within the 9th Congressional	)	
District	)	•
	-	

Vanessa E. Burton, acting through counsel, requests the North Carolina State Board of Elections, pursuant to G.S. § 8C-1, Rule 201, to take judicial notice of the following reports and data:

- 1. Voter Registration and Voting Histories of the following Robeson County voters: Callie S. Locklear, Stephanie E. Page, James Worth Williams, Harold Fredick (sic) Worriax Jr, Harold Fredrick Worriax Sr., and John Wayne Buck.
- 2. Robeson absentee ballots witnessed by Jennifer Boyd, the demographics of the voters whose ballots she witnessed, and absentee votes by precinct in the Burton-Moody contest. Attached Spreadsheets A and B are derived from data on the State Board's portal and website.
- 3. Robeson 2018 general election party turnout and Burton-Moody District
  Court vote by precinct. Attached Spreadsheet C is derived from data on the
  State Board's website.



- 4. Robeson 2018 general election countywide Democratic-Republican contest results by voting method. Attached Spreadsheet D is derived from data on the State Board's website.
- 5. Robeson 2018 general election race and party shares by voting method, including voters who were sent absentee ballots but did not return them.

  Attached Spreadsheets E and F are derived from data on the State Board's website plus the following data compiled by State Board staff:
  - a. Data from Brian Neesby sent by email on February 11, 2019, titled "Gilkeson_Request_Robeson_Demographic_Statistics_20181106.xlsx" with attachment of same name.
  - b. Data from Gregg McCurry sent by email on January 11, 2019, titled
     "RE: [External] Clear information needed for" with attachment "2019-01-10 abs_not_returned_voted_other_method.xlsx".
  - c. Data from Patrick Gannon sent by email on January 7, 2019, titled 
    "RE: [External] FW: Mat Team Information" with attachments "201812-19 abs_not_returned_precinct.xlsx" and "2018-12-19
    abs_not_returned_voted_other_method.xlsx".

6. Data from Patrick Gannon sent by email on January 7, 2019, titled "FW: [External] FW: Robeson County Mat Team 2018" with no attachment, listing Robeson multi-party assistance team members.

Respectfully submitted this the 19th day of February, 2019.

Sabra J. Faires

William R. Gilkeson, Jr.

Labra Faires

BAILEY & DIXON, L.L.P. 434 Fayetteville St., Ste. 2500 P. O. Box 1351 Raleigh, NC 27602

sfaires@bdixon.com

North Carolina State Bar No.: 9212

wgilkeson@bixon.com

North Carolina State Bar No.: 12963 Attorneys for Candidate Vanessa Burton

				Spreadsheet	: <b>A</b>
Robeson County Absentee Ba	llots Witnessed by Jennifer Boyd in 2018 Ge	eneral Election			
					Page No.
		Assisted & Witnessed by	Voter's Party		in Exhibit
<u>Voter Name</u>	<u>Voter Address</u>	<u>Boyd</u>	<u>Registration</u>	Voter's Race	4.2.6.2.2.1
Ruth W. Justice	145 Shasta Dr. St. Pauls	YES	Unaffiliated	White	71
Melvin G. Justice	145 Shasta Dr. St. Pauls	YES	Unaffiliated	White	<b>7</b> 4
Terry Lee Fritz	10 Sports Ct. Lumber Bridge	YES	Republican	White	75
Peter Hendrik Vedder, Sr.	40 W. Clark St. St. Pauls	YES	Unaffiliated	Other	76
Justin Wayne Britt	203 Monroe Rd. St. Pauls	YES	Unaffiliated	White	77
Anita Mayers Saxon	1743 Tar Heel Rd. Lumberton	Witnessed Only	Unaffiliated	White	79
Eliza Jane Tucker	306 Camwood Lane St. Pauls	YES	Unaffiliated	White	380
Lauren Nicole Hooks	246 E. 5th St., #Lot 30 Lumberton	Witnessed Only	Republican	White	381
Timothy Jacob Nance	282 Hummingbird Lane St. Pauls	YES	Republican	White	382
Timothy Earl Nance	282 Hummingbird Lane St. Pauls	YES	Republican	White	383
James Michael Campbell	572 W. Blue St. St. Pauls	YES	Unaffiliated	White	384
Samantha Haylie Little	85 Berkshire Dr. St. Pauls	YES	Republican	White	385
Deedra M. Ashley	139 Applewood Rd. St. Pauls	YES	Republican	White	386
Cary Neil Grimsley	518 E. Ross St. St. Pauls	YES	Unaffiliated	White	387
Timothy Edward Little	85 Berkshire Dr. St. Pauls	YES	Republican	White	388
Barbara Kay Locklear	746 E. Broad St. St. Pauls	YES	Unaffiliated	White	389
Brian H. Bullard	572 W. Blue St. St. Pauls	YES	Republican	White	390
Mary Elizabeth Altice	306 Camwood Lane St. Pauls	YES	Unaffiliated	White	391
Luis Gabriel Reyes	452 Marion Rd. St. Pauls	YES	Unaffiliated	Other	392
Robin Mae Bradford	215 Gentle Wind Dr. St. Pauls	YES	Unaffiliated	White	393
Timm Owen Orchard	272 Gentle Wind Dr. St. Pauls	YES	Republican	White	394
Allison Cheryl Mena	283 Brisson Sands Dr. St. Pauls	YES	Republican	White	395
Cessay Brooke Brewington	283 Brisson Sands Dr. St. Pauls	YES	Democrat	Amer Indian	396
Wendy Edge Grimsley	518 E. Ross St. St. Pauls	YES	Unaffiliated	White	397
Jamie Louise Bradford Matt	126 Weathervane Dr. St. Pauls	YES	Unaffiliated	White	398
Mary Frances Owens	403 N. 2nd St. St. Pauls	YES	Unaffiliated	Undesignated	399
Carey Elizabeth Grimsley	518 E. Ross St. St. Pauls	YES	Unaffiliated	White	400
Gerald Wayne Kersey, Jr.	2227 Ballance Farm Rd. St. Pauls	YES	Republican	White	401
Keisha Collins Walker	420 E. Clark St. St. Pauls	YES	Democrat	White	402

Marihelen Rydland Orchard	272 Gentle Wind Dr. St. Pauls	YES	Republican	White	403
April Nicole Hernandez	938 Brisson Rd. St. Pauls	YES	Democrat	White	404
Peggy Ann Britt Register	221 McKinnon Lane St. Pauls	Witnessed Only	Republican	Undesignated	405
John David Oldham	57 Edgegrove Circle St. Pauls	YES	Republican	White	406
Jared Keith Bradford	2017 Russ Rd. Lumberton	YES	Unaffiliated	White	407
Jessica Faye Br <b>y</b> ant	1048 Emma Jane Rd. St. Pauls	YES	Unaffiliated	White	408
Cindy Hyatt Hardy	1773 Britt Rd. St. Pauls	YES	Unaffiliated	Amer Indian	409
Tami Jean Gilfillan	413 N. 2nd St. St. Pauls	YES	Unaffiliated	White	410
Michelle Anne Bradford	855 Brisson Rd. St. Pauls	YES	Republican	White	411
Justin William Bradford	855 Brisson Rd. St. Pauls	YES	Unaffiliated	White	412
Joe Ann Beard	16422 US 301 Hwy. N. St. Pauls	YES	Unaffiliated	White	413
Jessica Laine Oldham	526 S. Stack St. St. Pauls	YES	Republican	White	414
Jeremiah William Rogers	320 E. Armfield St. St. Pauls	YES	Unaffiliated	Amer Indian	415
Bonnie Webb Campbell	572 W. Blue St. St. Pauls	YES	Unaffiliated	White	416
Joseph Lee Boyd	242 Applewood Rd. St. Pauls	YES	Unaffiliated	White	417
Brenda Jean-Boyd Oldham	57 Edgegrove Circle St. Pauls	YES	Unaffiliated	White	418
Shawnee Ellyn Hunt	2017 Russ Rd. Lumberton	YES	Unaffiliated	Amer Indian	419
Toni Smith Reel	2986 Shaw Mill Rd. St. Pauls	YES	Republican	White	420
Ioseph Alan Reel	2986 Shaw Mill Rd. St. Pauls	YES	Unaffiliated	White	421
Teresa Ann <b>V</b> edder	401 W. Clark St. At. Pauls	YES	Unaffiliated	White	422
Denzil Lee Ackerley	234 Applewood Rd. St. Pauls	YES	Unaffiliated	White	423
Helen Bowen Pittman	855 Brisson Rd. St. Pauls	YES	Republican	White	424
Johnny Howard Saxon	1743 Tar Heel Rd. Lumberton	YES	Unaffiliated	White	425
Rhonda Kim Strickland	282 Hummingbird Lane St. Pauls	YES	Republican	White	426
lason Kordell Schmoekel	69 Berkshire Dr. St. Pauls	YES	Unaffiliated	White	427
Athan Arnold Ackerly	197 Applewood Dr. St. Pauls	YES	Unaffiliated	White	428
Jessica Ann Pelletier	197 Applewood Dr. St. Pauls	YES	Republican	White	429
Karen Marie Clegg	2543 E. Great Marsh Church Rd. St. Pauls	YES	Republican	White	622
		Witnessd & Assistd -54	Unaffiliated - 33	White - 49	
		Withnessed Only - 3	Republican - 21	Amer Ind - 4	
			Democratic - 3	Other - 2	
				Undesgntd - 2	
462116				Black - 0	

# Spreadsheet B

# Counted Robeson Absentee Ballots by Precinct in Burton-Moody Election

Precinct #	Precinct Name	Largest Group	DJ 16B-2 Winner	Burton	Moody	Total
1	Alfordsville	Indian majority	Burton	3	3	
2	Back Swamp	Indian majority	Burton	5	0	
3	Britts	White majority	Moody	3	8	1:
4	Burnt Swamp	Indian majority	Moody	9	11	2
5A	Fairmont	Black majority	Moody	13	2	1
7	Gaddys	Indian plurality	Burton	8	4	1
8	E Howellsville	White majority	Moody	8	11	1
9	W Howellsville	White plurality	Burton	7	6	1
10	Lumber Bridge	White plurality	Burton	6	3	
11	Lumberton 1	White majority	Moody	23	25	4
11A	Lumberton 11A	Indian plurality	Moody	4	2	
12	Lumberton 2	Black plurality	Burton	13	5	1
13	Lumberton 3	White plurality	Burton	16	5	2
14	Lumberton 4	White plurality	Burton	7	6	1
15	Lumberton 5	Black majority	Burton	8	2	1
16	Lumberton 6	Black majority	Burton	5	1	
17	Lumberton 7	Indian majority	Burton	6	0	
18A	Lumberton 8	White majority	Moody	15	10	
19	Maxton	Black majority	Burton	19	7	
20	Orrum	White majority	Moody	2	2	
21	Parkton	White majority	Moody	13	12	2
22	N Pembroke	Indian majority	Burton	17	5	
23	S Pembroke	Indian majority	Moody	17	12	
24	Philadelphus	Indian majority	Burton	3	3	
25	Raft Swamp	Indian majority	Burton	2	4	
26A	Red Springs	Black plurality	Burton	60	10	
28	Rennert	Indian majority	Moody	8	3	
29	Rowland	Black majority	Burton	20	6	
30	Saddletree	Indian majority	Moody	14	11	
32A	St Paul's	White plurality	Moody	32	63	
33	Shannon	Indian majority	Burton	4	2	
34	Oxendine	Indian majority	Moody	2	3	
35	Prospect	Indian majority	Moody	6	6	
36	Smyrna	Black plurality	Burton	1	3	
37	Sterlings	White majority	Moody	1	6	
38	Thompson	Indian majority	Moody	2	2	
39	Union	Indian majority	Burton	1	6	
40	Whitehouse	White plurality	Burton	1	0	
41	Wisharts	White majority	Moody	9	10	
	•	•		393	280	67

## Spreadsheet C

# Robeson County Precincts - Party Turnout & Burton-Moody Vote

Precinct #	Precinct Name	Burton %	Moody %	Total B/M	Dem	GOP	Unaff	Precinct #
1	Alfordsville	53.32%	46.68%	422	68.72%	16.52%	14.76%	1
2	Back Swamp	60.42%	39.58%	897	81.30%	6.63%	11.96%	2
3	Britts	29.09%	70.91%	722	62.75%	15.52%	21.59%	3
4	Burnt Swamp	45.99%	54.01%	822	74.65%	8.34%	17.01%	4
5A	Fairmont	49.89%	50.11%	1782	78.37%	8.89%	12.64%	5A
7	Gaddys	53.43%	46.57%	350	72.85%	9.97%	17.17%	7
8	East Howellsville	29.72%	70.28%	811	52.85%	18.98%	27.92%	8
9	West Howellsville	51.52%	48.48%	592	61.59%	16.06%	22.02%	9
10	Lumber Bridge	52.23%	47.77%	448	58.15%	22.69%	18.94%	10
11	Lumberton # 1	30.58%	69.42%	2335	52.13%	20.41%	27.30%	11
11A	Lumberton # 11A	42.70%	57.30%	623	62.95%	13.50%	23.39%	11A
12	Lumberton # 2	64.15%	35.85%	809	69.05%	10.32%	20.51%	12
13	Lumberton # 3	51.87%	48.13%	854	65.50%	10.76%	23.51%	13
14	Lumberton # 4	52.61%	47.39%	441	67.04%	11.88%	20.85%	14
15	Lumberton # 5	79.87%	20.13%	462	80.99%	6.26%	12.74%	15
16	Lumberton # 6	93.03%	6.97%	502	88.33%	0.97%	10.70%	16
17	Lumberton # 7	61.94%	38.06%	155	77.11%	9.04%	13.86%	17
18A	Lumberton # 8	41.20%	58.80%	903	55.74%	15.48%	28.57%	18A
19	Maxton	77.65%	22.35%	1217	80.45%	7.84%	11.63%	19
20	Orrum	43.14%	56.86%	547	73.47%	11.01%	15.34%	20
21	Parkton	46.92%	53.08%	942	49.21%	25.45%	24.71%	21
22	North Pembroke	59.62%	40.38%	1154	66.09%	10.54%	23.12%	22
23	South Pembroke	49.78%	50.22%	1378	71.06%	10.43%	18.45%	23
24	Philadelphus	50.86%	49.14%	407	68.65%	14.42%	16.48%	24
25	Raft Swamp	50.74%	49.26%	609	69.33%	9.86%	20.50%	25
26A	Red Springs	72.87%	27.13%	1,482	76.21%	7.73%	16.06%	26A
28	Rennert	41.43%	58.57%	420	59.60%	14.73%	25.45%	28
29	Rowland	67.36%	32.64%	723	80.63%	8.05%	11.05%	29
30	Saddletree	45.51%	54.49%	1013	63.41%	9.57%	26.64%	30
32A	St Paul's	46.75%	53.25%	2049	57.13%	21.46%	21.08%	32A
33	Shannon	56.89%	43.11%	225	58.41%	12.39%	29.20%	33
34	Oxendine	45.05%	54.95%	455	63.16%	13.36%	23.08%	34
35	Prospect	42.00%	58.00%	888	70.86%	10.88%	18.06%	35
36	Smyrna	54.34%	45.66%	519	72.11%	8.73%	19.17%	36
37	Sterlings	14.85%	85.15%	303	49.35%	18.30%	32.35%	37
38	Thompson	40.10%	59.90%	202	63.59%	12.14%	24.27%	38
39	Union	63.50%	36.50%	611	73.36%	11.68%	14.95%	39
40	Whitehouse	50.19%	49.81%	267	68.77%	10.04%	20.82%	40
41	Wisharts	28.32%	71.68%	1356	58.31%	12.79%	28.76%	41
		50.11%	49.89%	30697	66.63%	12.88%	20.31%	6

50.11% 49.89% 30697 66.63% 12.88% 20.31%

Majority Dem
Plurality Dem

# Spreadsheet D

Robeson Countywide Dem-Rep Contests - 2018 Results by Voting Method
---------------------------------------------------------------------

		Total %	Election Day	FD %	Farly Vote	FV %	Mail Ahs	Mail Abs %	Provisal	Prov %
Congress Dist 9	. Otal Vote	70 tai 70	Licetion Day 1	LD /0	Larry Vote	L + 70	.vian Abs		. 10413111 1	. 104 /0
D - McCready	17,419	56.40%	8,675	52.09%	8,010	61.18%	403	59.26%	331	71.96%
R - Harris	12,691	41.09%		45.26%		36.50%	259	38.09%	115	25.00%
L - Scott	777	2.52%	442	2.65%		2.31%	18	2.65%	14	3.04%
L SCOTT	30,887	2.3270	16,655	2.0370	13,092	2.5170	680	2.0370	460	3.0 170
	50,507		10,033		10,001		000		100	
NC Senate Dist 13										
D - Campbell	11,977	38.48%	5,822	34.98%	5,573	41.74%	311	46.28%	271	59.30%
R - Britt	19,149	61.52%		65.02%		58.26%	361	53.72%	186	40.70%
	31,126		16,645		13,352		672		457	
			,		•					
District Attorney										
D -Scott	19,710	62.98%	9,878	59.10%	9,038	67.22%	429	63.84%	365	78.33%
R - Adams	11,588	37.02%	6,837	40.90%	4,407	32.78%	243	36.16%	101	21.67%
	31,298		16,715		13,445		672		466	
			2 -							
Supreme Court Just	ice									
D - Earls	14,914	50.67%	7,302	46.15%	6,929	55.41%	376	56.80%	307	68.99%
R - Jackson	8,443	28.68%	5,024	31.75%	3,165	25.31%	172	25.98%	82	18.43%
R - Anglin	6,079	20.65%	3,498	22.11%	2,411	19.28%	114	17.22%	56	12.58%
	29,436		15,824		12,505		662		445	
Court of Appeals - S	eat 1									
D - Arrowood	15,523	53.08%	7,629	48.51%	7,200	57.94%	386	59.02%	308	70.97%
R - Heath	13,719	46.92%	8,098	51.49%	5,227	42.06%	268	40.98%	126	29.03%
	29,242		15,727		12,427		654		434	
Court of Appeals - S	eat 2									
D - Hampson	14,556	49.57%	7,100	44.98%	6,803	54.50%	358	54.66%	295	66.89%
R - Griffin	10,880	37.05%	6,412	40.62%	4,166	33.38%	202	30.84%	100	22.68%
R -Ray	3,926	13.37%	2,272	14.39%	1,513	12.12%	95	14.50%	46	10.43%
	29,362		15,784		12,482		655		441	
Court of Appeals - S	eat 3									
D - Collins	15,698	53.39%	7,763	49.12%	7,243	57.98%	382	57.44%	310	70.29%
R - Kitchen	12,827	43.63%	7,546	47.75%	4,905	39.26%	267	40.15%	109	24.72%
L - Monaco	877	2.98%	494	3.13%	345	2.76%	16	2.41%	22	4.99%
	29,402		15,803		12,493		665		441	
District Court Judge	- Seat 2									
D - Burton	15,382	50.11%				53.85%	393	58.40%	310	67.54%
R - Moody	15,315	49.89%		53.74%	6,097	46.15%	280	41.60%	149	32.46%
	30,697		16,355		13,210		673		459	

#### Robeson Race & Party Shares by Voting Method - 2018 General Election

	-				APPENDED SE
$\Delta II$	RO	DICT	oroc	1 Vo	ters
	110	FIDE			CLID

Democrats	Republicans	Unaffiliateds	Indian	White	Black	Total
62.75%	12.15%	24.49%	35.79%	29.61%	28.06%	77,751

#### All People Who Voted in 2018 General Election

Democrats	Republicans	Unaffiliateds	Indian	White	Black	Total
66.63%	12.88%	20.31%	31.23%	35.95%	28.90%	31,687

Total Vote - All Methods	Burton	Moody	Total
	15,382	15,312	30,694
	50.11%	49.89%	

#### **Election Day In-Person Voters**

Democrats	Republicans	Unaffiliateds	Indian	White	Black	Total
65.47%	13.59%	20.74%	33.56%	38.39%	24.03%	16,915

Election Day In-Person	Burton	Moody	Total
	7,566	8,789	16,355
	46.26%	53.74%	

#### One-Stop (Early In-Person Voting) Ballots

Democrats	Republicans	Unaffiliateds	Indian	White	Black	Total
68.57%	11.76%	19.51%	28.64%	33.24%	34.73%	13,609

One-Stop (Early In-Person)	Burton	Moody	Total
	7,113	6,097	13,210
	53.85%	46.15%	

#### **Provisional Ballots**

Democrats	Republicans	Unaffiliateds	Indian	White	Black	Total
64.48%	16.49%	19.03%	30.66%	17.12%	39.32%	475

Provisionals	Burton	Moody	Total
	310	149	459
	C7 E40/	22 460/	

#### Returned & Accepted Mail Absentee Ballots

Democrats	Republicans	Unaffiliateds	Indian	White	Black	Total
58.41%	15.07%	26.23%	25.65%	42.61%	26.09%	690

Returned Absentees	Burton	Moody	Total
	393	280	673
	58 40%	41 60%	

#### Civilian Absentee Ballots Sent But Not Returned *

Democrats	Republicans	Unaffiliateds	Indian	White	Black	Total
64.87%	7.44%	27.69%	33.08%	22.31%	36.92%	780

Unreturned Absentees	Burton	Moody	Total
	unknown	unknown	780

^{*} Excluding the 351 who voted anyway by another method

a....d --- d-t- ---ided by the State Poard of Elections

# Spreadsheet F

## Robeson Absentee Voting 2018 General Elections - provided Febuary 10, 2019

			100	Pai	rty	1000	The A	603	THE YEAR	R	ace		
Statistic	TOTAL	DEM	% DEM	REP	% REP	UNA	% UNA	Black	% Black	Indian	% Indian	White	% White
Total Regd Voters (T)	77306	48596	62.86%	9626	12.45%	18876	24.42%	21681	28.05%	27670	35.79%	22980	29.73%
Absentee Requests ( R)	2315	1567	67.69%	202	8.73%	542	23.41%	918	39.65%	646	27.90%	602	26.00%
% (R/T)	2.99%	3.22%		2.10%		2.87%		4.23%		2.33%		2.62%	
Absentees Sent (S)	2263	1525	67.39%	200	8.84%	535	23.64%	887	39.20%	636	28.10%	596	26.34%
% (S/R)	97.75%	97.32%		99.01%		98.71%		96.62%		98.45%		99.00%	
Absentees Unreturned (U)	1565	1115	71.25%	96	6.13%	353	22.56%	703	44.92%	457	29.20%	301	19.23%
% (U/S)	69.16%	73.11%		48.00%		65.98%		79.26%		71.86%		50.50%	
Absentees Unreturned But Voted by Another Method (V)	721	575	79.75%	31	4.30%	115	15.95%	394	54.65%	179	24.83%	110	15.26%
% (V/U)	46.07%	51.57%		32.29%		32.58%		56.05%		39.17%		36.54%	
Absentees Unreturned Didn't Vote by Another Method (DV)	844	540	63.98%	65	7.70%	238	28.20%	309	36.61%	296	35.07%	191	22.63%

Based on data provided by the State Board of Elections, February 10, 2019. Inclusion of military/overseas ballots may acount for differences with other cited data.

#### STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA

# NORTH CAROLINA STATE BOARD of ELECTIONS

#### COUNTY OF WAKE

IN THE MATTER OF:	)	
Investigation of election irregularities affecting counties within the 9 th Congressional District	)	2 nd Affidavit of Candidate Vanessa Burton

- I, Vanessa Burton, being first duly sworn, depose and say:
  - 1. I am over the age of 18 and legally competent to give this affidavit.
  - 2. I have personal knowledge of the facts set forth in this affidavit.
  - 3. I was a judicial candidate in the 2018 contest for District Court Judge in Robeson County, District 16B, Seat 2.
  - 4. After the canvass the Robeson County Board of Elections (Robeson Board) declared me the winner with a 71 margin win.
  - 5. My opponent Jack Moody requested a recount and it was held on November 26, 2018. After the recount the Robeson Board declared me as the winner with a 67 margin win.
  - 6. On or about November 29, 2018, I received a Certificate of Election from the Robeson Board by U.S. mail certifying that I had been duly elected to the Office of NC District Court Judge District 16B Seat 2 for Robeson County. A true and accurate copy of the certificate is attached as Exhibit 1.
  - 7. On or about November 30, 2018, I learned that the North Carolina State Board of Elections (State Board) had not certified the results of my judicial race by reading an online news article.
  - 8. The State Board did not inform me of the decision not to certify my election.

- 9. An audio tape of the November 27, 2018 public meeting indicates that the State Board's Executive Director indicated that my election was not certified because the State Board had not completed its audit of the recount held in my election.
- 10. On November 30, 2018, the State Board held another meeting addressing the status of the 9th congressional district results. At this meeting the audio of the public meeting indicates that Joshua Malcom made a motion to withhold the certificate of election for two races in Bladen County and the State Board voted to withhold the certificates.
- 11. During the November 30, 2018 State Board meeting my race, seat 2 for Robeson County, was not included in the Bladen County motion to withhold certification nor was it the subject of a separate motion to certify or withhold certification. Judicial seat #2 was denied certification without a vote.
- 12. Joshua Malcom who was a member of the State Board in November 2018 is an attorney from Robeson County. He made the motion to withhold the certification of the Bladen County races.
- 13. On December 3, 2018, I attended New Judges School by invitation at the School of Government.
- 14. On or about December 3, 2018, I retained William Gilkeson and Sabra Faires to represent my interests in the results of judicial race seat # 2 in Robeson County because the State Board had not communicated with me.
- 15. On or about December 14, 2018, the State Board sent a letter via electronic email to my attorney indicating that the State Board was not alleging or insinuating any misconduct by me.

- 16. On or about December 17, 2018, I received the following by U.S. mail from of North Carolina Governor Roy Cooper:
  - a. A letter congratulating me on my election to District Court Judge.
  - b. Five originals of the oath of office to sign.
  - c. A commission of office stating that I have been duly elected to the office of District Court Judge and have satisfied all the constitutional requirements for holding the office.

A true and accurate copy of these documents are attached as Exhibit 2.

This the 19st day of February, 2019.

Vanessa Burton, Affiant

Sworn to and subscribed before me this the 19st day of February, 2019.

(SEAL)

BETHANY G FARRELLY Notary Public, North Carolina Wake County My Commission Expires December 08, 2021 Bethanz G. Famelry Notary Public

My Commission expires:

12/8/2021



# Robeson County

North Carolina

# Certificate of Election

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT

# Vanessa Burton

Has been duly elected to the Office of NC District Court Judge District 16B Seat 2 for ROBESON COUNTY, North Carolina, at the General Election held on the 6th day of November, 2018.



ROBESON COUNTY BOARD-OF ELECTIONS

Steve Stone, Chairman





ROY COOPER GOVERNOR

December 17, 2018

The Hon. Vanessa Burton District Court Judge, District 16B 604 W. 31st Street Lumberton, NC 28358

Dear Judge Burton:

Congratulations on your recent election as District Court Judge for District 16B. Enclosed are five originals of your Oath of Office and your Commission of Office. Please return three originals of your signed and executed oath to the Office of the Governor, General Counsel's Office, 20301 Mail Service Center, Raleigh, NC 27699-0301.

I am confident you will serve the people of North Carolina well.

With kind regards, I am

Very truly yours,

Roy Cooper

RAC:swh

**Enclosures** 



# State of North Carolina

#### Roy Cooper GOVERNOR

## Oath of Office

- I, Vanessa Burton, do solemnly swear that I will support the Constitution of the United States, so help me God.
- I, Vanessa Burton, do solemnly and sincerely swear that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to the State of North Carolina, and to the constitutional powers and authorities which are or may be established for the government thereof; and that I will endeavor to support, maintain and defend the Constitution of said State, not inconsistent with the Constitution of the United States, to the best of my knowledge and ability, so help me God.
- I, Vanessa Burton, do solemnly swear that I will administer justice without favoritism to anyone or to the State; that I will not knowingly take, directly or indirectly, any fee, gift, gratuity or reward whatsoever, for any matter or thing done by me or to be done by me by virtue of my office, except the salary and allowances by law provided; and that I will faithfully and impartially discharge all the duties of District Court Judge of the North Carolina General Court of Justice, to the best of my ability and understanding, and consistent with the Constitution and laws of the State; so help me God.

Sworn to and subscribed before me, this the	Vanessa Burton		
	day of	, 20	



# State of North Carolina

# **Roy Cooper**

GOVERNOR Commission of Office

Having been duly elected to office and having satisfied all constitutional requirements for holding the same,

#### Vanessa Burton

is hereby commissioned

## District Court Judge

District 16B

to hold this office for the term provided by North Carolina law and to possess during said term all of the rights, privileges and powers conferred on this office by the Constitution and laws of the State of North Carolina.

This Commission is issued in the name of and by the authority of the State pursuant to Article III, Section 10 of the Constitution of North Carolina.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto signed my name and caused the Great Seal of the State of North Carolina to be affixed, this the 17th day of December in the year 2018.

Governor

Secretary of State

Attest:

Esse Quam Videri
To Be Rather Than To Seem

January 3, 2019

**NC State Board of Elections** 

**Robeson County Board of Elections** 

To whom it man concern:

I just wanted to recap my experience with the people who came to my house to discuss my vote. I don't remember all of the details, but I was uncomfortable with the encounter. It wasn't something that I had had happen before.

Two ladies came to the door and the younger of the two asked to confirm that I was a registered Democrat. I told her I was and she said they could help me vote without having to go to the polling place. This was the week before the election. She had a clipboard with what looked like a ballot on it. I can't remember the exact conversation but it seemed like she was saying that we could complete the ballot on the spot and they would turn the ballot in for me. I don't remember her specifically saying that the ballot would be mailed but I know she said that I personally not have to go to the polling site.

I've been voting for over thirty years and I've never had anyone come to the door and offer or ask to handle my vote this way. I told her I didn't feel comfortable handing my ballot to anyone other than the people at the Board of Elections (that's where my polling place is.) I thanked them for their time and told them I planned on voting on the actual election day. I ended up voting early but I did complete and turn in the ballot there.

I didn't even know that handing my ballot over to someone on my front porch was an option, and I definitely didn't feel comfortable.

Sorry I don't remember more details.

Sincerely,

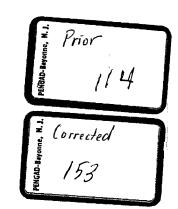
James Williams

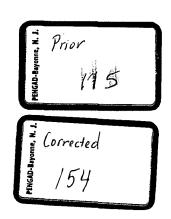
204 W 8th St

Lumberton, NC 28358

(910)-508-1680

Jwilli633@gmail.com





#### **AFFIDAVIT**

I, John W. buck, am over the age of 18 and I am a legal resident of Lumberton, Robeson County, North Carolina. I voted in person at the Robeson County Board of Elections. I received a call from the North Carolina Democratic Party and was informed that I requested an absentee ballot. I did not receive one nor did I request an absentee ballot.

I am giving this statement of my own free will. No one has threatened me or coerced me into giving this statement in any way. I do this voluntarily.

JOHN W. BUC

SWORN AND SUBSCRIBED BEFORE ME

LAGAYLE LOCKLEAR

Notary Public Robeson Co., North Carolina My Commission Expires Dec. 21, 2020